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THE

THIRD AND LAST VOLVME OF THE VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, TRAFfiques,

and Diſcoueries of the *Engliſh Nation*, and in
ſome few places, where they haue not been, of ſtrangers, performed
within and before the time of theſe hundred yeeres, to all
parts of the *Newfound* world of *America*, or the *Weſt Indies*, from 73.
degrees of Northerly to 57. of Southerly latitude:

As namely to *Engronland*, *Meta Incognita*, *Eſtotiland*,
Tierra de Labrador, *Newfoundland*, vp *The grand bay*, the gulfe of *S. Laurence*,
and the Riuer of *Canada* to *Hochelaga* and *Saguenay*, along the coaſt of *Arambec*,
to the ſhores and maines of *Virginia* and *Florida*, and on the Weſt or backſide of them
both, to the rich and pleaſant countries of *Nueua Biſcaya*, *Cibola*, *Tiguex*, *Cicuic*,
Quiuira, to the 15. prouinces of the kingdome of *New Mexico*, to the
bottome of the gulfe of *California*, and vp the
Riuer of *Buena Guia*:

And likewiſe to all the yles both ſmall and great lying before the
cape of *Florida*, *The bay* of *Mexico*, and *Tierra firma*, to the coaſts and Inlands
of *Newe Spaine*, *Tierra firma*, and *Guiana*, vp the mighty Riuers of *Orenoque*,
Deſſekebe, and *Marannon*, to euery part of the coaſt of *Braſil*, to the Riuer of *Plate*,
through the Streights of *Magellan* forward and backward, and to the
South of the ſaid Streights as farre as 57. degrees:

And from thence on the backſide of *America*, along the coaſtes, harbours,
and capes of *Chili*, *Peru*, *Nicaragua*, *Nueua Eſpanna*, *Nueua Galicia*, *Culiacan*,
California, *Noua Albion*, and more Northerly as farre as 43. degrees:

Together with the two renowmed, and proſperous voyages of Sir *Francis Drake*
and M. *Thomas Candiſh* round about the circumference of the whole earth, and
diuers other voyages intended and ſet forth for that courſe.

Collected by RICHARD HAKLVYT *Preacher, and ſometimes*
ſtudent of Chriſt-Church in Oxford.

¶ Imprinted at London by *George Biſhop*, *Ralfe*
Newberie, and ROBERT BARKER.

ANNO DOM. 1600.

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To the right honourable ſir Robert Cecil knight, principall Secretary to her Maieſtie, maſter of the Court of Wards and Liueries, and one of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Councel.

Right honourable, your fauourable acceptance of my ſecond volume of *The Engliſh voyages* offred vnto you the laſt yere, your peruſing of the ſame at your conuenient leaſure, your good teſtimony of my ſelfe and of my trauailes therein, together with the infallible ſignes of your earneſt deſire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought leaſt thereof, brake forth into moſt bountiful and acceptable effects: theſe conſiderations haue throughly animated and encouraged me to preſent vnto your prudent cenſure this my third and laſt volume alſo. The ſubiect and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called *America*: but by the chiefeſt authors *The new world*. *New*, in regard of the new and late diſcouery thereof made by *Chriſtopher Colon*, alias *Columbus*, a *Genouois* by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. And *world*, in reſpect of the huge extenſion thereof, which to this day is not throughly diſcouered, neither within the Inland nor on the coaſt, eſpecially toward the North and Northweſt, although on the hither ſide it be knowen vnto vs for the ſpace of fiue thouſand leagues at the leaſt, compting and conſidering the trending of the land, and for 3000. more on the backeſide in the *South Sea* from the *Streight of Magellan* to *Cape Mendoçino* and *Noua Albion*. So that it ſeemeth very fitly to be called *A newe worlde*. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had ſome kinde of dimme glimſe, and vnperfect notice thereof. Which may appeare by the relation of *Plato* in his two worthy dialogues of *Timæus* and *Critias* vnder the diſcourſe of that mighty large yland called by him *Atlantis*, lying in the Ocean ſea without the *Streight of Hercules*, now called the *Streight of Gibraltar*, being (as he there reporteth) bigger then *Africa* & *Aſia*: And by that of *Ariſtotle* in his booke *De admirandis auditionibus* of the long nauigation of certaine *Carthaginians*, who ſayling forth of the aforeſaid *Streight of Gibraltar* into the maine Ocean for the ſpace of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would haue inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe gouernours. Moreouer, aboue 300. yeeres after theſe wee haue the teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus lib. 5. cap. 7.* of the like mighty yland diſcouered in the Weſterne Ocean by the *Tyrrheni*, who were forbidden for certaine cauſes to inhabite the ſame by the foreſaid *Carthaginians*. And *Seneca* in his tragedie intituled *Medea* foretold aboue 1500. yeeres paſt, that in the later ages the Ocean would diſcouer new worlds, and that the yle of *Thule* would no more be the vttermoſt limite of the earth. For whereas *Virgile* had ſaid to *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Tibi ſeruiat vltima Thule*, alluding thereunto he contradicteth the ſame, and ſaith, *Nec ſit terris vltima Thule.* Yea *Tertullian* one of our moſt ancient and learned diuines, in the beginning of his treatiſe *de Pallio* alludeth vnto *Plato* his Weſterne *Atlantis*, which there by another name he calleth *Aeon*, ſaying, *Aeon in Atlantico nunc quæritur.* And in his 40. chapter *de Apologetico* he reporteth the ſame to be bigger then all *Africa* and *Aſia*. Of this *New world* and euery ſpeciall part thereof in this my third volume I haue brought to light the beſt & moſt perfect relations of ſuch as were chiefe actours in the particular diſcoueries and ſerches of the ſame, giuing vnto euery man his right, and leauing euery one to mainteine his owne credit. The order obſerued in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine vnto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced fot lacke of ſufficient ſtore, in diuers places to vſe the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occaſion are enforced vnto) being now more plentifully furniſhed with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore propoſing vnto my ſelfe the right ſituation of this *New world*, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe ſucceſſiuely in one ranke or *claſſis*, according to the order aforeſaide, all ſuch voyages as haue bene made to the ſaid part: which comming all together, and following orderly one vpon another, doe much more lighten the readers vnderſtanding, and confirme his iudgement, then if they had bene ſcattered in ſundry corners of the worke. Which methode I obſerue from the higheſt North to the loweſt South. Now where any country hath bene but ſeldome hanted, or any extraordinary and chiefe action occurreth, if I finde one voyage well written by two ſeuerall perſons, ſometimes I make no difficultie to ſet downe both thoſe iournals, as finding diuers things of good moment obſerued in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a ſouldier obſerueth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, *Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus.* But this courſe I take very ſeldome and ſparingly. And albeit my worke do carry the title of *The Engliſh voyages*, aſwell in regard that the greateſt part are theirs, and that my trauaile was chiefly vndertaken for preſeruation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defectiue, there I haue bene careful to ſupply the ſame with the beſt and chiefeſt relations of ſtrangers. As in the diſcouery of the *Grand Bay*, of the mighty riuer of *S. Laurence*, of the countries of *Canada, Hochelaga*, and *Saguenay*, of *Florida*, and the Inland of *Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic*, and *Quiuira*, of *The gulfe of California*, & the Northweſterne ſea-coaſt to *Cabo Mendocino* and *Sierra Neuada*: as alſo of the late & rich diſcouery of 15. prouinces on the backſide of *Florida* and *Virginia*, the chiefeſt wherof is called the kingdome of *New Mexico*, for the wealth, ciuil gouernment, and populouſneſſe of the ſame. Moreouer, becauſe ſince our warres with *Spaine*, by the taking of their ſhips, and ſacking of their townes and cities, moſt of all their ſecrets of the *Weſt Indies*, and euery part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the moſt part vnknowen vnto vs,) I haue vſed the vttermoſt of my beſt endeuour, to get, and hauing gotten, to tranſlate out of Spaniſh, and here in this preſent volume to publiſh ſuch ſecrets of theirs, as may any way auaile vs or annoy them, if they driue and vrge vs by their ſullen inſolencies, to cõtinue our courſes of hoſtilitie againſt them, and ſhall ceaſe to ſeeke a good and Chriſtian peace vpon indifferent and equal conditions. What theſe things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may vnderſtand, if it pleaſe you to vouchſafe to reade the Catalogues cõteyning the 14. principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceiue that there is no chiefe riuer, no port, no towne, no citie, no prouince of any reckoning in the *Weſt Indies*, that hath not here ſome good deſcription thereof, aſwell for the inland as the ſeaſt.coaſt. And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene *Noua Albion* on the Northweſt part of *America*, and the yle of *Iapan* lying ouer againſt the kingdomes of *Coray* and *China*, which vntil theſe foure yeeres was neuer reueiled vnto vs, being a point of exceeding great conſequence, I haue here inſerted the voyage of one *Francis Gualle* a Spaniard made from *Acapulco* an hauen on the *South ſea* on the coaſt of *New Spaine*, firſt to the *Philippinas*, and then to the citie of *Macao* in *China*, and homeward from *Macao* by the yles of *Iapan*, and thence to the back of the *Weſt Indies* in the Northerly latitude of 37 degrees ½. In which courſe betweene the ſaid ylands and the maine he found a wide and ſpacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene ſet out as a *Streight*, and called in moſt mappes *The Streight of Anian*. In which relation to the viceroy hee conſtantly affirmeth three ſeuerall times, that there is a paſſage that way vnto the North parts of *Aſia*. Moreouer, becauſe I perceiue by a letter directed by her Maieſtie to the Emperour of *China* (and ſent in the laſt Fleet intended for thoſe parts by *The South Sea* vnder the charge of *Beniamin Wood*, chiefly ſet out at the charges of ſir *Robert Duddeley*, a gentleman of excellent parts) that ſhe vſeth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for her marchants in his dominions, for the better inſtruction of our people in the ſtate of thoſe countries, I haue brought to light certaine new aduertiſements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting yle of *Iapan*, and of the new conqueſt of the kingdome of *Coray*, not long ſince tributarie to the king of *China*, by *Quabacondono* the monarch of all the yles and princedomes of *Iapan*; as alſo of the *Tartars* called *Iezi*, adioyning on the Eaſt & Northeaſt parts of *Coray*, where I thinke the beſt vtterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be, if it pleaſe God hereafter to reueile vnto vs the paſſage thither by the Northweſt. The moſt exact and true information of the North parts of *China* I finde in an hiſtory of *Tamerlan*, which I haue in French, ſet out within theſe ſixe yeres by the abbat of *Mortimer*, dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confeſſeth that it was long ſince written in the Arabian tongue by one *Alhacen* a wiſe and valiant Captaine, employed by the ſaid mighty prince in all his conqueſts of the foreſaid kingdome. Which hiſtory I would not haue failed to haue tranſlated into Engliſh, if I had not found it learnedly done vnto my hand.

And for an appendix vnto the ende of my worke, I haue thought it not impertinent, to exhibite to the graue and diſcreet iudgements of thoſe which haue the chiefe places in the Admiraltie and marine cauſes of *England*, Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation houſe of *Siuil* in *Spaine*, touching their gouernment in ſea-matters; together with The ſtreight and ſeuere examination of Pilots and Maſters before they be admitted to take charge of ſhips, aſwell by the *Pilot mayor*, and brotherhood of ancient Maſters, as by the Kings reader of *The lecture of the art of Nauigation*, with the time that they be enioyned to bee his auditors, and ſome part of the queſtions that they are to anſwere vnto. Which if they finde good and beneficial for our ſeamen, I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or finding out ſome fitter courſe of their owne, will ſeeke to bring ſuch as are of that calling vnto better gouernment and more perfection in that moſt laudable and needfull vocation. To leaue this point, I was once minded to haue added to the end of theſe my labours a ſhort treatiſe, which I haue lying by me in writing, touching *The curing of hot diſeaſes incident to traueilers in long and*

Southerne voyages, which treatiſe was written in Engliſh, no doubt of a very honeſt mind, by one *M. George Wateſon*, and dedicated vnto her ſacred Maieſtie. But being carefull to do nothing herein raſhly, I ſhewed it to my worſhipfull friend *M. doctour Gilbert*, a gentleman no leſſe excellent in the chiefeſt ſecrets of the Mathematicks (as that rare iewel lately ſet foorth by him in Latine doeth euidently declare) then in his owne profeſſion of phyſicke: who aſſured me, after hee had peruſed the ſaid treatiſe, that it was very defectiue and vnperfect, and that if hee might haue leaſure, which that argument would require, he would either write ſomething thereof more aduiſedly himſelfe, or would conferre with the whole Colledge of the Phyſicions, and ſet downe ſome order by common conſent for the preſeruation of her Maieſties ſubiects. Now as the foreſaid treatiſe touched the cure of diſeaſes growing in hot regions, ſo being requeſted thereunto by ſome in authoritie they may adde their iudgements for the cure of diſeaſes incident vnto men employed in cold regions, which to good purpoſe may ſerue our peoples turnes, if they chance to proſecute the intermitted diſcouery by the Northweſt, whereunto I finde diuers worſhipfull citizens at this preſent much inclined. Now becauſe long ſince I did foreſee, that my profeſſion of diuinitie, the care of my family, and other occaſions might call and diuert me from theſe kinde of endeuours, I haue for theſe 3. yeeres laſt paſt encouraged and furthered in theſe ſtudies of Coſmographie and forren hiſtories, my very honeſt, induſtrious, and learned friend M. IOHN PORY, one of ſpeciall ſkill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the ſame, and beneficial for the common wealth.

Thus Sir I haue portrayed out in rude lineaments my Weſterne *Atlantis* or *America*: aſſuring you, that if I had bene able, I would haue limned her and ſet her out with farre more liuely and exquiſite colours: yet, as ſhe is, I humbly deſire you to receiue her with your wonted and accuſtomed fauour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine moſt ready and deuoted to do your honour any poore ſeruice that I may; and in the meane ſeaſon will not faile vnfainedly to beſeech the Almighty to powre vpon you the beſt of his temporall bleſſings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his ioyes eternall. From *London* the firſt of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.

Your Honours moſt humble to
be commanded,

RICHARD HAKLVYT, *Preacher*.

¶ A general Catalogue diuided, according to the methode obſerued in this preſent volume, into 14. ſpecial branches, briefly conteyning all the Voyages, Nauigations, Traffiques, and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, and (where they haue not bene, or not perfectly diſcouered) of ſtrangers, within the ſaid volume intreated of, which haue been performed to euery part of *America* hitherto knowen or diſcouered by any Chriſtian: whereunto are annexed in their due and proper places, all the Patents, diſcourſes, ruttiers, letters, aduertiſements, inſtructions, obſeruations, and other particulars incident or belonging to the foreſaid Voyages.

THe moſt ancient voyage and diſcouery of the *Weſt Indies* performed by *Madoc* the ſonne of *Owen Guined* prince of *North Wales*, *Anno 1170*; taken out of the hiſtory of *Wales*, *&c*. Pag. 1.

The teſtimonies and relations immediatly enſuing vpon this voyage.

THe *verſes of* Meredith *the ſonne of* Rheſus *making mention of* Madoc *the ſonne of* Owen Guined, *and of his Nauigation vnto vnknowen lands*. pag. 1

The offer of the diſcouery of the Weſt Indies *by* Chriſtopher Columbus *to* K. Henry the 7. *February the 13. Anno 1488; with the Kings acceptance of the ſaid offer*. pag. 2

Another teſtimony concerning the foreſaid offer made by Bartholomew Columbus *to* K. Henry the ſeuenth, *on the behalfe of his brother* Chriſtopher Columbus. *pag. 3. & 4.*

A catalogue of the Engliſh voyages vndertaken for the finding of a *Northweſt paſſage*, to the North parts of *America*, to *Meta incognita*, and the backeſide of *Groenland*, as farre as 72. degrees, and 12. minutes.

THe voyage of *Sebaſtian Cabota* to the North part of *America*, for the diſcouery of a *Northweſt paſſage*, as farre as 58. degrees of latitude, and from thence back againe all along the coaſt, till he fell with ſome part of *Florida*, *anno 1497*; confirmed by 6. teſtimonies: The firſt taken out of the mappe of *Sebaſtian Cabota* cut by *Clement Adames*; the ſecond vſed by *Galeacius Butrigarius* the Popes legate, and reported by him; the third out of the preface of *Baptiſta Ramuſius* before his third volume of Nauigations; the 4. out of the thirde decade of *Peter Martyr ab Angleria*; the 5. out of the general hiſtory of *Lopez de Gomara*; and the 6. out of *Fabians* chronicle. pag. 6. 7. 8, and 9.

The firſt voyage of M. *Martin Frobiſher* to the Northweſt for the ſearch of a paſſage to *China*, *anno 1576*. pag. 29. & 57.

The ſecond voyage of M. *Martin Frobiſher* to the Weſt and Northweſt regions, in the yeere 1577. pag. 32. and 60.

The third and laſt voyage of M. *Martin Frobiſher* for the diſcouery of a Northweſt paſſage, in the yere 1578. Pag. 39. and 74.

The firſt voyage of M. *Iohn Dauis* for the diſcouery of a *Northweſt paſſage*, 1585. pag. 98.

The ſecond voyage of M. *Iohn Dauis* for the diſcouery of the *Northweſt paſſ. 1586*. pag. 103.

The voyage and courſe which the *Sunſhine* a barke of 50. tunnes, & the *Northſtarre* a ſmall pinneſſe, being 2. veſſels of the Fleete of M. *Iohn Dauis*, held, after hee had ſent them from him to diſcouer a paſſage betweene *Groenland* and *Iſeland*, 1587. pag. 111

The voyage of M. *Nicolas Zeno* and M. *Anthony* his brother, to the yles of *Friſland*, *Iſland*, *Engronland*, *Eſtotiland*, *Drogeo*, and *Icaria*, begun in the yeere 1380. pag. 121.

The patents,letters,diſcourſes,obſeruations,and dependences vpon the Northweſtern voyages next before mentioned.

THe letters patents of K.Henry the 7.*granted vnto* Iohn Cabot *and his 3.ſonnes*, Lewis, Sebaſtian, *and* Sancius, *for the diſcouery of new and vnknowen lands, Anno 1495.* pag.4

The ſigned bill of K.Henry the 7.*on the behalfe of* Iohn Cabot. pag.5,& 6

A briefe extract concerning the diſcouery of Newfoundland. pag.10

The large penſion granted by K.Edward the 6.*to* Sebaſtian Cabota, *conſtituting him Grand pilote of* England, *Anno 1549.* pag.10

A diſcourſe written by ſir Humfrey Gilbert *knight, to proue a paſſage by the Northweſt to* Cataya, *and the* Eaſt Indies. pag.11

Experiences and reaſons of the Sphere to proone all parts of the worlde habitable, and thereby to confute the poſition of the fiue Zones. pag.48

*A letter of M.*Martin Frobiſher *to certaine Engliſhmen, which were trecherouſly taken by the Saluages of* Meta incognita *in his firſt voyage.* pag.70

*Articles and orders preſcribed by M.*Martin Frobiſher *to the Captaines and company of euery ſhip, which accompanied him in his laſt Northweſtern voyage.* pag.75

A generall and briefe deſcription of the country and condition of the people, which are founde in Meta incognita. pag.93

*The letters patents of her Maieſty graunted to M.*Adrian Gilbert *and others for the ſearch and diſcouery of a Northweſt paſſage to* China. pag.96

*A letter of M.*I.Dauis *to M.*Wil.Sanderſon *of* London, *concerning his ſecond voyage.* p.108

*A letter of M.*Iohn Dauis *to M.*Wil.Sanderſon *of* London, *concerning his 3.voyage.* p.114

*A trauerſe-booke of M.*Iohn Dauis *contayning all the principall notes and obſeruations taken in his third and laſt voyage to the Northweſt.* pag.115

A report of M.Iohn Dauis *concerning his three voyages made for the diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage, taken out of a treatiſe of his intituled* The worlds hydrographical deſcription. pag.119

A teſtimony of Ortelius *for the credit of the hiſtory of* M.Nicolas, & M.Antonio Zeni. p.128.

A catalogue of ſundry voyages made to *Newfoundland*, to the iſles of *Ramea* and the iſle of *Aſſumption*, otherwiſe called *Natiſcotec*, as alſo to the coaſts of *Cape Briton* and *Arambec*.

THe voyage of two ſhips, whereof the one was called *The Dominus vobiſcum*, ſet out the 20 of May 1527, for the diſcouery of the North parts. pag. 129

The voyage of M.*Hore*, and diuers other gentlemen to *Newfoundland*, and *Cape Briton*, in the yere 1536. pag.129

The voyage of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* to *Newfoundland* An. 1583. pag.143,165

The firſt diſcouery of the iſle of *Ramea*, made by for *Monſieur de la court pre Rauillon & grandpre*, with the ſhip called *The Bonauenture*, to kill and make trane-oile of the beaſts called *The Morſes*, with great teeth, *Anno* 1591. pag.189

The voyage of the ſhip called *The Marigolde* of M. *Hill* of *Redriffe*, vnto *Cape Briton* and beyond, to the latitude of 44 degrees and a halfe, *Anno* 1593. pag.191

The voyage of M. *George Drake* of *Apſham*, to the iſle of *Ramea*, in the yere 1593. pag.193

The voyage of *The Grace* of *Briſtoll*, vp into the gulfe of *S. Laurence* to the Northweſt of *Newfoundland*, as far as the iſle of *Aſſumption* or *Natiſcotec*, *Anno* 1594. pag.194

The voyage of M. *Charles Leigh*, and diuers others, to *Cape Briton* and the iſle of *Ramea*, 1597. pag.195

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THe voyage of ſir *Thomas Pert*, and *Sebaſtian Cabot* in the yere 1516, to *Braſil*, *Santo Domingo*, and *Sant Iuan de Puerto rico*.

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A declaration of the longitudes or Weſterne and Eaſterne diſtances from Spaine *to* New Spaine *in* America, *and from thence backe againe to* Spaine. pag.626

A catalogue of certaine voyages made for the diſcouery of the large,rich,and beautifull empire of *Guiana*,by ſir *Walter Ralegh*, and others at his charges and appointment.

THe voyage of ſir *Walter Ralegh* himſelfe to the Iſle of *Trinidad*, where he tooke the citie of *Saint Ioſepho*,and *Don Antonio de Berreo* the captaine thereof: from whence with a barge and certaine boates he paſſed vp the bay of *Guanipa*,the riuer of *Amana* one of the mouths of the great *Orenoque*,the maine riuer of *Orenoque* it ſelfe, and other riuers,for the ſpace of 400,miles: and in his returne homeward ſacked & burnt the town of *Cumaná* 1595. pag.631

The ſecond voyage to *Guiana* performed and written in the yeere 1596. by *Laurence Keymis* gentleman. pag.672

The 3.voyage ſet forth by ſir *Walter Ralegh* to *Guiana* with a pinneſſe called *The Wat*,begun in the yere 1596,written by M.*Thomas Maſham* a gentleman of the company. pag.692

The Epiſtles,Diſcourſes,Intercepted letters,Obſeruations,and Intelligences, preceding and depending vpon the voyages to *Guiana*.

THe Epiſtle Dedicatorie of ſir Walter Ralegh *to the right honorable the L.* Charles Howard *knight of the Garter,&c. and ſir* Robert Cecil, *Councellour &c.* pag.627

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Foure ſeuerall teſtimonies concerning the rich Empire of Guiana, *called by the Spaniards,* El Nueuo Dorado, *collected out of certaine Spaniſh letters taken at ſea by captaine* George Popham *anno 1594.* pag.663

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Three teſtimonies of Ioſepho de Acoſta *concerning the mightie riuer of* Amazones, *or* Orellana, *and of the downefall of waters at the head thereof called* El Pongo, *and likewiſe of the Empire of* Dorado *or* Guiana, *and of the golden countrey of* Paytiti. pag.698

A briefe deſcription of the foreſayd riuer of Amazones *or* Orellana, *and of the countries thereabout,as alſo of the ſea of freſh water, taken out of an ancient diſcourſe written by* Martin Fernandez de Enciſo. pag.699

Certaine voyages,nauigations,and traffiques both ancient and of late,to diuers places vpon the coaſt of *Braſill*.

THe firſt voyage of M.*William Hawkins* of *Plimmouth*, father vnto ſir *Iohn Hawkins* to *Braſil Anno* 1530. pag.700

The ſecond voyage of M.*William Hawkins* to *Braſil*,1532. pag.700

The voyage of M.*Robert Reniger* & M.*Tho.Borey* to *Braſil*,in the yere 1540. p.701

The voyage of one *Pudſey* to *Baya* in *Braſil* 1542. pag.701

The voyage of M.*Stephan Hare* in the *Minion* of *London* to *Braſil anno* 1580. pag.704

The proſperous voyage of Maſter *Iames Lancaſter* to the towne of *Fernambuck* in *Braſil*, 1594. pag.708

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The letters,diſcourſes,inſtructions,obſeruations,and ruttiers, depending vpon the voyages to *Braſil.*

A *Letter written to* M. Richard Staper *by* Iohn Whithal *from* Santos *in* Braſil,*the 26.of Iune, 1578.* pag.701

A letter of the aduenturers for Braſil *ſent to* Iohn Whithal *dwelling at* Santos,*by the* Minion *of* London,*dated the 24.of October 1580.* pag.703

An intercepted letter of Francis Suarez *to his brother* Diego *Suarez dwelling in* Lisbon,*written from the riuer of* Ienero *in* Braſil *in Iune 1596. concerning an exceeding rich trade newly begunne betweene that place and* Peru *by the way of the riuer of* Plate, *with ſmall barkes of 30.or 40. tunnes.* pag.706

An intercepted letter written from Feliciano Cieça de Carualho *the gouernour of* Paraiua *in the moſt Northren part of* Braſil 1597. *to* Philip *the ſecond King of* Spaine , *concerning the conqueſt of* Rio grande,&c. pag.716

A ſpeciall note concerning the currents of the ſea betweene the Cape of Buena Eſperança , *and the coaſt of* Braſilia. pag.719

An excellent ruttier deſcribing the courſe to be kept from Cabo verde *to the coaſt of* Braſil,*and all along the ſaid coaſt from* Fernambuck *to the riuer of* Plate. pag.719

A ruttier from the riuer of Plate *to the Streights of* Magellan. pag.724.

A note of two voyages of Engliſhmen into the Riuer of *Plate.*

A Voyage of two Engliſhmen to the riuer of *Plate* in the company of *Sebaſtian Cabota,1527.* pag.726

The voyage of *M.Iohn Drake* after his departure from M.*Fenton,* vp the riuer of *Plate 1582.* pag.726

A *Ruttier which declareth the ſituation of the coaſt of* Braſil *from the yle of* Santa Catelina *vnto the mouth of the riuer of* Plate,*and all along vp within the ſaid riuer,and what armes & mouths it hath to enter into it,as farre as it is nauigable with ſmall barkes.* pag.728.

A Catalogue of diuers Engliſh voyages, ſome intended and ſome performed to the Streights of *Magellan*,the *South ſea*, along the coaſts of *Chili, Peru, Nicaragua*, and *Nueua Galicia*, to the headland of *California* , and to the Northweſt thereof as farre as 43.degrees,as likewiſe to the yles of the *Ladrones*,the *Philippinas*,the *Malucos*, and the *Iauas* ; and from thence by the Cape of *Buena Eſperanza* and the yle of *Santa Helena* (the whole globe of the earth being circompaſſed) home againe into *England.*

THe famous voyage of ſir *Francis Drake* into the *South ſea*, and therehence about the globe of the whole earth, begunne Anno 1577. pag.742

The voyage of *Nunno de Silua* a Portugal Pilot taken by ſir *Francis Drake* at the yles of *Cabo Verde*,and caried along with him as farre as the hauen of *Guatulco* vpon the coaſt of *New Spaine:* with his confeſſion made to the Viceroy of *Mexico* of all matters that befell,during the time that he accompanied ſir *Francis Drake.* pag.742

The voyage of M.*Iohn Winter* into the *South ſea* by the Streight of *Magellan* in conſort with ſir *Francis Drake*, begun in the yeere 1577. he being the firſt Chriſtian that euer repaſſed the ſaid Streight. pag.748

The voyage of M.*Edward Fenton* and M.*Luke Ward* his viceadmirall with 4.ſhips,intended for *China*, but performed onely to the coaſt of *Braſil*,as farre as 33.degrees of Southerly latitude; begunne in the yeere 1582. pag.757

The voyage of M.*Robert Withrington*, and M. *Chriſtopher Liſter* intended for the *South ſea*, with two tal ſhips ſet forth at the charges of the right honourable the Earle of *Cumberland*,but performed onely to the Southerly latitude of 44.degrees,begun Anno 1586. pag.762

The proſperous voyage of M.*Thomas Candiſh* eſquire into the *South ſea*,and ſo round about the circumference of the whole earth,begun in the yere 1586.and finiſhed 1588. pag.803

The voyage of the *Delight* a ſhip of *Briſtol* one of the conſorts of M.*Iohn Chidley* eſquire,and M.*Paul Wheele*,made to the Streights of *Magellan*,begun in the yere 1589. pag.840

The laſt voyage of M. *Thomas Candiſh* intended for the South ſea, the *Philippinas*, and the coaſt of *China*, with three tall ſhips, and two barks, begun 1591. pag.842

The principall obſeruations, diſcourſes, inſtructions, letters, ruttiers, and intelligences belonging to the voyages immediatly going before.

The names of the kings of Iaua, *at the time of ſir* Francis Drakes *being there.* *pag.742*

Certaine words of the naturall language of Iaua, *with the interpretation thereof.* *pag.742*

The confeſſion of Nunno de Silua, *a Portugall pilot, taken by ſir* Francis Drake, *which he made to the viceroy of* Mexico, *concerning the proceeding of ſir* Francis Drake, *&c. 1579.* *pag.742*

A letter written in the South ſea by ſir Francis Drake *unto his conſort M.* Iohn Winter. *748*

Inſtructions giuen by the R. H. the lords of the councell, to M. Edward Fenton *eſquire, for the order to be obſerued in the voyage recommended vnto him for the* Eaſt Indies *and* Cathay, *April 9. 1582.* *pag.754*

A diſcourſe of the Weſt Indies *and the South ſea, written by* Lopez Vaz *a Portugall, conteining diuers memorable matters not to be found in any other writers, and continued vnto the yere 1587.* *pag.778*

Certaine rare and ſpeciall notes moſt properly belonging to the voyage of M. Thomas Candiſh *about the world; concerning the latitudes, ſoundings, lying of lands, diſtances of places, the variation of the compaſſe, and other notable obſeruations, diligently taken by M.* Thomas Fuller *of* Ipſwich. *pag.825*

A letter of M. Thomas Candiſh *to the R. H. the olde Lord Hunſdon, L. Chamberlaine, one of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie councell, touching the ſucceſſe of his voyage rounde about the worlde.* *837*

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A petition made in the ſtreight of Magellan *by certeine of the company of the* Delight *of* Briſtoll, *vnto* Robert Burnet *the Maſter of the ſayd ſhip, and one of the conſorts of M.* Chidley *the 12 of February 1589.* *pag.840*

The teſtimoniall of the company of the Deſire, *a ſhip of M.* Candiſhes *fleet in his laſt voyage, touching the looſing of their generall, which appeareth to haue bene vtterly againſt their meanings.* *845*

The letters of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, ſent in the yere 1596, to the emperour of China, *by M.* Richard Allot *and M.* Thomas Bromefield, *merchants of* London, *who were embarked in the fleet, whereof M.* Beniamin Wood *was generall.* *pag.852*

Three ſeuerall teſtimonies concerning the mighty kingdome of Coray, *tributary to the king of* China, *and bordering vpon his Northeaſt frontiers: and alſo touching the warres of* Quabacondono *the monarch of* Iapan *againſt* China, *by the way of* Coray. *pag.854*

A briefe note concerning an extreame Northerly prouince of Iapan, *called* Zuegara, *ſituate 30 dayes iourney from* Miacó, *& alſo of a certeine nation of Tartars, called* Iezi, *inhabiting on the maine to the North of* China. *pag.861*

Aduertiſements touching the ſhips that goe from Siuil *to the* Indies *of* Spaine, *together with ſome ſea-orders of the* Contractation houſe *of* Siuil. *pag.862*

The order of the Carena *giuen to the ſhips that goe out of* Spaine *to the* Weſt Indies. *pag.864.*

The examination of the Maſters and Pilots which ſaile in the fleets of Spaine *to the* Weſt Indies, written in Spaniſh by *Pedro Dias* a Spaniſh Pilot. *pag.864, and 866*

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THE

THE THIRD AND LAST Volume of the principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh Nation made to the Northweſt, Weſt, and Southweſt parts of the World, with the Letters, Priuileges, Diſcourſes, Obſeruations, and other neceſſary things concerning the ſame.

The moſt ancient Diſcouery of the *VVeſt Indies* by *Madoc* the ſonne of *Owen Guyneth* Prince of *North-wales*, in the yeere 1170: taken out of the hiſtory of *Wales*, lately publiſhed by M. *Dauid Powel* Doctor of Diuinity.

After the death of Owen Guyneth, his ſonnes fell at debate who ſhould inherit after him: for the eldeſt ſonne borne in matrimony, Edward or Iorwerth Drwydion, was counted vnmeet to gouerne, becauſe of the maime vpon his face: and Howell that tooke vpon him all the rule was a baſe ſonne, begotten vpon an Iriſh woman. Therefore Dauid gathered all the power he could, and came againſt Howel, and fighting with him, ſlew him; and afterwards inioyed quietly the whole land of Northwales, vntill his brother Iorwerths ſonne came to age. *Madoc* another of *Owen Guyneth* his ſonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, & prepared certaine ſhips, with men and munition, and ſought aduentures by Seas, ſailing Weſt, and leauing the coaſt of *Ireland* ſo farre North, that he came vnto a land vnknowen, where he ſaw many ſtrange things.

Madoc the ſon of Owen Guyneth.

This land muſt needs be ſome part of that Countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themſelues to be the firſt finders ſince Hannos time. Whereupon it is manifeſt that that countrey was by Britaines diſcouered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

Humf. Lloyd.

Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people doe vſe in diſtance of place and length of time rather to augment then to diminiſh: but ſure it is there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleaſant and fruitfull countreys that he had ſeene without inhabitants, and vpon the contrary part, for what barren & wild ground his brethren and nephewes did murther one another, he prepared a number of ſhips, and got with him ſuch men and women as were deſirous to liue in quietneſſe: and taking leaue of his friends, tooke his iourney thitherward againe. Therefore it is to be ſuppoſed that he and his people inhabited part of thoſe countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the croſſe. Wherby it may be gathered that Chriſtians had bene there before the comming of the Spanyards. But becauſe this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land which they came vnto, & vſed the language they found there.

The ſecond voyage of Madoc the ſonne of Owen Guyneth.

Gomara. lib. 2. cap. 16.

This Madoc arriuing in that Weſterne countrey, vnto the which he came in the yere 1170, left moſt of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance & friends to inhabit that faire & large countrey, went thither againe with ten ſailes, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereunto he came was ſome part of the Weſt Indies.

M. Powels addition.

Gutyn Owen.

Carmina *Meredith* filij *Rheſi* mentionem facientia de *Madoco* filio *Oweni Gwynedd*, & de ſua nauigatione in terras incognitas. *Vixit hic* Meredith *circiter annum Domini* 1477.

Madoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,
Iawn genau, *Owyn Gwynedd*:
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Madoc I am the ſonne of Owen Gwynedd
With ſtature large, and comely grace adorned:
No lands at home nor ſtore of wealth me pleaſe,
My minde was whole to ſearch the Ocean ſeas.

Theſe verſes I receiued of my learned friend M. William Camden.

The offer of the diſcouery of the *VVeſt Indies* by *Chriſtopher Columbus* to king *Henry* the ſeuenth in the yeere 1488 the 13 of February: with the kings acceptation of the offer, & the cauſe whereupon hee was depriued of the ſame: recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the hiſtory of *Don Fernand Columbus* of the life and deeds of his father *Chriſtopher Columbus.*

Chriſtophoro Colon temendo, ſe parimente i Re di Caſtiglia non aſſentiſſero alla ſua impreſa, non gli biſognaſſe proporla di nuouo à qualche altro principe, & coſi in cio paſſaſſe lungo tempo; mandò in Inghilterra vn ſuo fratello, che haueua appreſſo di ſe, chiamato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual, quantunque non haueſſe lettere Latine, erà però huomo prattico, & giudicioſo nelle coſe del mare, & ſapea molto bene far carte da nauigare, & ſphere, & altri inſtrumenti di quella profeſſione, come dal ſuo fratello era inſtrutto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la ſua ſorte, che deſſe in man di corſali, i quali lo ſpogliarono inſieme con gli altri della ſua naue. Per la qual coſa, & per la ſua pouertà & infirmità, che in coſi diuerſe terre lo aſſalirono crudelmente; prolungo per gran tempo la ſua ambaſciata, fin che, aquiſtata vn poco di facultà con le carte, ch' ei fabricaua, cominciò a far pratiche co' il Re Enrico ſettimo, padre de Enrico ottauo, che al preſente regna: a cui appreſentò vn mappamondo, nel quale erano ſcritti queſti verſi, che fra le ſue ſcritture lo trouai, & da me ſaranno qui poſti piu toſto per l' antichità, che per la loro eleganza.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noſcere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius, atque
Iſidorus: non vna tamen ſententia cuique.
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper ſulcata carinis
Hiſpanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc eſt notiſſima multis.

Et piu di ſotto diceua.

Pro Authore ſiue Pictore.

Ianua cui patriæ eſt nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit iſtud,
Londonijs anno Domini 1480 atque inſuper anno
Octauo, decimáque die cùm tertia menſis
Februarij. Laudes Chriſto cantentur abundè.

Et, percioche auuertirà alcuno, che dice Columbus de Terra Rubra, dico, che medeſimamente Io viddi alcune ſottoſcrittioni dell' Ammiraglio, primo che acquiſtaſſe lo ſtato, ou' egli ſi ſotto ſcriueua, Columbus de Terra Rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d' Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappamondo veduto, & cio che l' Ammiraglio gli offeriua, con allegro volto accettò la ſua offerta, & mandolo a chiamare. Ma, percioche Dio l' haueua per Caſtiglia ſerbata, gia l' Ammiraglio in quel tempo era andato, & tornato con la vittoria della ſua impreſa, ſecondo che per ordine ſi raccontera. Laſciarò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negociato in Inghilterra, & tornarò all' Ammiraglio, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

CHriſtopher Columbus fearing leaſt if the king of Caſtile in like maner (as the king of Portugall had done) ſhould not condeſcend vnto his enterpriſe, he ſhould be inforced to offer the ſame againe to ſome other prince, & ſo much time ſhould be ſpent therein, ſent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whoſe name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neuertheleſſe was a man of experience and ſkilfull in Sea cauſes, and could very wel make ſea cards & globes, and other inſtruments belonging to that profeſſion, as he was inſtructed by his brother. Wherfore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which ſpoiled him with the reſt of them which were in the ſhip which he went in. Vpon which occaſion, and by reaſon of his pouerty and ſickneſſe which cruelly aſſaulted him in a countrey ſo farre diſtant from his friends, he deferred his ambaſſage for a long while, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten ſomewhat handſome about him with making of Sea cards. At length he began to deale with king Henry the ſeuenth the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this preſent: vnto whom he preſented a mappe of the world, wherein theſe verſes were written, which I found among his papers: and I will here ſet them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodneſſe.

The occaſion why the Weſt Indies were not diſcouered for England.

Thou which deſireſt eaſily the coaſts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the ſame to thee will ſhew:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Iſodore maintaine:
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.
Here alſo is ſet downe the late diſcouered burning Zone
By Portingals, vnto the world which whilom was vnknowen,
Whereof the knowledge now at length thorow all the world is blowen.

And a little vnder he added:

For the Authour or the Drawer.

He, whoſe deare natiue ſoile hight ſtately Genua,
Euen he whoſe name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra,
The yeere of Grace a thouſand and foure hundred and fourescore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of February more,
In London publiſhed this worke. To Chriſt all laud therefore.

And becauſe ſome peraduenture may obſerue that he calleth himſelfe Columbus de Terra Rubra, I ſay, that in like maner I haue ſeene ſome ſubſcriptions of my father Chriſtopher Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherein he ſigned his name thus, Columbus de Terra Rubra. But to returne to the king of England, I ſay, that after he had ſeene the map, and that which my father Chriſtopher Columbus offered vnto him, he accepted the offer with ioyfull countenance, and ſent to call him into England. But becauſe God had reſerued the ſayd offer for Caſtile, Columbus was gone in the meane ſpace, and alſo returned with the performance of his enterpriſe, as hereafter in order ſhall be rehearſed. Now will I leaue off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne vnto the Admirall, &c.

King Henry the ſeuenth his acceptation of Columbus offer.

Another teſtimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foreſayd hiſtory of *Ferdinando Columbus*, concerning the offer that *Bartholomew Columbus* made to king *Henry* the ſeuenth on the behalfe of his brother *Chriſtopher*.

TOrnato adunque l' Ammiraglio dallo ſcoprimento di Cuba & di Giamaica, trouò nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon ſuo fratello, quello, che era già andato a trattare accordo col Re d' Inghilterra ſopra lo ſcoprimento delle Indie, come di ſopra habiam detto. Queſto poi, ritornandoſene verſo Caſtiglia con capitoli conceduti, haueua inteſo a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia, l' Ammiraglio ſuo fratello hauer gia ſcoperte l' Indie: per che gli ſouenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento ſcudi. Et, Auenga che per cotal nuoua egli ſi foſſe molto affrettato, per arriuar l' Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dimeno giunſe a Siuiglia, egli era gia tornato alle Indie co' 17 nauigli. Perche, per eſſeguir quanto ei gli hauea laſciato, di ſubito al principio dell' anno del 1494 ſen' andò ai Re Catholici, menando ſeco Don Diego Colon, mio fratello, & me ancora, acciochè ſeruiſſimo di paggi al sereniſſimo principe Don Giouanni, il qual viua in gloria, ſi come hauea commandato la Catholica Reina donna Iſabella, che allhora era in Vagliadolid. Toſto adunque che noi giungemmo, i Re chiamarono Don Bartolomeo, & mandaronlo alla Spagnuola con tre naui, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

CHriſtopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the diſcouery of Cuba and Iamayca, found in Hiſpaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene ſent to intreat of an agreement with the king of England for the diſcouery of the Indies, as we haue ſayd before. This Bartholomew therefore returning vnto Caſtile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, vnderſtood at Paris by Charles the king of France, that the Admirall his brother had already performed that diſcouery: whereupon the French king gaue vnto the ſayd Bartholomew an hundred French crownes to beare his charges into Spaine. And albeit he made great haſte vpon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Siuil his brother was already returned to the Indies with ſeuenteene ſaile of ſhipps. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repaired to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me alſo, which were to be preferred as Pages to the moſt excellent Prince Don Iohn, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholike Queene Lady Iſabell, which was then in Validolid. Aſſoone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and ſent him to Hiſpaniola with three ſhips, &c.

THE ENGLISH VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, and Diſcoueries (intended for the finding of a Northweſt paſſage) to the North parts of America, to *Meta incognita*, and the backeſide of *Gronland*, as farre as 72 degrees and 12 minuts: performed firſt by *Sebaſtian Cabota*, and ſince by Sir *Martin Frobiſher*; and M. *Iohn Dauis*, with the Patents, Diſcourſes, and Aduertiſements thereto belonging.

The Letters patents of King *Henry* the ſeuenth granted vnto *Iohn Cabot* and his three ſonnes, *Lewis*, *Sebaſtian*, and *Sancius* for the diſcouerie of new and vnknowen lands.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus, ad quos præſentes literæ noſtræ peruenerint, ſalutem.

Notum ſit & manifeſtum, quòd dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus & concedimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, dilectis nobis Ioanni Caboto ciui Venetiarum, Lodouico, Sebaſtiano, & Sancio, filijs dicti Ioannis, & eorum ac cuiuſlibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, plenam ac liberam authoritatem, facultatem & poteſtatem nauigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, & ſinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, & ſeptentrionalis, ſub banneris, vexillis, & inſignijs noſtris, cum quinque nauibus ſiue nauigijs, cuiuſcúnque porturæ & qualitatis exiſtant, & cum tot & tantis nautis & hominibus, quot & quantos in dictis nauibus ſecum ducere voluerint, ſuis & eorum proprijs ſumptibus & expenſis, ad inueniendum, diſcooperiendum, & inueſtigandum quaſcunque inſulas, patrias, regiones ſiue prouincias gentilium & infidelium quorumcúnque, in quacunque parte mundi poſitas, quæ Chriſtianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerint incognitæ. Conceſſimus etiam eiſdem & eorum cuilibet, eorúmque & cuiuſlibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prædictas banneras noſtras & inſignia in quacunque villa, oppido, caſtro, inſula ſeu terra firma à ſe nouiter inuentis. Et quòd prænominatus Ioannes, & filij eiuſdem, ſeu hæredes & eorum deputati, quaſcunque huiuſmodi villas, caſtra, oppida, & inſulas à ſe inuentas, quæ ſubiugari, occupari, poſſideri poſſint, ſubiugare, occupare, poſſidere valeant tanquam vaſalli noſtri, & gubernatores, locatenentes, & deputati eorundem, dominium, titulum & iuriſdictionem earundem villarum, caſtrorum, oppidorum, inſularum, ac terræ firmæ ſic inuentorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, vt ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, & obuentionibus ex huiuſmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, præfatus Iohannes, & filij ac hæredes, & eorum deputati, teneantur & ſint obligati nobis pro omni viagio ſuo, toties quoties ad portum noſtrum Briſtolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur & ſint aſtricti) deductis omnibus ſumptibus & impenſis neceſſarijs per eoſdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri facti, ſiue in mercibus, ſiue in pecunijs perſoluere: Dantes nos & concedentes eiſdem ſuiſque hæredibus & deputatis, vt ab omni ſolutione cuſtumarum omnium & ſingulorum bonorum & mercium, quas ſecum reportarint ab illis locis ſic nouiter inuentis, liberi ſint & immunes. Et inſuper dedimus & conceſſimus eiſdem ac ſuis hæredibus & deputatis, quòd terræ omnes firmæ, inſulæ, villæ, oppida, caſtra, & loca quæcunque a ſe inuenta, quotquot ab eis inueniri contigerit, non poſſint ab alijs quibuſuis noſtris ſubditis frequentari ſeu viſitari, abſque licentia prædictorum Ioannis & eius filiorum, ſuorúmque deputatorum, ſub pœna amiſſionis tam nauium quàm bonorum omnium quorumcúnque ad ea loca ſic inuenta nauigare præſumentium. Volentes & ſtrictiſſimè mandantes omnibus & ſingulis noſtris ſubditis, tam in terra quàm in mari conſtitutis, vt præfato Ioanni, & eius filijs ac deputatis, bonam aſſiſtentiam faciant, & tam in armandis nauibus ſeu nauigijs, quàm in prouiſione commeatus & victualium pro ſua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum ſibi prouidendarum pro dicta nauigatione ſumenda, ſuos omnes fauores & auxilia impertiant. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſterium quinto die Martij anno regni noſtri vndecimo.

Ann. Dom. 1495.

The ſame in Engliſh.

HEnry by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

Be it knowen that we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents do giue and grant for vs and our heires, to our welbeloued Iohn Cabot citizen of Venice, to Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Santius, ſonnes of the ſayd Iohn, and to the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, full and free authority, leaue, and power to ſaile to all parts, countreys, and ſeas of the Eaſt, of the Weſt, and of the North, vnder our banners and enſignes, with fiue ſhips of what burthen or quantity ſoeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the ſayd ships, vpon their owne proper coſts and charges, to ſeeke out, diſcouer, and finde whatſoeuer iſles, countreys, regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatſoeuer they be, and in what part of the world ſoeuer they be, which before this time haue bene vnknowen to all Chriſtians: we haue granted to them, and alſo to euery of them, the heires of them, and euery of them, and their deputies, and haue giuen them licence to ſet vp our banners and enſignes in euery village, towne, caſtle, iſle, or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforeſayd Iohn and his ſonnes, or their heires and aſſignes may ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſſe all ſuch townes, cities, caſtles and iſles of them found, which they can ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſſe, as our vaſſals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iuriſdiction of the ſame villages, townes, caſtles, & firme land ſo found. Yet ſo that the aforeſayd Iohn, and his ſonnes and heires, and their deputies, be holden and bounden of all the fruits, profites, gaines, and commodities growing of ſuch nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they ſhall arriue at our port of Briſtoll (at the which port they ſhall be bound and holden onely to arriue) all maner of neceſſary coſts and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine ſo gotten. We giuing and granting vnto them and to their heires and deputies, that they ſhall be free from all paying of cuſtomes of all and ſingular ſuch merchandize as they ſhall bring with them from thoſe places ſo newly found. And moreouer, we haue giuen and granted to them, their heires and deputies, that all the firme lands, iſles, villages, townes, caſtles and places whatſoeuer they be that they ſhall chance to finde, may not of any other of our ſubiects be frequented or viſited without the licence of the foreſayd Iohn and his ſonnes, and their deputies, vnder paine of forfeiture aſwell of their ſhippes as of all and ſinguler goods of all them that ſhall preſume to ſaile to thoſe places ſo found. Willing, and moſt ſtraightly commanding all and ſinguler our ſubiects aſwell on land as on ſea, to giue good aſſiſtance to the aforeſayd Iohn and his ſonnes and deputies, and that as well in arming and furniſhing their ſhips or veſſels, as in prouiſion of food, and in buying of victuals for their money, and all other things by them to be prouided neceſſary for the ſayd nauigation, they do giue them all their helpe and fauour. In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed to be made theſe our Letters patents. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.

Briſtol [illegible] meete [illegible] for We[illegible] diſcouer[illegible]

Freedome [illegible] cuſtome.

Billa ſignata anno 13 Henrici ſeptimi.

REx tertio die Februarij, anno 13, licentiam dedit Ioanni Caboto, quod ipſe capere poſſit ſex naues Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, ſiue portibus regni Angliæ, ita quod ſint de portagio 200. doliorum, vel ſubtus, cum apparatu requiſito, & quod recipere poſſit in dictas naues omnes tales magiſtros, marinarios, & ſubditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

A record of the rolls touching the voyage of Iohn Cabot and Sebaſtian his ſonne.

The ſame in Engliſh.

THe king vpon the third day of February, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to Iohn Cabot to take ſixe Engliſh ſhips in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all neceſſary furniture, and to take alſo into the ſaid ſhips all ſuch maſters, mariners, and ſubiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the map of *Sebaſtian Cabot*, cut by *Clement Adams*, concerning his diſcouery of the *West Indies*, which is to be ſeene in her Maieſties priuie gallerie at *Weſtminſter*, and in many other ancient merchants houſes.

ANno Domini 1497 Ioannes Cabotus Venetus, & Sebaſtianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus priùs adire auſus fuit, die 24 Iunij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellauit Terram primùm viſam, credo quòd ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos iniecerat. Nam quę ex aduerſo ſita eſt inſula, eam appellauit inſulam Diui Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui eſt ſacer Diuo Ioanni Baptiſtæ: Huius incolæ pelles animalium, exuuiáſque ferarum pro indumentis habent, eaſque tanti faciunt, quanti nos veſtes precioſiſſimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu, ſagittis, haſtis, ſpiculis, clauis ligneis & fundis. Tellus ſterilis eſt, neque vllos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt vrſis albo colore, & ceruis inuſitatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta ſit: piſcibus abundat, ijſque ſane magnis, quales ſunt lupi marini, & quos ſalmones vulgus appellat; ſoleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, vt vlnæ menſuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna eſt copia eorum piſcium, quos vulgari ſermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea inſula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum ſimilitudinem mirum in modum exprimant, perdices autem & aquilæ ſunt nigri coloris.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the yere of our Lord 1497 Iohn Cabot a Venetian, and his ſonne Sebaſtian (with an Engliſh fleet ſet out from Briſtoll) diſcouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of Iune, about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima viſta, that is to ſay, Firſt ſeene, becauſe as I ſuppoſe it was that part whereof they had the firſt ſight from ſea. That Iſland which lieth out before the land, he called the Iſland of S. Iohn vpon this occaſion, as I thinke, becauſe it was diſcouered vpon the day of Iohn the Baptiſt. The inhabitants of this Iſland vſe to weare beaſts ſkinnes, and haue them in as great eſtimation as we haue our fineſt garments. In their warres they vſe bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, woodden clubs, and ſlings. The ſoile is barren in ſome places, & yeeldeth litle fruit, but it is full of white beares, and ſtagges farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plenty of fiſh, and thoſe very great, as ſeales, and thoſe which commonly we call ſalmons: there are ſoles alſo aboue a yard in length: but eſpecially there is great abundance of that kinde of fiſh which the Sauages call baccalaos. In the ſame Iſland alſo there breed hauks, but they are ſo blacke that they are very like to rauens, as alſo their partridges, and egles, which are in like ſort blacke.

A diſcourſe of *Sebaſtian Cabot* touching his diſcouery of part of the *West India* out of *England* in the time of king *Henry* the ſeuenth, vſed to *Galeacius Butrigarius* the Popes Legate in *Spaine*, and reported by the ſayd Legate in this ſort.

This diſcourſe is taken out of the ſecond volume of ỹ voyages of Baptiſta Ramuſius.

DOe you not vnderſtand ſayd he (ſpeaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to paſſe to India toward the Northweſt, as did of late a citizen of Venice, ſo valiant a man, and ſo well practiſed in all things pertaining to nauigations, and the ſcience of Coſmographie, that at this preſent he hath not his like in Spaine, inſomuch that for his vertues he is preferred aboue all other pilots that ſaile to the Weſt Indies, who may not paſſe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto mayor, that is, the grand Pilot. And when we ſayd that we knew him not, he proceeded, ſaying, that being certaine yeres in the city of Siuil, and deſirous to haue ſome knowledge of the nauigations of the Spanyards, it was tolde him that there was in the city a

Sebaſtian Cabota Pilot mayor of Spaine.

valiant man, a Venetian borne named Sebaſtian Cabot, who had the charge of thoſe things, being an expert man in that ſcience, and one that coulde make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, and that by this report, ſeeking his acquaintance, hee found him a very gentle perſon, who intertained him friendly, and ſhewed him many things, and among other a large Mappe of the world, with certaine particuler Nauigations, as well of the Portugals, as of the Spaniards, and that he ſpake further vnto him to this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres ſince to dwell in England, to follow the trade of marchandiſes, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuertheleſſe ſome knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Chriſtopher Colonus Genueſe had diſcouered the coaſts of India, whereof was great talke in all the Court of king Henry the 7. who then raigned, inſomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more diuine then humane, to ſaile by the Weſt into the Eaſt where ſpices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increaſed in my heart a great flame of deſire to attempt ſome notable thing. And vnderſtanding by reaſon of the Sphere, that if I ſhould ſaile by way of the Northweſt, I ſhould by a ſhorter tract come into India, I thereupon cauſed the King to be aduertiſed of my deuiſe, who immediatly commanded two Caruels to bee furniſhed with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was as farre as I remember in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to ſaile toward the Northweſt, not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, & from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great diſpleaſure. Neuertheleſſe, ſayling along by the coaſt to ſee if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande ſtill continent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And ſeeing that there the coaſt turned toward the Eaſt, deſpairing to finde the paſſage, I turned backe againe, and ſailed downe by the coaſt of that land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to finde the ſaide paſſage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is nowe called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reaſon whereof there was no more conſideration had to this voyage.

Whereupon I went into Spaine to the Catholique king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertiſed what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furniſhed certaine ſhips, wherewith they cauſed me to ſaile to diſcouer the coaſtes of Braſile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this preſent Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of ſiluer, into the which I ſailed and followed it into the firme land, more then ſixe ſcore leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running dayly to our ſhips. Into this Riuer runne ſo many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible.

The ſecond voyage of Cabot to the land of Braſil, and Rio de plata.

After this I made many other voyages, which I nowe pretermit, and waxing olde, I giue my ſelfe to reſt from ſuch trauels, becauſe there are nowe many yong and luſtie Pilots and Mariners of good experience, by whoſe forwardneſſe I doe reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and reſt with the charge of this office, as you ſee.

The office of Pilote maior.

The foreſaide *Baptiſta Ramuſius* in his preface to the thirde volume of the Nauigations, writeth thus of *Sebaſtian Cabot.*

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Vararzana, Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iaques Cartier a Briton, who ſailed vnto the land ſituate in 50. degrees of Latitude to the North, which is called New France, which landes hitherto are not throughly knowen, whether they doe ioyne with the firme land of Florida and Noua Hiſpania, or whether they bee ſeparated and deuided all by the Sea as Ilands: and whether that by that way one may goe by Sea vnto the countrey of Cathaia. As many yeeres paſt it was written vnto mee by Sebaſtian Cabota our Countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Coſmographie, who ſailed along and beyond this lande of New France, at the charges of King Henry the ſeuenth king of England: and he aduertiſed mee, that hauing ſailed a long time Weſt and by North, beyond thoſe Ilands vnto the Latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of Iune finding ſtill the open Sea without any maner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue paſſed on ſtill the way to Cathaia, which is in the Eaſt, and would haue done it, if the mutinie

The great probabilitie of this Northweſt paſſage.

tinie of the ſhipmaſter and Mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it ſeemeth that God doeth yet ſtill reſerue this great enterpriſe for ſome great prince to diſcouer this voyage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the moſt eaſie and ſhorteſt of all other wayes hitherto found out. And ſurely this enterpriſe would be the moſt glorious, and of moſt importance of all other that can be imagined to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all theſe great troubles and warres which dayly are vſed in Europe among the miſerable Chriſtian people.

Another teſtimonie of the voyage of *Sebaſtian Cabot* to the Weſt and Northweſt, taken out of the ſixt Chapter of the third Decade of *Peter Martyr* of *Angleria*.

Scrutatus eſt oras glaciales Sebaſtianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, ſed à parentibus in Britanniam inſulam tendentibus (vti moris eſt Venetorum, qui commercij cauſa terrarum omnium ſunt hoſpites) tranſportatus penè infans. Duo is ſibi nauigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipſa inſtruxit, & primò tendens cùm hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Iulio menſe vaſtas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes, & lucem ferè perpetuam, tellure tamen libera, gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, vti ait, vela vertere & occidentem ſequi: tetendítque tantum ad meridiem littore ſeſe incuruante, vt Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus ęquarit: ad occidentémque profectus tantum eſt vt Cubam Inſulam à læua, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrens, quæ Baccalaos appellauit, eoſdem ſe reperiſſe aquarum, ſed lenes delapſus ad Occidentem ait, quos Caſtellani, meridionales ſuas regiones adnauigantes, inueniunt. Ergò non modò veriſimilius, ſed neceſſario concludendum eſt, vaſtos inter vtrámque ignotam hactenus tellurem iacere hiatus, qui viam præbeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulſu cœlorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terrę globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomi, abſorberíque vt nonnulli ſenſerunt, quod influxu, & refluxu forſan aſſentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipſe terras illas appellauit, eò quod in earũ pelago tantam reperierit magnorum quorundam piſcium, tynnos æmulantium, ſic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, vt etiam illi interdum nauigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines pellibus tantum coopertos reperiebat, rationis haudquaquam expertes. Vrſorum ineſſe regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui & ipſi piſcibus veſcantur. Inter denſa namque piſcium illorum agmina ſeſe immergunt vrſi, & ſingulos ſinguli complexos, vnguibúſque inter ſquammas immiſſis in terram raptant, & comedunt. Propterea minimè noxios hominibus viſos eſſe ait. Orichalcum in pleríſque locis ſe vidiſſe apud incolas prædicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cabotum ipſum, & contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à Rege noſtro Catholico, poſt Henrici Maioris Britanniæ Regis mortem, concurialis noſter eſt, expectátque indies, vt nauigia ſibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturæ latens iam tandem detegatur.

The ſame in Engliſh.

These North Seas haue bene ſearched by one Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents caried with them into England, hauing occaſion to reſort thither for trade of marchandiſe, as is the maner of the Venetians to leaue no part of the world vnſearched to obtaine riches. Hee therefore furniſhed two ſhips in England at his owne charges, and firſt with 300 men directed his courſe ſo farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of July he found monſtrous heapes of ice ſwimming on the ſea, and in maner continuall day light, yet ſaw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus ſeeing ſuch heapes of yce before him, hee was enforced to turne his ſailes and follow the Weſt, ſo coaſting ſtill by the ſhore, that he was thereby brought ſo farre into the South, by reaſon of the land bending ſo much Southwards, that it was there almoſt equall in latitude, with the ſea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the Northpole eleuate in maner in the ſame degree. He ſailed likewiſe in this tract ſo farre towards the Weſt, that hee had the Iſland of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the ſame degree of longitude. As hee traueiled by the coaſtes of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he ſaith that hee found the like courſe of the waters toward the Weſt, but the ſame to runne more ſoftly and gently then the ſwift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southward. Wherfore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought

A current toward the Weſt.

alſo of neceſſitie to be conſtrued that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknowen, there ſhould be certaine great open places whereby the waters ſhould thus continually paſſe from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt: which waters I ſuppoſe to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the vnceſſant mouing and impulſion of the heauens, and not to bee ſwallowed vp and caſt vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as ſome haue imagined, becauſe they ſee the ſeas by increaſe and decreaſe to ebbe and flowe. Sebaſtian Cabot himſelfe named thoſe lands Baccalaos, becauſe that in the Seas thereabout hee found ſo great multitudes of certaine bigge fiſhes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos) that they ſometime ſtayed his ſhippes. He found alſo the people of thoſe regions couered with beaſtes ſkinnes, yet not without the vſe of reaſon. He alſo ſaith there is great plentie of Beares in thoſe regions which vſe to eate fiſh: for plunging themſelues into yͤ water, where they perceiue a multitude of theſe fiſhes to lie, they faſten their clawes in their ſcales, and ſo draw them to land and eate them, ſo (as he ſaith) the Beares being thus ſatiſfied with fiſh, are not noiſome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of theſe Regions he ſaw great plentie of Copper among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vſe familiarly, and delight to haue him ſometimes keepe mee company in mine owne houſe. For being called out of England by the commandement of the Catholique King of Caſtile, after the death of King Henry the ſeuenth of that name King of England, he was made one of our councill and Aſſiſtants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ſhips dayly to be furniſhed for him to diſcouer this hid ſecret of Nature.

The people of Iſland ſay the Sea and yce ſetteth alſo Weſt. Ionas Arngrimus.

Copper found in many places by Cabote.

The teſtimonie of *Francis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard*, in the fourth Chapter of the ſecond Booke of his generall hiſtory of the Weſt *Indies* concerning the firſt diſcouerie of a great part of the Weſt *Indies*, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by *Sebaſtian Cabota* out of *England*.

HE which brought moſt certaine newes of the countrey & people of Baccalaos, ſaith Gomara, was Sebaſtian Cabote a Venetian, which rigged vp two ſhips at the coſt of K. Henry the 7. of England, hauing great deſire to traffique for the ſpices as the Portingals did. He caried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Iſland from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill he found himſelfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of Iuly it was ſo cold, and the ice ſo great, that hee durſt not paſſe any further: that the dayes were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that ſhort night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabot feeling the cold, turned towards the Weſt, refreſhing himſelfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he ſailed along the coaſt vnto 38. degrees, and from thence he ſhaped his courſe to returne into England.

A note of *Sebaſtian Cabots* firſt diſcouerie of part of the *Indies* taken out of the latter part of *Robert Fabians* Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the cuſtodie of *M. Iohn Stow* a diligent preſeruer of Antiquities.

IN the 13. yeere of K. Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himſelfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Ilands of the ſame, as by a Sea card and other demonſtrations reaſonable he ſhewed) the king cauſed to man and victuall a ſhip at Briſtow, to ſearch for an Iſland, which he ſaid hee knew well was rich, and repleniſhed with great commodities: Which ſhippe thus manned and victualled at the kings coſt, diuers Marchants of London ventured in her ſmall ſtocks, being in her as chiefe patron the ſaid Venetian. And in the company of the ſaid ſhip, ſailed alſo out of Briſtow three or foure ſmall ſhips fraught with ſleight and groſſe marchandizes, as courſe cloth, caps, laces, points & other trifles. And ſo departed from Briſtow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Cabots voyage from Briſtol wherein he diſcouered Newfoundland, & the Northerne parts of that land, and from thence as farre almoſt as Florida.

Of three Sauages which *Cabot* brought home and preſented vnto the King in the foureteenth yere of his raigne, mentioned by the foreſaid *Robert Fabian*.

THis yeere alſo were brought vnto the king three men taken in the Newfound Iſland that before I ſpake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: Theſe were clothed in beaſts ſkins, & did eate raw fleſh, and ſpake ſuch ſpeach that no man could vnderſtand them, and in their demeanour like to bruite beaſtes, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I ſaw two apparelled after the maner of Engliſhmen in Weſtminſter pallace, which that time I could not diſcerne from Engliſhmen, til I was learned what they were, but as for ſpeach, I heard none of them vtter one word.

A briefe extract concerning the diſcouerie of *Newfound-land*, taken out of the booke of *M. Robert Thorne*, to doctor *Leigh*, &c.

I Reaſon, that as ſome ſickeneſſes are hereditarie, ſo this inclination or deſire of this diſcouery I inherited from my father, which with another marchant of Briſtol named Hugh Eliot, were the diſcouerers of the Newfound-lands; of the which there is no doubt (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the Mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Pilots minde, but the lands of the Weſt Indies, from whence all the golde commeth, had bene ours; for all is one coaſt as by the Card appeareth, and is aforeſaid.

The large penſion granted by K. Edward the 6. to *Sebaſtian Cabota*, conſtituting him *grand Pilot* of *England*.

EDwardus ſextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ rex, omnibus Chriſti fidelibus, ad quos præſentes hæ literæ noſtræ peruenerint, ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos in conſideratione boni & acceptabilis ſeruitij, nobis per dilectum ſeruientem noſtrum Sebaſtianum Cabotam impenſi atque impendendi, de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia, & mero motu noſtro, nec non de aduiſamento, & conſenſu pręclariſſimi auunculi noſtri Edwardi Ducis Somerſeti perſonæ noſtrę Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, ſubditorúmque noſtrorum protectoris, & cæterorum conſiliariorū noſtrorum, dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus, & concedimus eidem Sebaſtiano Cabotæ, quandam annuitatem ſiue annualem reditum, centum ſexaginta & ſex librarum, treſdecim ſolidorum, & quatuor denariorum ſterlingorum, habendam, gaudendam, & annuatìm percipiendam prædictam annuitatem, ſiue annalem reditum eidem Sebaſtiano Cabotę, durante vita ſua naturali, de theſauro noſtro ad receptum ſcacarij noſtri Weſtmonaſterij per manus theſaurariorum, & Camerariorum noſtrorum, ibidem pro tempore exiſtentium, ad feſta annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, natiuitatis ſancti Ioannis Baptiſtæ, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Natalis Domini per æquales portiones ſoluendam. Et vlteriùs de vberiori gratia noſtra, ac de aduiſamento, & conſenſu prædictis damus, & per pręſentes concedimus pręfato Sebaſtiano Cabotæ, tot & tantas Denariorum ſummas, ad quot & quantas dicta annuitas ſiue annalis reditus centum ſexaginta ſex librarū, treſdecim ſolidorum, & quatuor denariorū, à feſto ſancti Michaelis Archangeli vltimò præterito huc vſq; ſe extendit, & attingit, habendas & recipiendas pręfato Sebaſtiano Cabotæ & aſſignatis ſuis de theſauro noſtro prædicto per manus prędictorum Theſaurariorum, & Camerariorum noſtrorum de dono noſtro abſque computo, ſeu aliquo alio nobis, hæredibus, vel ſucceſſoribus noſtris proinde reddendo, ſoluendo, vel faciendo: eo quòd expreſſa mentio, &c. In cuius rei teſtimonium, &c. Teſte Rege, apud Weſtmonaſterium 6. die Ianuarij, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi ſexti.

Anno D. 1549.

The ſame in Engliſh.

EDward the ſixt by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Chriſtian people to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, ſendeth greeting. Know yee that we, in conſideracion of the good and acceptable ſeruice done, and to be done, vnto vs by our beloued ſeruant Sebaſtian Cabota, of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and by the aduiſe and counſel of our moſt honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerſet gouernour of our perſon, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and ſubiects, and of the reſt of our Counſaile, haue giuen & granted, and by theſe preſents do giue and graunt to the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yerely reuenue of one hundreth, threeſcore & ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings foure pence ſterling, to haue, enioy, and yerely receiue the foreſaid annuitie, or yerely reuenue, to the foreſaid Sebaſtian Cabota during his natural life, out of our Treaſurie at the receit of our Exchequer at Weſtminſter, at the hands of our Treaſurers & paymaſters, there remayning for the time being, at the feaſts of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, S. Michael ẏ Archangel, & the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paid by equal portions.

And further, of our more ſpeciall grace, and by the aduiſe and conſent aforeſaide wee doe giue, and by theſe preſents doe graunt vnto the aforeſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, ſo many, and ſo great ſummes of money as the ſaide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundreth, threeſcore and ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings 4. pence, doeth amount and riſe vnto from the feaſt of S. Michael the Archangel laſt paſt vnto this preſent time, to be had and receiued by the aforeſaid Sebaſtian Cabota, and his aſſignes out of our aforeſaid Treaſurie, at the handes of our aforeſaide Treaſurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing elſe therefore to be yeelded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, foraſmuch as herein expreſſe mention is made to the contrary.

In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made patents: Witneſſe the King at Weſtminſter the ſixt day of Ianuarie, in the ſecond yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lord 1548.

A diſcourſe written by *Sir Humfrey Gilbert* Knight, to proue a paſſage by the Northweſt to *Cathaia*, and the Eaſt *Indies*.

¶ The Table of the matters in euery Chapter of this diſcourſe.

Capitulo 1.

To proue by authoritie a paſſage to be on the North ſide of America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the Eaſt India.

Capitulo 2.

To proue by reaſon a paſſage to be on the North ſide of America, to go to Cataia, Moluccæ, &c.

Capitulo 3.

To proue by experience of ſundry mens trauailes the opening of this Northweſt paſſage, whereby good hope remaineth of the reſt.

Capitulo 4.

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Capitulo 5.

To prooue that ſuch Indians as haue bene driuen vpon the coaſtes of Germanie came not thither by the Southeaſt, and Southweſt, nor from any part of Afrike or America.

Capitulo 6.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed came not by the Northeaſt, and that there is no thorow paſſage nauigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

To proue that theſe Indians came by the Northweſt, which induceth a certaintie of this paſſage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What ſeueral reaſons were alleaged before the Queenes Maieſtie, and certaine Lords of her Highneſſe priuie Council, by M. Anth. Ienkinſon a Gentleman of great trauaile and experience, to proue this paſſage by the Northeaſt, with my ſeuerall anſweres then alleaged to the ſame.

Capitulo 9.

How that this paſſage by the Northweſt is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeaſt, if there were any ſuch.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would enſue, this paſſage being once diſcouered.

To proue by authoritie a paſſage to be on the Northſide of *America*, to goe to *Cathaia*, and the Eaſt *India*.

Chapter 1.

When I gaue my ſelfe to the ſtudie of Geographie, after I had peruſed and diligently ſcanned the deſcriptions of Europe, Aſia & Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all deſcriptions I found to bee an Iland enuironed round about with Sea, hauing on the Southſide of it the frete or ſtraight of Magellan, on the Weſt ſide Mar del Sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, ſeparating it from the Eaſt parts of Aſia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the Eaſt part our Weſt Ocean, and on the

North ſide the ſea that ſeuereth it from Groneland, thorow which Northren Seas the Paſſage lyeth, which I take now in hand to diſcouer.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, diſcourſeth of an incomparable great Iland then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike and Aſia, which lay Weſtward from the Straights of Gibraltar, nauigable round about: affirming alſo that the Princes of Atlantis did aſwell enioy the gouernance of all Affrike, and the moſt part of Europe, as of Atlantis it ſelfe.

Alſo to proue Platos opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinæus Siculus in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there haue bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money ingraued with the Image of Auguſtus Cæſar: which pieces were ſent to the Pope for a teſtimonie of the matter, by Iohn Rufus Archbiſhop of Conſentinum.

Proclus pag. 24.

Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marſilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philoſopher, Crantor the Græcian, and Proclus, and Philo the famous Iew (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato) to be ouerflowen and ſwallowed vp with water, by reaſon of a mightie earthquake, and ſtreaming downe of the heauenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened vnto ſome part of Italy, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut off Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iuſtine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Alſo there chanced the like in Zeland a part of Flanders.

Iuſtine Lib. 4.

Plinie.

And alſo the Cities of Pyrrha and Antiſſa, about Meotis palus: and alſo the Citie Burys, in the Corynthian boſome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene ſwallowed vp with the Sea, and are not at this day to be diſcerned: By which accident America grew to be vnknowen of long time, vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately diſcouered againe, by Americus Veſpucius, in the yeere of our Lord 1497. which ſome ſay to haue bene firſt diſcouered by Chriſtophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno 1492.

The ſame calamitie happened vnto this Iſle of Atlantis 600. and odde yeres before Plato his time, which ſome of the people of the Southeaſt parts of the world accompted as 9000. yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is our vſuall moneth, depending à Luminari minori.

So that in theſe our dayes there can no other mayne or Iſlande be found or iudged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then thoſe Weſterne Iſlands, which beare now the name of America: counteruailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age.

A minore ad maius.

Then, if when no part of the ſayd Atlantis was oppreſſed by water, and earthquake, the coaſts round about the ſame were nauigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the ſame by the Northweſt, ſeeing the moſt part of it was (ſince that time) ſwallowed vp with water, which could not vtterly take away the olde deeps and chanels, but rather, be an occaſion of the inlarging of the olde, and alſo an inforcing of a great many new: why then ſhould we now doubt of our Northweſt paſſage and nauigation from England to India? &c. ſeeing that Atlantis now called America, was euer knowen to be an Iland, and in thoſe dayes nauigable round about, which by acceſſe of more water could not be diminiſhed.

Alſo Ariſtotle in his booke De mundo, and the learned Germaine Simon Gryneus in his annotations vpon the ſame, ſaith that the whole earth (meaning thereby, as manifeſtly doth appeare, Aſia, Africk, and Europe, being all the countreys then knowen) is but one Iland, compaſſed about with the reach of the ſea Atlantine: which likewiſe prooueth America to be an Iland, and in no part adioyning to Aſia, or the reſt.

Strabo lib. 15.

Alſo many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean ſea (which lieth Eaſt of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that ſea alſo on the Weſt coaſts of Spaine and Africk, Mare Atlanticum: the diſtance betweene the two coaſts is almoſt halfe the compaſſe of the earth.

Valerius Anſelmus in Catalogo annorum & principum, fol. 6.
Gen. 9. 10.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifeſtly, that the Eaſt Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the ſea adioyning to Africk, had the name Oceanus Atlanticus of the ſame mountaine: but that thoſe ſeas and the mountaine Atlas were ſo called of this great Iland Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memorial of the mighty prince Atlas, ſometime king thereof, who was Iaphet yongeſt ſonne to Noah, in whoſe time the whole earth was diuided betweene the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northweſt will be found fauourable to this our enterpriſe, and am the rather imboldened to beleeue the ſame, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Ariſtotle, and other ancient Phyloſophers: but alſo by all the beſt moderne

Geographers, as Gemma Friſius, Munſterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gaſtaldus, Guyccardinus, Michael Tramaſinus, Franciſcus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauaſor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and alſo Ortelius, who doth coaſt out in his generall Mappe ſet out Anno 1569, all the countreys and Capes, on the Northweſt ſide of America, from Hochelaga to Cape de Paramantia: deſcribing likewiſe the ſea coaſtes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Iſlands diſioyned by a great ſea, from any part of Aſia.

All which learned men and painefull trauellers haue affirmed with one conſent and voice, that America was an Iſland: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with ſmall danger paſſe to Cataia, the Moluccæ, India, and all other places in the Eaſt, in much ſhorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portugal doeth, or may doe, from the neereſt parte of any of their countreys within Europe.

What moued theſe learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende ſo many and ſundry trauellers of both ages haue allowed the ſame: But I coniecture that they would neuer haue ſo conſtantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cauſe, and many probable reaſons, to haue lead them thereunto.

We ought by reaſons right to haue a reuerent opinion of worthy men.

Now leaſt you ſhould make ſmall accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongſt fables of no importance: I haue for the better aſſurance of thoſe proofes, ſet downe ſome part of a diſcourſe, written in the Saxon tongue, and tranſlated into Engliſh by M. Nowel ſeruant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treaſurer of England, wherein there is deſcribed a Nauigation, which one Ochther made, in the time of king Alfred, King of Weſtſaxe Anno 871. the words of which diſcourſe were theſe: Hee ſailed right North, hauing alwaies the deſert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine ſea, continuing his courſe, vntill hee perceiued that the coaſt bowed directly towards the Eaſt, or elſe the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to ſtay vntil he had a weſterne winde, or ſomewhat vpon the North, and ſayled thence directly Eaſt alongſt the coaſt, ſo farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill hee had a North winde, becauſe the coaſt there bowed directly towards the South; or at leaſt opened he knew not howe farre into the land, ſo that he ſayled thence along the coaſt continually full South, ſo farre as he could trauell in the ſpace of fiue dayes, where hee diſcouered a mighty riuer, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.

A Nauigation of one Ochther made in king Alfreds time.

A perfect deſcription of our Moſcouia voyage.

Whereby it appeareth that he went the very ſame way, that we now doe yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Moſcouia, which way no man in our age knew for certaintie to be by ſea, vntil it was ſince diſcouered by our Engliſh men, in the time of King Edward the ſixt: but thought before that time that Groneland had ioyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accompted a new diſcouery, being nothing ſo indeede, as by this diſcourſe of Ochther it appeareth.

By Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, Chancellor and Borough.

Neuertheleſſe if any man ſhould haue taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely author, he ſhould haue bene thought but ſimple: conſidering that this Nauigation was written ſo many yeres paſt, in ſo barbarous a tongue by one onely obſcure author, and yet we in theſe our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleeue this paſſage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the beſt, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainely ſet out in the beſt and moſt allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Coſmographical tables & diſcourſes of this our age, and by the reſt not denied, but left as a matter doubtfull.

To prooue by reaſon, a paſſage to be on the Northſide of *America*, to goe to *Cataia*, &c.

Chap. 3.

Firſt, all ſeas are maintained by the abundance of water, ſo that the neerer the end any Riuer, Bay or Hauen is, the ſhallower it wareth, (although by ſome accidentall barre, it is ſometime found otherwiſe) But the farther you ſayle Weſt from Iſland towards the place, where this fret is thought to be, the more deepe are the ſeas: which giueth vs good hope of continuance of the ſame Sea with Mar del Sur, by ſome fret that lyeth betweene America, Groneland and Cataia.

Experimented by our Engliſh fiſhers.

2 Alſo if that America were not an Iſland, but a part of ẏ continent adioyning to Aſia, either

the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, or Quinzay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would before this time haue made ſome road into it, hoping to haue found ſome like cõmodities to their owne.

Neede makes the old wife to trotte.

3 Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which often times heretofore haue ſought farre and neere for new ſeats, driuen thereunto through the neceſſitie of their cold and miſerable countreys) would in all this time haue found the way to America, and entred the ſame, had the paſſages bene neuer ſo ſtraite or difficult; the countrey being ſo temperate, pleaſant and fruitfull, in compariſon of their owne. But there was neuer any ſuch people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who firſt diſcouered the Inland of that countrey: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen muſt then of neceſſitie haue ſeene ſome one ciuil man in America, conſidering how full of ciuill people Aſia is: But they neuer ſaw ſo much as one token or ſigne, that euer any man of the knowen part of the world had bene there.

4 Furthermore it is to be thought, that if by reaſon of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America haue entred Aſia if it were ſo ioyned: yet ſome one ſauage or wandring beaſt would in ſo many yeres haue paſſed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beaſts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of thoſe proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Aſia. Which thing proueth America, not onely to be one Iſland, and in no part adioyning to Aſia: But alſo that the people of thoſe Countreys, haue not had any traffique with each other.

5 Moreouer at the leaſt ſome one of thoſe painefull trauellers, which of purpoſe haue paſſed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to diſcouer, would as it is moſt likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Iſthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or els haue declared ſome cauſe to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus Venetus, who liued and dwelt a long time in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the ſea coaſtes of Mangia, ouer againſt it where he was embarked, and perfourmed a great Nauigation along thoſe ſeas. Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciſcus Vaſques de Coronado, who trauelled the North part of America by land, euer found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Aſia.

The Sea hath three motions.
1 Motum ab oriente in occidentem.
2 Motum fluxus & refluxus.
3 Motum circularem.
Ad cœli motum elementa omnia (excepta terra) mouentur.

7 Alſo it appeareth to be an Iſland, inſomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly from the Eaſt to the Weſt, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carieth with it all inferiour bodies moueable, aſwel celeſtiall as elemental: which motion of the waters is moſt euidently ſeene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southſide of Afrike, where the current that runneth from the Eaſt to the Weſt is ſo ſtrong (by reaſon of ſuch motiõ) that the Portugals in their voyages Eaſtward to Calicut, in paſſing by Cap. de buona Sperança are inforced to make diuers courſes, the current there being ſo ſwift as it ſtriketh from thence all along Weſtward vpon the fret of Magellan, being diſtant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth: and not hauing free paſſage and entrance thorow the fret towards the Weſt, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the ſayd Straite of Magellan, it runneth to ſalue this wrong (Nature not yeelding to accidentall reſtraints) all along the Eaſterne coaſtes of America, Northwards ſo far as Cape Fredo, being the fartheſt knowne place of the ſame continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithal the trending of the land.

8 So that this current being continually maintained with ſuch force, as Iaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who met with the ſame being at Baccalaos, as he ſayled along the coaſtes of America, then either it muſt of neceſſitie haue way to paſſe from Cape Fredo, thorow this fret, Weſtward towards Cataia, being knowen to come ſo farre, onely to ſalue his former wrongs, by the authority before named: or els it muſt needes ſtrike ouer, vpon the coaſt of Iſland, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, (which are Eaſt from the ſayd place about 360 leagues) with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Sperança, vpon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, vpon which coaſtes Iaques Cartier met with the ſame, conſidering the ſhortneſſe of the Cut from the ſayd Cape Fredo, to Iſland, Lappia, &c. And ſo the cauſe Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coaſts, through the narrow ſeas, which it doth not, but is diſgeſted about the North of Labrador, by ſome through paſſage there thorow this fret.

Poſita cauſa, ponitur effectus.

Contereus.

The like courſe of the water in ſome reſpect happeneth in the Mediterrane ſea (as affirmeth Contereus) wheras the current which commeth from Tanais, & Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coaſts of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding ſufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the ſtraitneſſe of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coaſtes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

It may (peraduenture) bee thought that this courſe of the ſea doth ſometime ſurceaſe, and thereby impugne this principle, becauſe it is not diſcerned all along the coaſt of America, in ſuch ſort as Iaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I anſwere this: that albeit, in euery part of the Coaſt of America, or elſwhere this current is not ſenſibly perceiued, yet it hath euermore ſuch like motion, either in the vppermoſt or nethermoſt part of the ſea: as it may be proued true, if ye ſinke a ſayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, faſtening to the nethermoſt corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driuing whereof you ſhall plainely perceiue, the courſe of the water, and current, running with ſuch courſe in the bottome.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the ſea, in the Ocean: howe farre ſoeuer you be off the land.

An obiection anſwered.

The ſea doth euermore performe this circular motion, either in Suprema, or concaua ſuperficie aquæ.

9 Alſo there commeth another current from out the Northeaſt from the Scythian Sea (as M. Ienkinſon a man of rare vertue, great trauaile and experience, told me) which runneth Weſtward towardes Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: ſo that both theſe currents, muſt haue way thorow this our fret, or elſe encounter together and runne contrarie courſes, in one line, but no ſuch conflicts of ſtreames, or contrary courſes are found about any part of Labrodor, or Terra noua, as witneſſe our yeerely fiſhers, and other ſaylers that way, but is there diſgeſted, as aforeſayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

The yce ſet weſtward euery yeere from Iſland. Auth. Iona Angrimus.

10 Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not haue beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world vnto this day, had there not beene ſome thorow paſſage by the fret aforeſayd, and ſo by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it ſelfe: For the Tides and courſes of the ſea are maintayned by their interchangeable motions: as freſh riuers are by ſprings, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condenſation.

So that it reſteth not poſſible (ſo farre as my ſimple reaſon can comprehend) that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reacceſſe of the ſame water, which paſſeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by ſuch circular motion as aforeſayd. And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur is prooued by the teſtimonie and experience, of Bernard de la Torre, who was ſent from P. de la Natiuidad to the Moluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hiſpania, which Bernard ſayled 750. Leagues, on the Northſide of the Aequator, and there met with a current, which came from the Northeaſt the which droue him backe againe to Tidore.

The flowing is occaſioned by reaſon that the heate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction.

An experience to prooue the falling of this current into Mar del Sur.

Wherfore, this current being proued to come from C. de buona Sperança to the fret of Magellan, and wanting ſufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the ſtraite, is by the neceſſitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iaques Cartier met the ſame, and thence certainly knowen, not to ſtrike ouer vpon Iſland, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backeſide of America: therefore this current (hauing none other paſſage) muſt of neceſſity, fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and ſo trending by the Moluccæ, China, and C. de buona Sperança, maintaineth it ſelfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it ſeemeth, we haue now more occaſion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a paſſage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter ſhall be ſufficiently remooued. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reaſon it ſelf, grounded vpon experience, aſſureth vs of this paſſage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But leaſt theſe might not ſuffice, I haue added in this chapter following, ſome further proofe hereof, by the experience of ſuch as haue paſſed ſome part of this diſcouerie: and in the next adioining to that the authority of thoſe, which haue ſailed wholy, thorow euery part thereof.

To proue by experience of ſundry mens trauels, the opening of ſome part of this Northweſt paſſage: wherby good hope remaineth of the reſt.

Chap. 3.

PAulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that hee ſayled 1500 miles vpon the coaſtes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeaſt: alw[illegible]nding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but alſo as farre as he could diſcerne.

2 Alſo Franciſcus Vaſques de Coronado paſſing from Mexico by Cenola, through the countrey of Quiuira, to Siera Neuada, found there a great ſea, where were certaine ſhips laden

Alcatrarzi be Pellicanes.

with Merchandiſe, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrarzi, part whereof were made of golde, and part of ſiluer, who ſignified by ſignes, that they were thirty dayes comming thither: which likewiſe proueth America by experience to be diſioyned from Cataia, on that part by a great Sea, becauſe they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues thereof: for that, ſo farre as is diſcouered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

Baros lib. 9. of his firſt Decas cap. 1.

3 In like maner, Iohn Baros teſtifieth that the Coſmographers of China (where he himſelfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coaſt trendeth from thence Northeaſt, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furtheſt part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the ſaid Coſmographers knew no cauſe to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

By whoſe experiences America is prooued to be ſeparate from thoſe parts of Aſia, directly againſt the ſame. And not contented with the iudgements of theſe learned men only, I haue ſearched what might be further ſayd for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciſcus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an Iland, and likewiſe Gronland: and that Gronland is diſtant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreouer, Aluarus Nunnius a Spaniard, and learned Coſmographer, and Iacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into thoſe parts, and ſayled 900 miles vpon the Northeaſt coaſtes of America doe in part confirme the ſame.

6 Likewiſe Hieronymus Fracaſtorius, a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North parts of the ſame land.

7 Alſo Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard ſay at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they preſuppoſed to be the paſſage to Cataia,

Written in the diſcourſes of Nauigation.

Furthermore, Sebaſtian Cabota by his perſonal experience and trauel hath ſet foorth, and deſcribed this paſſage in his Charts, which are yet to be ſeene in the Queens Maieſties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was ſent to make this diſcouery by king Henrie the ſeuenth, and entred the ſame fret: affirming that he ſayled very farre Weſtward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northſide of Terra de Labrador the eleuenth of Iune, vntill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe, and finding the Seas ſtill open, ſayd, that he might, & would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Maſter and Mariners had not bene.

Now as theſe mens experience hath proued ſome part of this paſſage: ſo the chapter following ſhal put you in full aſſurance of the reſt, by their experiences which haue paſſed through euery part thereof.

To prooue by circumſtance that the Northweſt paſſage hath bene ſayled throughout.

Chap. 4.

Quinque ſenſus.
1 Viſus,
2 Auditus,
3 Olfactus,
4 Guſtus,
5 Tactus.
Singularia ſenſu, vniuerſalia verò mente percipiuntur.

The diuerſitie betweene bruite beaſtes and men, or betweene the wiſe and the ſimple is, that the one iudgeth by ſenſe onely, and gathereth no ſurety of any thing that he hath not ſeene, felt, heard, taſted, or ſmelled: And the other not ſo onely, but alſo findeth the certaintie of things by reaſon, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added proofes of both ſorts, that the one and the other might thereby be ſatiſfied.

1 Firſt, as Gemma Friſius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this paſſage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

2 Alſo Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57 yeeres before Chriſt) that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempeſt, vpon the coaſt of Germanie which were preſented by the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconſull of France.

Lib. 2. cap. 66.

3 And Plinie vpon the ſame ſayth, that it is no maruell though there be Sea by the North, where there is ſuch abundance of moiſture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a nauigable paſſage that way, through which thoſe Indians came.

Pag. 590.

4 And for the better proofe that the ſame authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wreſted, to proue my opinion of the Northweſt paſſage: you ſhall finde the ſame affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who ſheweth how many wayes the Indian ſea ſtretcheth it ſelfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewiſe driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coaſtes of Germany, by

great tempeſt, as they were ſayling in trade of marchandize.

5 Alſo while Frederic Barbaroſſa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160. there came certaine other Indians vpon the coaſt of Germanie.

6 Likewiſe Othon in the ſtorie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, there were alſo certaine Indians caſt vp by force of weather vpon the coaſt of the ſayd countrey, which foreſaid Indians could not poſſibly haue come by the Southeaſt, Southweſt, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeaſt: therefore they came of neceſſitie by this our Northweſt paſſage.

Auouched by Franciſcus Lopes de Gomara in his hiſtorie of India, lib. 1. cap. 10.

To prooue that theſe Indians aforenamed came not by the Southeaſt, Southweſt, nor from any other part of *Afrike*, or *America*.

Cap. 5.

FIrſt, they could not come from the Southeaſt by the Cape de bona Sperança, becauſe the roughnes of the Seas there is ſuch (occaſioned by the currents and great winds in that part) that the greateſt Armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty paſſe that way, much leſſe then a Canoa of India could liue in thoſe outragious ſeas without ſhipwracke (being a veſſell of very ſmall burden) and haue conducted themſelues to the place aforeſayd, being men vnexpert in the Arte of nauigation.

2 Alſo, it appeareth plainely that they were not able to come from alongſt the coaſt of Afrike aforeſayd, to thoſe parts of Europe, becauſe the winds doe (for the moſt part) blow there Eaſterly off from the ſhore, and the current running that way in like ſort, ſhould haue driuen them Weſtward vpon ſome part of America: for ſuch winds and tides could neuer haue led them from thẽce to the ſaid place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforeſayd, keeping the ſeas alwayes, without ſkilful mariners to haue conducted them ſuch like courſes as were neceſſary to performe ſuch a voiage.

3 Preſuppoſing alſo, if they had bene driuen to the Weſt (as they muſt haue bene, comming that way) then they ſhould haue periſhed, wanting ſupplie of victuals, not hauing any place (once leauing the coaſt of Afrike) vntill they came to America, nor from America vntill they arriued vpon ſome part of Europe, or the Iſlands adioyning to it, to haue refreſhed themſelues.

4 Alſo, if (notwithſtanding ſuch impoſſibilities) they might haue recouered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeaſt, yet muſt they without all doubt haue ſtriken vpon ſome other part of Europe before their arriuall there, as the Iſles of the Açores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they ſhould or would haue departed vndiſcouered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in thoſe dayes any ſuch ſhip or men but only vpon the coaſts of Germanie, where they haue bene ſundry times and in ſundry ages caſt aland: neither is it like that they would haue committed themſelues againe to ſea, if they had ſo arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

5 And by the Southweſt it is vnpoſſible, becauſe the current aforeſayd which cõmeth from the Eaſt, ſtriketh with ſuch force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with ſuch ſwiftneſſe and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ſhip (but not poſſibly a Canoa, with ſuch vnſkilfull mariners) can come into our Weſterne Ocean through that fret, from the Weſt ſeas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.

This fift reaſon by later experiẽce is proued vtterly vntrue.

6 And further, to prooue that theſe people ſo arriuing vpon the coaſt of Germany, were Indians, & not inhabiters of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifeſt, becauſe the natiues both of Africa and America neither had, or haue at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then ſuch as do beare neither maſtes nor ſailes, (except onely vpon the coaſts of Barbarie and the Turkes ſhips) but do carie themſelues from place to place neere the ſhore by the ore onely.

That the Indians could not be natiues either of Africa, or of America.

To prooue that thoſe Indians came not by the Northeaſt, and that there is no thorow nauigable paſſage that way.

Cap. 6.

IT is likely that there ſhould be no thorow paſſage by the Northeaſt, whereby to goe round about the world, becauſe all Seas (as aforeſayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more ſhallow and ſhelffie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciali, towards the Eaſt, which breedeth ſmall hope of any great continuance of that ſea, to be nauigable towards the Eaſt, ſufficient to ſaile thereby round about the world.

Quicquid naturali loco priuatur, quam citiſſimè corrumpitur.

Qualis cauſa talis effectus.

2 Alſo, it ſtandeth ſcarcely with reaſon, that the Indians dwelling vnder Torrida Zona, could endure the iniurie of the cold ayꝛe, about the Septentrional latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which eleuation the paſſage by the Noꝛtheaſt cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South parts of it ſheweth) ſeeing that ſome of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whoſe Summer is to them an extreme Winter) haue bene ſtroken to death with the cold damps of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental miſhap, and yet the aire in ſuch like Eleuation is alwaies cold, and too cold foꝛ ſuch as the Indians are.

3 Furthermoꝛe, the piercing cold of the groſſe thicke aire ſo neere the Pole wil ſo ſtiffen and furre the ſailes and ſhip tackling, that no mariner can either hoiſe oꝛ ſtrike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this paſſage is pꝛeſuppoſed to be, hath taught vs) without the vſe whereof no voiage can be perfoꝛmed.

4 Alſo, the aire is ſo darkened with continuall miſts and fogs ſo neere the Pole, that no man can well ſee, either to guide his ſhip, oꝛ direct his courſe.

5 Alſo the compaſſe at ſuch eleuation doeth very ſuddenly vary, which things muſt of foꝛce haue bene their deſtructions, although they had bene men of much moꝛe ſkill then the Indians are.

Similium ſimilis eſt ratio.

6 Moꝛeouer, all baies, gulfes, and riuers doe receiue their increaſe vpon the flood, ſenſibly to be diſcerned on the one ſide of the ſhoꝛe oꝛ the other, as many waies as they be open to any main ſea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Perſicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thameſis, and all other knowen hauens oꝛ riuers in any part of the woꝛld, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine ſea, doe likewiſe receiue their increaſe vpon the flood the ſame way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the Weſt, as M. Ienkinſon affirmed vnto me: and therfoꝛe it followeth that this Noꝛtheaſt ſea, receiuing increaſe but onely from the Weſt, cannot poſſibly open to the maine Ocean by the Eaſt.

7 Moꝛeouer, the farther you paſſe into any ſea towards the end of it, on that part which is ſhut vp from the maine ſea (as in all thoſe aboue mentioned) the leſſe and leſſe the tides riſe and fall. The like whereof alſo happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which pꝛoueth but ſmall continuance of that Sea toward the Eaſt.

Quicquid corrumpitur à contrario corrumpitur.

Omne ſimile gignit ſui ſimile.

8 Alſo, the further yee goe toward the Eaſt in Mare Glaciale, the leſſe ſalt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the ſalt Sea towards the Eaſt, as it is to the Weſt onely, ſeeing Euery thing naturally ingendreth his like: and then muſt it be like ſalt thꝛoughout, as all the ſeas are, in ſuch like climate and eleuation.

And therefoꝛe it ſeemeth that this Noꝛtheaſt ſea is maintained by the riuer Ob, and ſuch like freſhets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermoſt parts thereof by the riuers Nilus, Danubius Neper, Tanais, &c.

9 Furthermoꝛe, if there were any ſuch ſea at that eleuation, of like it ſhould be alwaies frozen thꝛoughout (there being no tides to hinder it) becauſe the extreme coldnes of the aire being in the vppermoſt part, and the extreme coldneſſe of the earth in the bottome, the ſea there being but of ſmall depth, whereby the one accidentall coldneſſe doth meet with the other, and the Sunne not hauing his reflection ſo neere the Pole, but at very blunt angels, it can neuer be diſſolued after it is frozen, notwithſtanding the great length of their day: foꝛ that the ſunne hath no heate at all in his light oꝛ beames, but pꝛoceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of ſufficient foꝛce in that eleuation, to pꝛeuaile againſt this ice, yet muſt it be bꝛoken befoꝛe it can be diſſolued, which cannot be but thꝛough the long continuance of the ſunne aboue their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be ſo farre ſpent, and ſo great darkenes and cold enſue, that no man could be able to endure ſo cold, darke, and diſcomfoꝛtable a nauigation, if it were poſſible foꝛ him then, and there to liue.

11 Further, the ice being once bꝛoken, it muſt of foꝛce ſo dꝛiue with the windes and tides, that no ſhip can ſaile in thoſe ſeas, ſeeing our Fiſhers of Iſland, and the New found land, are ſubiect to danger thꝛough the great Iſlands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the ſailers great danger) farre to the South of that pꝛeſuppoſed paſſage.

12 And it cannot be that this Noꝛtheaſt paſſage ſhould be any neerer the South, then befoꝛe recited, foꝛ then it ſhould cut off Ciremiſſi, & Turbi Tartari, with Vzeſucani, Chiſani, and others from the Continent of Aſia, which are knowen to be adioyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the ſame Continent.

And if there were any thoꝛowe paſſage by the Noꝛtheaſt, yet were it to ſmall ende and purpoſe foꝛ our traffique, becauſe no ſhippe of great burden can Nauigate in ſo ſhallow a Sea:

and ſhips of ſmall burden are very vnfit & vnprofitable, eſpecially towards the bluſtering North, to performe ſuch a voyage.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed, came only by the Northweſt, which induceth a certaintie of our paſſage by experience.

Cap. 7.

IT is as likely that they came by the Northweſt, as it is vnlikely that they ſhould come either by the Southeaſt, Southweſt, Northeaſt, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northweſt paſſage hauing bene alreadie ſo many wayes prooued, by diſproouing of the others, &c. I ſhall the leſſe neede in this place, to vſe many words otherwiſe then to conclude in this ſort, That they came onely by the Northweſt from England, hauing theſe many reaſons to leade me thereunto.

1 Firſt, the one halfe of the windes of the compaſſe might bring them by the Northweſt, bearing alwayes betweene two ſheats, with which kind of ſayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vſe of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ſhip can poſſibly come either by the Southeaſt, Southweſt or Northeaſt, hauing ſo many ſundry Capes to double, whereunto are required ſuch change and ſhift of windes.

2 And it ſeemeth likely that they ſhould come by the Northweſt, becauſe the coaſt whereon they were driuen, lay Eaſt from this our paſſage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ſhip to an oppoſite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwiſe guided by Arte, which the Indians do vtterly want, & therefore it ſeemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

True, both in ventis obliquè flantibus, as alſo in ventis ex diametro ſpirantibus.

3 For if they had come by the Cape de buona Sperança, then muſt they (as aforeſaid) haue fallen vpon the South parts of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coaſts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeaſt, then vpon the coaſts of Ceremiſſi, Tartarij, Lappia, Iſland, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon theſe coaſts (as aforeſaid) they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without ſhipwracke vpon the coaſtes of Germanie, if they had firſt ſtriken vpon the coaſtes of ſo many countries, wanting both Arte and ſhipping to make orderly diſcouery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and alſo of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Hauens of thoſe parts of the world, which in moſt of theſe places are plentifull.

6 And further it ſeemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the moſt part of thoſe countries, by which they muſt haue come any other way beſides by the Northweſt, being for the moſt part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue deuoured them, ſlaine them, or (at the leaſt wiſe) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainely appeareth that thoſe Indians (which as you haue heard in ſundry ages were driuen by tempeſt vpon the ſhore of Germanie) came onely through our Northweſt paſſage.

7 Moreouer, the paſſage is certainely prooued by a Nauigation that a Portugall made, who paſſed through this fret, giuing name to a Promontorie farre within the ſame, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioyning vnto Poliſacus fluuius.

8 Alſo one Scolmus a Dane entred and paſſed a great part thereof.

9 Alſo there was one Saluaterra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the Weſt Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northweſt paſſage from vs to Cataia, conſtantly to be beleeued in America nauigable. And further ſaid in the preſence of ſir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northweſt paſſage, & ſhewed Saluaterra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, wherein was plainly ſet downe and deſcribed this Northweſt paſſage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall (~~as he returned~~ by that countrey ~~homeward~~) that there was (of certainty) ſuch a paſſage Northweſt from England, and that he meant to publiſh the ſame: which done, the king moſt earneſtly deſired him not in any wiſe to diſcloſe or make the paſſage knowen to any nation: For that (ſaid the king) if *England* had knowledge

and

The words of the king of Portugall, to Andro Vrdaneta a Frier, touching the concealing of this Northweſt paſſage from England to Cataia.

and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me. This Frier (as Saluaterra reported) was the greateſt Diſcouerer by ſea, that hath bene in our age. Alſo Saluaterra being perſwaded of this paſſage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered moſt willingly to accompanie me in this Diſcouery, which of like he would not haue done if he had ſtood in doubt thereof.

An obiection.

Ariſtotle lib. de mundo, cap. 3. Beroſus lib. 5.

And now as theſe moderne experiences cannot be impugned, ſo, leaſt it might be obiected that theſe things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote ſo many yeeres paſt) might ſerue litle to prooue this paſſage by the North of America, becauſe both America and India were to them then vtterly vnknowen: to remooue this doubt, let this ſuffiſe: That Ariſtotle (who was 300. yeeres before Chriſt) named Mare Indicum. Alſo Beroſus (who liued 330 yeres before Chriſt) hath theſe words, Ganges in India. Alſo in the firſt chapter of Heſter be theſe wordes, In the dayes of Aſſuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Aſſuerus liued 580 yeeres before Chriſt. Alſo Quintus Curtius (where he ſpeaketh of the conqueſts of Alexander) mentioneth India. Alſo, Arianus, Philoſtratus, and Sidrach in his diſcourſes of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the moſt part of India vnder his gouernment. All which aſſureth vs, that both India and Indians were knowen in thoſe dayes.

Theſe things conſidered, we may (in my opinion) not onely aſſure our ſelues of this paſſage by the Northweſt, but alſo that it is nauigable both to come and go, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebaſtian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren aboue named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithſtanding all this, there be ſome that haue a better hope of this paſſage to Cataia by the Northeaſt then by the Weſt, whoſe reaſons with my ſeuerall anſweres enſue in the chapter following.

Certaine reaſons alleaged for the proouing of a paſſage by the Northeaſt, before the Queenes Maieſtie, and certaine Lords of the Counſell, by Maſter *Anthonie Ienkinſon*, with my ſeuerall anſweres then vſed to the ſame.

Cap. 8.

Becauſe you may vnderſtand as well thoſe things alleaged againſt me, as what doth ſerue for my purpoſe, I haue here added the reaſons of Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon a worthy gentleman, and a great traueller, who conceiued a better hope of the paſſage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeaſt, then by the Northweſt.

The Northweſt paſſage aſſented vnto.

He firſt ſaid that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a paſſage by the Northweſt, according to his opinion: but aſſured he was, that there might be found a nauigable paſſage by the Northeaſt from England, to goe to all the Eaſt parts of the world, which he endeuoured to prooue three wayes.

The firſt reaſon.

The firſt was that he heard a Fiſherman of Tartaria ſay in hunting the Morce, that he ſayled very farre towards the Southeaſt, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow paſſage to be that way.

The anſwer or reſolution.

Whereunto I anſwered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vſe of the Sea Card, Compaſſe or Starre, which he confeſſed to be true: and therfore they could not (ſaid I) certainly know the Southeaſt from the Northeaſt, in a wide ſea, and a place vnknowen from the ſight of the land.

Or if he ſailed any thing neere the ſhore, yet he (being ignorant) might be deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongſt the ſhore.

Viſus nonnunquam fallitur in ſuo obiecto.

And further, it might be that the poore Fiſherman through ſimplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but ſea, becauſe he ſaw no land: which proofe (vnder correction) giueth ſmall aſſurance of a Nauigable ſea by the Northeaſt, to goe round about the world, For that he iudged by the eye onely, ſeeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

The ſecond reaſon or allegation.

His ſecond reaſon is, that there was an Vnicornes horne found vpon the coaſt of Tartaria, which could not come (ſaid he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through ſome fret in the Northeaſt of Mare Glaciale, there being no Vnicorne in any part of Aſia, ſauing in India and Cataia: which reaſon (in my ſimple iudgement) forceth as litle.

The anſwer or reſolution.

Firſt, it is doubtfull whether thoſe barbarous Tartarians do know an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it ſo farre, being of ſuch nature that it will not ſwimme.

Alſo the tides running too and fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is alſo a beaſt called Aſinus Indicus (whoſe horne moſt like it was) which hath but one horne like an Unicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the North parts thereunto adioyning, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as Iacobus Zieglerus writeth in his hiſtorie of Scondia.

And as Albertus ſaieth, there is a fiſh which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Unicorne, and therefore it ſeemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Unicornes horne, yea, or no.

The third and laſt reaſon of aſſertion.

His third and laſt reaſon was, that there came a continuall ſtreame or current through Mare Glaciale, of ſuch ſwiftneſſe (as a Colmax told him) that if you caſt any thing therein, it would preſently be carried out of ſight towards the Weſt.

The anſwer or reſolution.

Whereunto I anſwered, that there doth the like from Mæotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Boſphorus, and along the coaſt of Græcia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenus, and diuers others that haue had experience of the ſame: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freſhets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

In like maner is this current in Mare Glaciale increaſed and maintained by the Dwina, the riuer Ob, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reaſons alleaged, to prooue a paſſage to Cataia by the Northeaſt, with my ſeuerall anſweres thereunto: ſo will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or diſpaire of either at your pleaſure.

How that the paſſage by the Northweſt is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the Eaſt, if there were any ſuch.

Cap. 9.

First, by the Northeaſt (if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous ſpeedie & luckie paſſage) you are in danger (being ſo neere the Pole) to be benighted almoſt the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue ſo long comfortleſſe, voide of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reaſon or vnderſtanding may iudge.

2 Alſo Mangia, Quinzai, and the Moluccæ are neerer vnto vs by the Northweſt, then by the Northeaſt, more then two fiue parts, which is almoſt by the halfe.

Some doubt of this.

3 Alſo we may haue by the Weſt a yeerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeaſt: the paſſage being at ſuch eleuation as it is formerly expreſſed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finiſhed without diuers wintrings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as we can well ſaile from hence to S.Nicholas, in the trade of Moſcouia, and returne in the nauigable ſeaſon of the yeere, & from S.Nicholas to Cerimiſſi Tartari, which ſtande at 80 degrees of the Septentrionall latitude, it is at the leaſt 400 leagues, which amounteth ſcarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeaſt.

5 And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeaſt according to your deſire, yet can you not winter conueniently, vntil you come to 60 degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeaſt, you muſt ſaile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northweſt ſaile thither with all Eaſterly windes, and returne with any Weſterly windes, whereas you muſt haue by the Northeaſt ſundry windes, and thoſe proper, according to the lying of the coaſt and Capes, you ſhalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: wherby your iourney ſhould be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured ſo neere the Pole. As we are taught by ſir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7 Moreouer, it is very doubtfull, whether we ſhould long inioy that trade by the Northeaſt, if there were any ſuch paſſage that way, the commodities thereof once knowen to the Moſcouite, what priuilege ſoeuer hee hath granted, ſeeing pollicy with the maſſe of exceſſiue gaine, to the inriching (ſo greatly) of himſelfe and all his dominions would perſwade him to preſume the ſame, hauing ſo great opportunitie to vtter the commodities of thoſe countries by the Narue.

But by the Northweſt, we may ſafely trade without danger or annoyance of any prince liuing, Chriſtian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Alſo the Queenes Maieſties dominions are neerer the Northweſt paſſage then any other great princes that might paſſe that way, and both in their going and returne, they muſt of neceſſitie ſuccour themſelues and their ſhips vpon ſome part of the ſame, if any tempeſtuous weather ſhould happen.

Further, no princes nauie of the world is able to incounter the Queenes Maieſties nauie, as it is at this preſent: and yet it ſhould be greatly increaſed by the traffike inſuing vpon this diſcouerie, for it is the long voyages that increaſe and maintaine great ſhipping.

Now it ſeemeth neceſſarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all theſe things were, as we haue heretofore preſuppoſed, and thought them to be: which next adioyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would enſue, this paſſage once diſcouered.

Cap. 10.

First, it were the onely way for our princes, to poſſeſſe the wealth of all the Eaſt parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conqueſt of India, and other the Eaſt parts of the world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, a wonderfull inriching to our prince, and an vnſpeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the ſhortneſſe of the voyage, we ſhould be able to ſell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we ſhould ſhare with the Portugall in the Eaſt, & the Spaniard in the Weſt, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend vs.

3 Alſo we might ſayle to diuers very rich countreys, both ciuill and others, out of both their iuriſdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, cloth of gold, ſilkes, all maner of ſpices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandize of an ineſtimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their iournies, cannot well attaine vnto.

4 Alſo we might inhabite ſome part of thoſe countreyes, and ſettle there ſuch needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want here at home are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly conſumed with the gallowes.

5 Moreouer, we might from all the aforeſaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our ſtaple ſome conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or ſome other part, whereas it ſhal ſeeme beſt for the ſhortning of the voyage.

6 Beſide vttering of our countrey commodities, which the Indians, &c. much eſteeme: as appeareth in Heſter, where the pompe is expreſſed of the great king of India, Aſſuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houſes and tents were apparelled, with gold and ſiluer, as part of his greateſt treaſure: not mentioning either veluets, ſilkes, cloth of gold, cloth of ſiluer, or ſuch like, being in thoſe countreyes moſt plentifull: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great eſtimation they would haue the clothes of this our countrey, ſo that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had: and that without depending either vpon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Alſo, here we ſhall increaſe both our ſhips and mariners, without burthening of the ſtate.

8 And alſo haue occaſion to ſet poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and ſuch like, which the Indians and thoſe people do much eſteeme: by reaſon whereof, there ſhould be none occaſion to haue our countrey combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and ſuch like idle perſons.

All theſe commodities would grow by following this our diſcouery, without iniury done to any Chriſtian prince, by croſſing them in any of their vſed trades, whereby they might take any iuſt occaſion of offence.

Thus haue I briefly ſhewed you ſome part of the grounds of mine opinion, truſting that you will no longer iudge me fantaſticke in this matter: ſeeing I haue conceiued no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perſwaded thereunto by the beſt Coſmographers of our age, the ſame being confirmed both by reaſon and certaine experiences.

Alſo this diſcouery hath bene diuers times heretofore by others both offered, attempted, and performed.

It hath bene offered by Stephan Gomes vnto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our

Lord God 1527, as Alphonſo Vllua teſtifieth in the ſtory of Carolus life: who would haue ſet him forth in it (as the ſtory mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reaſon of his long warres had not cauſed him to ſurceaſe the ſame.

And the king of Portugall fearing leaſt the Emperour would haue perſeuered in this his enterpriſe, gaue him, to leaue the matter vnattempted, the ſumme of 350000 crownes: and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not haue giuen to the Emperour ſuch ſummes of money for egges in mooneſhine.

This diſcouery offered.

It hath bene attempted by Sebaſtian Cabota in the time of king Henry the ſeuenth, by Corterialis the Portugall, and Scolmus the Dane.

This diſcouery attempted.

And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians aforeſaid, and by Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

This diſcouery performed.

Alſo diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath ſent two or three times to haue diſcouered the ſame: The diſcouerers ſpending and conſuming their victuals in ſearching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the yce is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now eaſily be found out in ſhort time: and that with litle ieoperdie and leſſe expences.

For America is diſcouered ſo farre towardes the North as Cape Frio, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioyning is knowen to ſtand but at 72 degrees. So that wee haue but 10 degrees to ſaile North & South, to put the world out of doubt hereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portugall would not haue ſit out all this while, but that they are ſure to poſſeſſe to themſelues all that trade they now vſe, and feare to deale in this diſcouery, leaſt the Queenes Maieſtie hauing ſo good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might enſue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to her ſelfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, ſhould beate the buſh, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreſeeing, haue commanded that no pilot of theirs vpon paine of death, ſhould ſeeke to diſcouer to the Northweſt, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow paſſage that way by the Northweſt.

The labour of this diſcouerie ſhortned by other mens trauell.

Why ye kings of Spaine and Portugal would not perſeuer in this diſcouery.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterpriſe, with thoſe likelihoods which Columbus alleaged before Ferdinando the king of Caſtilia, to prooue that there were ſuch Ilands in the Weſt Ocean, as were after by him and others diſcouered to the great commodity of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northweſt paſſage to be moſt worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the Weſt Ilands ſet foorth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the ſame) from 942 yeeres before Chriſt, vntill that day.

Moreouer, Columbus himſelfe had neither ſeene America nor any other of the Ilands about it, neither vnderſtood he of them by the report of any other that had ſeene them, but only comforted himſelfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biſcaine, which ſhould haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depriue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a ſtranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biſcaine, yet did he but roue at the matter, or (at the leaſt) gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit my ſelfe haue not ſeene this paſſage or any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers moſt credible men, which haue both ſeene and paſſed through ſome and euery part of this diſcouery, beſides ſundry reaſons for my aſſurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things conſidered, & indifferently weighed togither, with the wonderfull commodities which this diſcouery may bring, eſpecially to this realme of England: I muſt needes conclude with learned Baptiſta Ramuſius, and diuers other learned men, who ſaid, that this diſcouery hath bene reſerued for ſome noble prince or woorthie man, thereby to make himſelfe rich, and the world happie: deſiring you to accept in good part this briefe and ſimple diſcourſe, written in haſte, which if I may perceiue that it ſhall not ſufficiently ſatiſfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large diſcourſe, which I haue written onely of this diſcouery.

And further, becauſe it ſufficeth not only to know that ſuch a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the ſame, I wil at leaſure make you partaker of another ſimple diſcourſe of nauigation, wherein I haue not a litle trauelled, to make my ſelfe as ſufficient to bring theſe things to effect, as I haue bene readie to offer my ſelfe therein.

And therein I haue deuiſed to amend the errors of vſuall ſea cards, whoſe common fault is, to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bigneſſe.

And haue alſo deuiſed therein a Spherical inſtrument, with a compaſſe of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a preciſe order to pricke the ſea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the ſhortning of any diſcouery, to know at the firſt entring of any fret, whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre ſoeuer the ſea ſtretcheth it ſelfe into the land.

Deſiring you hereafter neuer to miſlike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honeſt enterpriſe: for if through pleaſure or idleneſſe we purchaſe ſhame, the pleaſure vaniſheth, but the ſhame remaineth for euer.

Pereas qui vmbras times.

And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind, That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, ſhunneth his countries ſeruice, and his owne honour: ſeeing death is ineuitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, *Mutare vel timere ſperno.*

Certaine other reaſons, or arguments to prooue a paſſage by the Northweſt, learnedly written by M. *Richard Willes* Gentleman.

FOure famous wayes there be ſpoken of to thoſe fruitfull and wealthie Iſlands, which wee doe vſually call Moluccaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly trauelled for riches therein growing. Theſe Ilands, although they ſtand Eaſt from the Meridian, diſtant almoſt halfe the length of the worlde, in extreame heate, vnder the Equinoctiall line, poſſeſſed of Infidels and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully ſought in reſpect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerouſly brought home vnto vs. Our neighbours I call the Portugals in compariſon of the Molucchians for neereneſſe vnto vs, for like ſituation Weſtward as we haue, for their vſuall trade with vs, for that the farre Southeaſterlings doe knowe this part of Europe by no other name then Portugall, not greatly acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Their voyage is very well vnder- 1 By the Southeaſt. ſtood of all men, and the Southeaſterne way round about Afrike by the Cape of Good hope more ſpoken of, better knowen and trauelled, then that it may ſeeme needfull to diſcourſe thereof any further.

2 By the Southweſt.

The ſecond way lyeth Southweſt, betweene the Weſt India or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow ſtraight where Magellan firſt of all men that euer we doe read of, paſſed theſe latter yeeres, leauing thereunto therefore his name. This way no doubt the Spaniardes would commodiouſly take, for that it lyeth neere vnto their dominions there, could the Eaſterne current and leuant windes as eaſily ſuffer them to returne, as ſpeedily therwith they may be carried thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impoſſibility of ſtriuing againſt the force both of winde and ſtreame, this paſſage is litle or nothing vſed, although it be very well knowen.

This is an errour.

3 By the Northeaſt.

The third way by the Northeaſt, beyond all Europe and Aſia, that worthy and renowmed knight ſir Hugh Willoughbie ſought to his perill, enforced there to ende his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way conſiſteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reaſon, or approoued by experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythiſh Cape ſet by Ortelius vnder the 80 degree North, by the vnlikely ſailing in that Northerne ſea alwayes clad with yce and ſnow, or at the leaſt continually peſtred therewith, if happily it be at any time diſſolued: beſides bayes and ſhelfes, the water waxing more ſhallow toward the Eaſt, that we ſay nothing of the foule miſts and darke fogs in the cold clime, of the litle power of the Sunne to cleare the aire, of the vncomfortable nights, ſo neere the Pole, fiue moneths long.

Ortel. tab, Aſiæ, 3.

4 By the Northeaſt.

A fourth way to go vnto theſe aforeſaid happy Ilands Moluccæ ſir Humfrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight diſcourſeth of at large in his new paſſage to Cathayo. The enterpriſe of it ſelfe being vertuous, the fact muſt doubtleſſe deſerue high praiſe, and whenſoeuer it ſhal be finiſhed, the fruits thereof cannot be ſmal: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, & fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the paſſage doubtfull, the voiage not throughly knowen, and therefore gaineſaid by many, after this maner.

Ob, 1.

Firſt, who can aſſure vs of any paſſage rather by the Northweſt then by the Northeaſt? not

not both wayes lye in equall diſtance from the North Pole? Stand not the North Capes of eyther continent vnder like eleuation? Is not the Ocean ſea beyond America farther diſtant from our Meridian by 30. or 40. degrees Weſt, then the extreame poyntes of Cathayo Eaſtward, if Ortelius generall Carde of the world be true? In the Northeaſt that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie periſhed for colde: and can you then promiſe a paſſenger any better happe by the Northweſt? Who hath gone for triall ſake at any time this way out of Europe to Cathayo?

In Theatro.

Ob.2.

If you ſeeke the aduiſe herein of ſuch as make profeſſion in Coſmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldeſt children, will anſwere by their mappes with a negatiue, concluding moſt of the Sea within the land, and making an ende of the world Northward, neere the 63. degree. The ſame opinion, when learning chiefly floriſhed, was receiued in the Romanes time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: tibi ſeruiat vltima Thyle, ſaid Virgil, being of opinion, that Iſland was the extreme part of the world habitable toward the North. Ioſeph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germaine, for knowledge men able to be compared with the beſt Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheres of the whole world, the other in ſome of his great globes, haue continued the Weſt Indies land, euen to the North Pole, and conſequently, cut off all paſſage by ſea that way.

The ſame doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his ſea Carde, neuertheleſſe doubting of ſo great continuance of the former continent, haue opened a gulfe betwixt the Weſt Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but ſuch a one, that either is not to be trauelled for the cauſes in the firſt obiection alledged, or cleane ſhut vp from vs in Europe by Groenland: the South ende whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

Ob.3.

Thirdly, the greateſt fauourers of this voyage can not denie, but that if any ſuch paſſage be, it lieth ſubiect vnto yce and ſnow for the moſt part of the yeere, whereas it ſtandeth in the edge of the froſtie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and diſſolued the yce, eche one well knoweth that there can be no ſailing: the yce once broken through the continuall abode the ſunne maketh a certaine ſeaſon in thoſe parts, how ſhall it be poſſible for ſo weake a veſſel as a ſhippe is, to holde out amid whole Iſlands, as it were of yce continually beating on eche ſide, and at the mouth of that gulfe, iſſuing downe furiouſly from the north, and ſafely to paſſe, when whole mountaines of yce and ſnow ſhall be tumbled downe vpon her?

Ob.4.

Well, graunt the Weſt Indies not to continue continent vnto the Pole, grant there be a paſſage betweene theſe two lands, let the gulfe lie neerer vs then commonly in cardes we finde it ſet, namely, betweene the 61. and 64. degrees north, as Gemma Friſius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and ſo left by our countryman Sebaſtian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheinies: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee haue free paſſage to Cathayo. For examples ſake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bowe Southward to Saint Nicholas in Moſcouia: you may likewiſe in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Conſtantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no paſſage by Sea through Moſcouia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Againe, in the aforeſaid Mediterranean ſea, we ſaile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and ſpices from the Moluccaes vp the Red ſea or Arabian gulph to Sues, ſcarcely three dayes iourney from the aforeſayd hauen: yet haue wee no way by ſea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Iſthmos or litle ſtraight of land betweene the two ſeas. In like maner although the Northerne paſſage be free at 61 degrees of latitude, and the Weſt Ocean beyond America, vſually called Mar del Zur, knowen to be open at 40. degrees eleuation from the Iſland Iapan, yea three hundred leagues Northerly aboue Iapan: yet may there be land to hinder the thorow paſſage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforeſaid it falleth out, Aſia and America there being ioyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion ſeeme altogether friuolous vnto any one that diligently peruſeth our Coſmographers doings. Ioſephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemiſpheres of the world, but alſo in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner be of the ſame opinion, as by their Mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceiue: as though the Weſt Indies were part of Aſia. Which ſentence well agreeth with that old concluſion in the Schooles: Quicquid præter Africam & Europam eſt, Aſia eſt. Whatſoeuer land doeth neither apperteine vnto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Aſia.

Ob.5.

Furthermore it were to ſmall purpoſe to make ſo long, ſo painefull, ſo doubtfull a voyage by ſuch a new found way, if in Cathayo you ſhould neither bee ſuffered to land for ſilkes and ſiluer, nor able to fetch the Molucca ſpices and pearle for piracie in thoſe Seas. Of a law denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabiters vnder a great penaltie to let in any ſtranger into thoſe countryes, ſhall you reade in the report of Galeotto Perera there impriſoned with other Portugals: as alſo in the Japoniſh letters, how for that cauſe the worthy traueller Xauierus bargained with a Barbarian Merchant for a great ſumme of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in China. The great and dangerous piracie vſed in thoſe Seas no man can be ignorant of, that liſteth to reade the Iaponiſh and Eaſt Indian hiſtorie.

Ob.6. Finally, all this great labour would be loſt, all theſe charges ſpent in vaine, if in the ende our trauellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring ſafely home into their owne natiue countrey that wealth & riches, which they in forrein regions with aduenture of goods, & danger of their liues haue ſought for. By the Northeaſt there is no way, the Southeaſt paſſage the Portugals doe hold as the Lords of thoſe Seas. At yͤ Southweſt Magellans experience hath partly taught vs, and partly we are perſuaded by reaſon, how the Eaſterne current ſtriketh ſo furiouſly on that ſtraight, and falleth with ſuch force into that narrow gulph, that hardly any ſhip can returne that way into our Weſt Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which if it be true, as truely it is, then wee may ſay that the aforeſayd Eaſterne current or leuant courſe of waters continually following after the heauenly motions, looſeth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other current from out the Northeaſt, in the paſſage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of neceſſity caryed: hauing none other way to maintaine it ſelfe in circular motion, & conſequently the force and fury thereof to be no leſſe in the ſtraight of Anian, where it ſtriketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any ſuch ſtraight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both ſtraights being of like bredth: as in Belognine Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his Card for nauigation in that region we doe finde preciſely ſet downe.

Neuertheleſſe to approoue that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northweſt from out of Europe, we haue experience, namely of three brethren that went that iourney, as Gemma Friſius recordeth, and left a name vnto that ſtraight, whereby now it is called Fretum trium fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portugall that paſſed this ſtraight, of whom Maſter Frobiſher ſpeaketh, that was impriſoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbone, to verifie the olde Spaniſh prouerbe, I ſuffer for doing well. Likewiſe Andrew Vrdaneta a Fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Carde (for he was a great Diſcouerer) made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, hath bene ſeene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Cic.1.de orat. Ariſt. pri. Metaph. Now if the obſeruation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we haue in all faculties, as the beſt Philoſophers that euer were doe affirme: truely the voyage of theſe aforeſayd trauellers that haue gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northweſt, do moſt euidently conclude that way to be nauigable, and that paſſage free. So much the more we are ſo to thinke, for that the firſt principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome ſaith, is the hiſtory of trauell, that is, reports made by trauellers ſkilful in Geometrie and Aſtronomie, of all ſuch things in their iourney as to Geographie doe belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now anſwere to thoſe arguments that ſeemed to make againſt this former concluſion.

Lib.1. Geog. Cap.2.

Sol.1. The firſt obiection is of no force, that generall table of the world ſet forth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly ſkilleth not, being vnſkilfully drawen for that point: as manifeſtly it may appeare vnto any one that conferreth the ſame with Gemma Friſius his vniuerſall Mappe, with his round quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebaſtian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, worthily preferred in this caſe before all Mercator & Ortelius other doings: for that Cabota was not onely a ſkilful Seaman, but a long traueller, and ſuch a one as entred perſonally that ſtraight, ſent by king Henry the ſeuenth to make this aforeſayd Diſcouerie, as in his owne diſcourſe of nauigation you may reade in his carde drawen with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northweſterne ſtraight lyeth neere the 318. Meridian, betweene 61. and 64. degrees in the eleuation, continuing the ſame bredth about 10. degrees Weſt, where it openeth Southerly more and more, vntill it come vnder the tropicke of Cancer, and ſo runneth into Mar del Zur, at the leaſt 18. degrees more in bredth there, then it was where it firſt began: otherwiſe I could as well imagine this paſſage to be more vnlikely then the voyage to Moſcouia, and more impoſſible then it for the farre ſituation and continuance thereof in the froſtie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very poſſible and moſt likely in compariſon thereof, for that it neither coaſteth ſo farre North as the Moſcouian paſſage doeth, neither is this ſtraight ſo long as that, before it bow downe Southerly towardes the Sunne againe.

Sol.2. The ſecond argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was aboue ſixteene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all paſſages Northward from the eleuation of 63. degrees: he knewe no Ocean ſea beyond Aſia, yet haue the Portugals trended the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and trauelled to Iapan an Iſland in the Eaſt Ocean, betweene Aſia & America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the ſixt diſcouered the Moſcouian paſſage farther North then Thyle, & ſhewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland & Norway: the like our Northweſterne trauellers haue done, declaring by their nauigation that way, the ignorance of all Coſmographers that either doe ioyne Groenland with America, or continue the Weſt Indies with that froſty region vnder the north pole. As for Virgil he ſang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other Poet did of the hot Zone.

Quarum quæ media eſt, non eſt habitabilis æſtu. Imagining, as moſt men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone to be altogether diſhabited for heat, though preſently wee know many famous and worthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Iſland of S. Thomas neere Æthiopia, & the wealthy Iſlands for the which chiefly all theſe voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited euen vnder the equinoctiall line. Ouid. 1. Meta.

To anſwere the third obiection, beſides Cabota and all other trauellers nauigations, the onely credit of M. Frobiſher may ſuffice, who lately through all theſe Iſlands of ice, and mountaines of ſnow, paſſed that way, euen beyond the gulfe that tumbleth downe from the North, and in ſome places though he drewe one inch thicke ice, as he returning in Auguſt did, yet came he home ſafely againe. Sol. 3.

The fourth argument is altogether friuolous & vaine, for neither is there any iſthmus or ſtrait of land betweene America and Aſia, ne can theſe two landes ioyntly be one continent. The firſt part of my anſwere is manifeſtly allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent Geographer Strabo followeth, yeelding him in this facultie the price. The authour of that booke likewiſe περὶ κόσμου to Alexander, attributed vnto Ariſtotle, is of the ſame opinion that Homer and Strabo be of, in two or three places. Dionißius in οἰκουμένης περιηγήσει hath this verſe οὕτως ὠκεανὸς περιδέδρομε γαῖαν ἅπασαν. So doth the Ocean Sea runne round about the worlde: ſpeaking onely of Europe, Afrike and Aſia, as then Aſia was trauelled and knowen. With theſe Doctours may you ioyne Pomponius Mela. cap. 2. lib. 1. Plinius lib. 2. cap. 67. and Pius 2. cap. 2. in his deſcription of Aſia. All the which writers doe no leſſe confirme the whole Eaſterne ſide of Aſia to be compaſſed about with the ſea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timæo, vnder the name Atlantis, the Weſt Indies to be an Iſland, as in a ſpecial diſcourſe thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable vnto the ſentence of Proclus, Marſilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an Iſland. Homer, Strabo, Ariſtotle, Dionyſius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Aſia, Afrike, & Europe, to be enuironed with the Ocean. I may therfore boldly ſay (though later intelligences therof had we none at all) that Aſia & the Weſt Indies be not tied together by any Iſthmos or ſtraight of land, contrary to the opinion of ſome new Coſmographers, by whom doubtfully this matter hath bin brought in controuerſie. And thus much for the firſt part of my anſwere vnto the fourth obiection. Sol. 4. Lib. Geog. Note. Richard Eden.

The ſecond part, namely that America and Aſia cannot be one continent, may thus be prooued, κατ' [illegible] τῆς γῆς [illegible]. The moſt Riuers take downe that way their courſe, where the earth is moſt hollow and deepe, writeth Ariſtotle: and the Sea (ſayth he in the ſame place) as it goeth further, ſo is it found deeper. Into what gulfe doe the Moſcouian riuers Onega, Duina, Ob, powre out their ſtreames Northward out of Moſcouia into the ſea? Which way doeth that ſea ſtrike? The South is maine land, the Eaſterne coaſt waxeth more and more ſhalow: from the North, either naturally, becauſe that part of the earth is higher Ariſtot. 2. Met. cap. 1. or of neceſſitie, for that the forcible influence of ſome Northerne ſtarres cauſeth the earth there to ſhake off the Sea, as ſome Philoſophers doe thinke: or finally for the great ſtore of waters engendred in that froſtie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber. in 2. Meteor. cap. 6. From the North, I ſay, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeaſterne currant muſt at the length abruptly bow toward vs South on the Weſt ſide of Finmarke and Norway: or elſe ſtrike downe Southweſt aboue Groneland, or betwixt Groneland and Iſeland, into the Northweſt ſtraight we ſpeake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the ſituation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobiſher experience teacheth vs. And M. Frobiſher the further he trauailed in the former paſſage, as he tolde me, the deeper alwayes he found the Sea. Lay you now the ſumme hereof together. The riuers runne where the chanels are moſt hollow, the ſea in taking his courſe waxeth deeper, the Sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeaſterne current ſtriketh downe into the ſtraight we ſpeake of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and ſnowe falling downe furiouſly out from the land vnder the North pole. Where ſtore of water is, there is it a thing impoſſible to want Sea, where Sea not onely doeth not want, but waxeth deeper, there can be diſcouered no land. Finally, whence I pray you came the contrary tide, that M. Frobiſher Lib. 2. Meteor. cap. 1. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 67.

mette withall after that he had ſailed no ſmall way in that paſſage, if there bee any Iſthmos or ſtraight of land betwixt the aforeſayd Northweſterne gulfe, and Mar del Zur, to ioyne Aſia and America together? That concluſion frequented in ſcholes Quicquid preter, &c. was meant of the partes of the world then knowen, and ſo is it of right to be vnderſtood

Sol. 5. The fift obiection requireth for anſwere wiſedome and policie in the trauailer, to winne the Barbarians fauour by ſome good meanes: and ſo to arme and ſtrengthen himſelfe, that when he ſhal haue the repulſe in one coaſt, he may ſafely trauaile to an other, commodiouſly taking his conuenient times, and diſcreetely making choiſe of them with whom hee will throughly deale. To force a violent entry, would for vs Engliſhmen be very hard, conſidering the ſtrength and valour of ſo great a Nation, farre diſtant from vs, and the attempt thereof might be moſt perillous vnto the doers, vnleſſe their part were very good.

Touching their lawes againſt ſtrangers, you ſhall reade neuertheleſſe in the ſame relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is woont to graunt free acceſſe vnto all forreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandiſe, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, vntill ſuch time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coaſt to bee a circumciſed Saracene: wherefore ſome of them were put to the ſword, the reſt were ſcattered abroad: at Fuquien a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be ſeene. As for the Iapans they be moſt deſirous to be acquainted with ſtrangers. The Portingals though they were ſtraitly handled there at the firſt, yet in the ende they found great fauour at the Prince his hands, inſomuch that the Loutea or preſident that miſuſed them was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth thoſe ſeas, the Portingals, the Saracenes, and Moores trauaile continually vp and downe that reach from Iapan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and ſhall an Engliſhman, better appointed then any of them all (that I ſay no more of our Nauie) feare to ſaile in that Ocean? What ſeas at all doe want piracie? what Nauigation is there voyde of perill?

Sol. 6. To the laſt argument. Our trauailers neede not to ſeeke their returne by the Northeaſt, neither ſhall they be conſtrained, except they liſt, either to attempt Magellans ſtraight at the Southweſt, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeaſt: they may returne by the Northweſt, that ſame way they doe goe foorth, as experience hath ſhewed.

The reaſon alleadged for proofe of the contrary may be diſproued after this maner. And firſt it may be called in controuerſie, whether any current continually be moued by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no? For learned men doe diuerſly handle that queſtion. The naturall courſe of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth moſt lowe and deepe: in reſpect whereof, it was erſt ſayd, the ſeas doe

Luc. lib. 1. Pharsal. ſtrike from the Northren landes Southerly. Violently the ſeas are toſſed and troubled diuers wayes with the windes, encreaſed and diminiſhed by the courſe of the Moone, hoiſed vp & downe through the ſundry operations of the Sunne and the ſtarres: finally, ſome be of opinion, that the ſeas be caried in part violently about the world, after the dayly motion of the higheſt moueable heauen, in like maner as the elements of ayre and fire, with the reſt of the heauenly ſpheres, are

What the Eaſterne current is. from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt. And this they doe call their Eaſterne current, or leuant ſtreame. Some ſuch current may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neereneſſe thereof vnto the centre of the Sunne, and bluſtring Eaſterne windes violently driuing the ſeas Weſtward: howbeit, in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, & the windes more diuers, blowing as much from the North, the Weſt and South, as from the Eaſt, this rule doeth not effectually withholde vs from trauailing Eaſtward, neither be we kept euer backe by the aforeſaid Leuant windes and ſtreame. But in Magellans ſtreight wee are violently driuen backe Weſtward: Ergo, through the Northweſterne ſtraight or Anian frette ſhall we not be able to returne Eaſtward? It followeth not. The firſt, for that the northweſterne ſtraight hath more ſea roome at the leaſt by one hundreth Engliſh myles, then Magellans frette hath, the onely want whereof cauſeth all narrow paſſages generally to be moſt violent. So would I ſay in the Anian gulfe, if it were ſo narrow as Don Diego and Zalterius haue painted it out, my returne that way to bee full of difficulties, in reſpect of ſuch ſtreightneſſe thereof, not for the neereneſſe of the Sunne, or Eaſterne windes, violently forcing that way any leuant ſtreame: But in that place there is more ſea roome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabota, and Gemma Friſius, and that which Tramezine imprinted, be true.

And hitherto reaſon ſee I none at all, but that I may as well giue credite vnto their doings,

Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2. as to any of the reſt. It muſt be Peregrinationis hiſtoria, that is, true reportes of ſkilfull trauailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in ſuch controuerſies of Geographie muſt put vs out of doubt.

Ortelius in his vniuerſall tables, in his particular Mappes of the Weſt Indies, of all Aſia, of the Northren kingdomes, of the Eaſt Indies, Mercator in ſome of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his vniuerſall table of the Globe diuided, in his ſea Carde, and particuler tables of the Eaſt Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Ferdinando Bertely, and others, doe ſo much differ from Gemma Friſius and Cabota, among themſelues, and in diuers places from themſelues, concerning the diuers ſituation and ſundry limits of America, that one may not ſo raſhly, as truely ſurmiſe, theſe men either to be ignorant in thoſe points touching the aforeſaid region, or that the Mappes they haue giuen out vnto the world, were collected onely by them, and neuer of their owne drawing.

The firſt Voyage of M. Martine Frobiſher, to the Northweſt, *for the ſearch of the ſtraight or paſſage to China, written by* Chriſtopher Hall, Maſter in the *Gabriel*, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

June.

‖ M. Matthew Kinderſlye was Captaine of the Michael.

The 7. of June being Thurſday, the two Barks, viz. the Gabriel, and the ‖ Michael & our Pinneſſe ſet ſaile at Ratcliffe, and bare downe to Detford, and there we ancred: the cauſe was, that our Pinneſſe burſt her boulteſprit, and foremaſt aboard of a ſhip that rode at Detford, elſe wee meant to haue paſt that day by the Court then at Grenewich.

The 8. day being Friday, about 12 of the clocke we wayed at Detford, and ſet ſaile all three of vs, and bare downe by the Court, where we ſhotte off our ordinance and made the beſt ſhew we could: Her Maieſtie beholding the ſame, commended it, and bade vs farewell, with ſhaking her hand at vs out of the window. Afterward ſhee ſent a Gentleman aboord of vs, who declared that her Maieſtie had good liking of our doings, and thanked vs for it, and alſo willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leaue of her.

The ſame day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of vs, and declared to the company, that her Maieſtie had appointed him to giue them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and gouernours in all things, and wiſhed vs happie ſucceſſe.

The 12. day being ouer againſt Grauesend, by the caſtle or blockehouſe, we obſerued the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compaſſe is 11. degrees and a halfe.

Fake Iſland.

The 24. day at 2. of the clocke after noone, I had ſight of Faire yle, being from vs 6. leagues North and by Eaſt, and when I brought it Northweſt and by North, it did riſe at the Southermoſt ende with a litle hommocke, and ſwampe in the middes.

Shotland.

The 25. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at Northweſt and by North a freſh gale, I caſt about to the Weſtward, the Southermoſt head of Shotland called Swinborne head Northnorthweſt from me, and the land of Faire yle, Weſt Southweſt from me. I ſailed directly to the North head of that ſaid land, ſounding as I ranne in, hauing 60. 50. and 40. fathoms, and gray redde ſhels: and within halfe a mile of that Iſland, there are 36. fathoms, for I ſailed to that Iſland to ſee whether there were any roadeſteede for a Northweſt winde, and I found by my ſounding hard rockes, and foule ground, and deepe water, within two cables length of the ſhoare, 28. fathome, and ſo did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foreſaile, and mizen till it was a high water vnder the Iſland. The tide ſetteth there Northweſt and Southeaſt: the flood ſetteth Southeaſt, and the ebbe Northweſt.

* By eleuation he meaneth the diſtance of the ſunne from the zenith.

S. Tronions.

The 26. day hauing the winde at South a faire gale, ſayling from Faire yle to Swinborne head, I did obſerue the latitude, the Iſland of Fowlay being Weſt Northweſt frõ me 6. leagues, and Swinborne head Eaſt ſoutheaſt from me, I found my *eleuation to be 37. degr. and my declination 22. degr. 46. min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. At that preſent being neere to Swinborne head, hauing a leake which did trouble vs, as alſo to take in freſh water, I plyed roome with a ſound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in ſeuen fathoms water, and faire ſande. You haue comming in the ſounds mouth in the entring 17. 15. 12. 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathoms, and the ſound lyeth in North northweſt, and there we roade to a Weſt ſunne, & ſtopped our leake, and hauing refreſhed our ſelues with water, at a North northweſt ſunne, I ſet ſaile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southeſt, and turned out till wee were cleare of the ſound, and ſo ſailed Weſt to go cleare of the Iſland of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay, I ſounded, hauing fiftie fathome, and ſtreamie ground, and alſo I ſounded Fowlay being North from mee one league off that Iſlande, hauing fiftie fathome at the South head, and ſtreamie ground, like

Fowlay Iſland.

broken otmell, and one ſhell being redde and white like mackerell.

Latitude 59. deg. 59. min. Here they begin to ſaile West and by North.

The 27. day at a South ſunne I did abſerue the latitude, the Iſland of Fowlay being from me two leagues Eaſt Northeaſt: I found my ſelfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min. truly obſerued, the winde at South Southweſt: I ſailed Weſt and by North.

From 12. to foure a clocke afternoone, the wind at South, a faire gale the ſhippe ſailed Weſt and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I ſounded hauing 60. fathome, with little ſtones and ſhels, the Iſland from vs 8. leagues Eaſt.

July the firſt. The firſt of July, from 4. to 8. a clocke, wee ſailed Weſt 4. glaſſes 4. leagues, and at that preſent we had ſo much winde that we ſpooned afore the ſea Southweſt 2. leagues.

3. The 3. day we found our Compaſſe to bee varied one point to the Weſtwards: this day from 4. to 8. a clocke we ſailed Weſt and by North 6. leagues.

The Compaſſe varying Weſtwards one point.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone Weſt and by North 4. leagues. At that preſent I found our Compaſſe to be varied 11. deg. and one 4. part to the Weſtwards, which is one point.

11. The Iſland of Friſeland.

The 11 day at a Southeaſt ſunne we had ſight of the land of Friſeland bearing from vs Weſt northweſt 16. leagues, and riſing like pinacles of ſteeples, and all couered with ſnowe. I found my ſelfe in 61. degr. of latitude. Wee ſailed to the ſhoare and could finde no ground at 150. fathoms, we hoiſed out our boate, and the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the ſhoare to get on land, but the land lying full of yce, they could not get on land, and ſo they came aboord againe: We had much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reaſon of the fogge. Yet from Thurſday 8. a clocke in the morning to Friday at noone we ſailed Southweſt 20. leagues.

18. The: 18. day at a Southeaſt ſunne I found the ſunne to be eleuated 33. deg. And at a Southſoutheaſt ſunne 40. deg. So I obſerued it till I found it at the higheſt, and then it was eleuated 52. deg. I iudged the variation of the Compaſſe to be 2. points and a halfe to the Weſtward.

The variation of the needle, two points and a halfe to the Weſt.

The 21. day we had ſight of a great drift of yce, ſeeming a firme lande, and we caſt Weſtward to be cleare of it.

A great drift of yce.

The 26. we had ſight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, and two minutes.

The latitude of 62. degrees 2. min.

Sight of land ſuppoſed to haue bene Labrador.

The 28. day in the morning was very foggie: but at the clearing vp of the fogge, wee had ſight of lande, which I ſuppoſed to be Labrador, with great ſtore of yce about the land: I ranne in towards it, and ſownded, but could get no ground at 100. fathom, and the yce being ſo thicke, I could not get to the ſhoare, and ſo lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Upon Munday we came within a mile of the ſhoare, and ſought a harborowe: all the ſownd was full of yce, and our boate rowing a ſhoare, could get no ground at a 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the ſhoare: then we ſailed Eaſtnortheaſt along the ſhoare, for ſo the lande lyeth, and the currant is there great, ſetting Northeaſt, and Southweſt: and if we could haue gotten anker ground, wee would haue ſeene with what force it had runne, but I iudge a ſhip may driue a league and a halfe, in one houre, with that tide. 30.

31. This day at 4. of the cloke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had ſight of a head land, as we iudged, bearing from vs north, and by Eaſt, and we ſailed Northeaſt, and by North to that land, and when we came thither, wee could not get to the lande for yce: for the yce ſtretched along the coaſt, ſo that we could not come to the land, by fiue leagues.

August.
Wedneſday the firſt of Auguſt it calmed, and in the after noone I cauſed my boate to be hoy-
1. ſed out, being hard by a great Iſland of yce, and I and foure men rowed to that yce, and ſown-
2. ded within two Cables length of it, and had ſixteene fathome, and little ſtones, and after that
ſownded againe within a Minion ſhot, and had ground at an hundreth fathome, and faire ſand:
we ſownded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had ſixtie fathome rough ground, and at
that preſent being aboord, that great Iſland of yce fell one part from another, making a noyſe
as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke I ſownded againe, and
had 90. fathome, and ſmall blacke ſtones, and little white ſtones, like pearles. The tide here did
ſet to the ſhoare.

10. The tenth I tooke foure men, and my ſelfe, and rowed to ſhoare to an Iſland one league from the maine, and there the flood ſetteth Southweſt alongeſt the ſhoare, and it floweth as neere as I could iudge ſo too, I could not tarry to prooue it, becauſe the ſhip was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge: but when I came a ſhoare, it was a low water. I went to ẏ top of the Iſland, and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and ſo without tarrying I came aboord.

11. They enter the Streit in the latitude of 63. deg. and 8. min.

The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degr. and eight minutes, and this day we entred the ſtreight.

12. The 12. wee ſet ſaile towardes an Iſland, called the Gabriels Iſland, which was 10. leagues then from vs.

We eſpied a ſound,and bare with it,and came to a ſandie Baye,where we came to an anker,
the land bearing Eaſt ſoutheaſt off vs,and there we rode al night in 8.fathome water.It floweth 13
there at a Southeaſt Moone.We called it Priors ſownd,being from the Gabriels Iſland,tenne
leagues.

The 14.we waied,and came into another ſownde, where wee ankered in 8.fathome water,
faire ſand,and blacke oaze,and there calked our ſhip, being weake from the wales vpward,and 14
tooke in freſh water.

The 15.day we waied,and ſailed to Priors Bay,being a mile from thence.

The 16.day was calme,and we rode ſtill,without yce,but preſently within two houres it was 15
frozen round about the ſhip,a quarter of an ynch thicke,and that day very faire,and calme. 16

The 17.day we waied,and came to Thomas Williams Iſland.

The 18.day we ſailed North northweſt,and ankered againe in 23.fathome,and tough oaze, 17
vnder Burchers Iſland,which is from the former Iſland,ten leagues. 18

The 19.day in the morning,being calme,and no winde, the Captaine and I tooke our boate,
with eight men in her,to rowe vs a ſhoare,to ſee if there were there any people,or no,and going 19
to the toppe of the Iſland,we had ſight of ſeuen boates,which came rowing from the Eaſt ſide,toward
that Iſland: whereupon we returned aboord againe : at length we ſent our boate with fiue
men in her,to ſee whither they rowed,and ſo with a white cloth brought one of their boates with
their men along the ſhoare,rowing after our boate,till ſuch time as they ſawe our ſhip, and then
they rowed a ſhoare : then I went on ſhoare my ſelfe, and gaue euery of them a threadden point,
and brought one of them aboord of me, where hee did eate and drinke, and then carried him on
ſhoare againe.Whereupon all the reſt came aboord with their boates, being nineteene perſons,
and they ſpake,but we vnderſtoode them not. They bee like to Tartars, with long blacke haire,
broad faces,and flatte noſes,and tawnie in colour,wearing Seale ſkinnes,and ſo doe the women,
not differing in the faſhion,but the women are marked in the face with blewe ſtreekes downe the
cheekes,and round about the eyes.Their boates are made all of Seales ſkinnes, with a keele of
wood within the ſkin: the proportion of them is like a Spaniſh ſhallop,ſaue only they be flat in
the bottome,and ſharpe at both ends.

Sight of the Countrey people.

The deſcription of the people.

The twentieth day wee wayed, and went to the Eaſtſide of this Iſland, and I and the Captaine,
with foure men more went on ſhoare,and there we ſawe their houſes,and the people eſpying 20
vs,came rowing towards our boate : whereupon we plied toward our boate : and wee being
in our boate and they aſhoare,they called to vs,and we rowed to them, and one of their company
came into our boate,and we carried him a boord, and gaue him a Bell, and a knife : ſo the Captaine
and I willed fiue of our men to ſet him a ſhoare at a rocke, and not among the company,
which they came from,but their wilfulneſſe was ſuch,that they would goe to them, and ſo were
taken themſelues,and our boate loſt.

5.of our men taken by the people.

The next day in the morning,we ſtoode in neere the ſhoare,and ſhotte off a fauconet,and ſounded
our trumpet, but we could heare nothing of our men: this ſound wee called the fiue mens 21
ſound,and plyed out of it,but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and oaze: and riding there all
night,in the morning,the ſnow lay a foote thicke vpon our hatches.

The 22.day in the morning we wayed,and went againe to the place where we loſt our men,
and our boate. We had ſight of foureteene boates,and ſome came neere to vs, but wee could 22
learne nothing of our men: among the reſt,we intiſed one boate to our ſhips ſide,with a Bell,and
in giuing him the Bell,we tooke him,and his boate,and ſo kept him,and ſo rowed downe to Thomas
Williams Iſland,and there ankered all night.

The 26.day we waied,to come homeward,and by 12.of the clocke at noone,we were thwart
of Trumpets Iſland. 26

They returne.

The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Iſland,and at 8.of the clocke at night we had the
Cape Labrador as we ſuppoſed Weſt from vs,ten leagues. 27

The 28.day we went our courſe Southeaſt.

We ſailed Southeaſt,and by Eaſt,22.leagues. 28

The firſt day of September in the morning we had ſight of the land of Friſeland, being eight 29
leagues from vs, but wee could not come neerer it, for the monſtrous yce that lay about it.
From this day,till the ſixth of this Moneth,we ranne along Iſland,and had the South part of it 1
at eight of the clocke,Eaſt from vs ten leagues.

September.

The ſeuenth day of this moneth we had a very terrible ſtorme, by force whereof, one of our
men was blowen into the ſea out of our waſte,but he caught hold of the foreſaile ſheate,and there 7
held till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ſhip.

The 25. day of this moneth we had ſight of the Iſland of Orkney, which was then Eaſt from vs. The firſt day of October we had ſight of the Shels, and ſo ſailed about the coaſt, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

The Shels.

The language of the people of *Meta incognita.*

Argoteyt, a hand.
Cangnawe, a noſe.
Arered, an eye.
Keiotot, a tooth.
Mutchatet, the head.
Chewat, an eare.
Comagaye, a legge.
Atoniagay, a foote.
Callagay, a paire of breeches.

Attegay, a coate.
Polleuetagay, a knife.
Accaskay, a ſhippe.
Coblone, a thumbe.
Teckkere, the foremoſt finger.
Ketteckle, the middle finger.
Mekellacane, the fourth finger.
Yacketrone, the litle finger.

The ſecond voyage of Maſter *Martin Frobiſher*, made to the Weſt and Northweſt Regions, in the yeere 1577. with a deſcription of the Countrey, and people: Written by Maſter *Dioniſe Settle.*

ON Whitſunday, being the ſixe and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Lord God 1577. Captaine Frobiſher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Maieſties ſhips, called The Aide, of nine ſcore tunnes, or therabouts: and two other little Barkes likewiſe, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Maſter Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: and the other, The Michael, whereof Maſter Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admirals was Captaine, accompanied with ſeuen ſcore Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and ſailers, well furniſhed with victuals, and other prouiſion neceſſarie for one halfe yeere, on this his ſecond voyage, for the further diſcouering of the paſſage to Cathay, and other Countreys thereunto adiacent, by Weſt and Northweſt nauigations: which paſſage or way, is ſuppoſed to bee on the North and Northweſt pars of America: and the ſaid America to be an Iſland inuironed with the ſea, where through our Merchants may haue courſe and recourſe with their merchandize, from theſe our Northernmoſt parts of Europe, to thoſe Orientall coaſts of Aſia, in much ſhorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that do or ſhall frequent the ſame. Our ſaid Captaine and General of this preſent voyage and company hauing the yeere before, with two little pinneſſes, to his great danger, and no ſmall commendations, giuen a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is alſo preſt, when occaſion ſhall be miniſtred (to the benefite of his Prince, and natiue Countrey) to aduenture himſelfe further therein. As for this ſecond voyage, it ſeemeth ſufficient, that he hath better explored and ſearched the commodities of thoſe people and Countreys, which in his firſt voyage the yeere before he had found out.

The Iſlands Orcades, or Orkney.

Upon which conſiderations, the day and yeere before expreſſed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwich, where making an accompliſhment of things neceſſary, the laſt of May we hoiſed vp ſailes, and with a merrie wind the 7. of Iune we arriued at the Iſlands called Orcades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. ſubiect and adiacent to Scotland, where we made prouiſion of freſh water: in the doing whereof our Generall licenſed the Gentlemen and ſouldiers for their recreation, to goe on ſhore. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with ſhrikes and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perſwaſions we reclamed them to their houſes. It ſeemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or ſome other enemies, that moue them to ſuch ſudden feare. Their houſes are very ſimply builded with Pibble ſtone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the middeſt thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their family eate and ſleepe on the one ſide of the houſe, and the cattell on the other, very beaſtly and rudely, in reſpect of ciuilitie. They are deſtitute of wood, their fire is turffes, and Cowſhards. They haue corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his houſe. They take great quantitie of fiſh, which they dry in the wind and Sunne. They dreſſe their meat very filthily, and eate it without ſalt. Their apparell is after the rudeſt ſort of Scotland. Their money is all baſe. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fiſher men of England can better declare the diſpoſitions of thoſe people then I: wherefore I remit other their vſages to their reports, as yeerely repairers thither, in their courſe to and from Iſland for fiſh.

The Orcadians vpon ſmal occaſion flee their home.

No wood in Orkney.

Fiſher men of England haue daily traffike to Orkney.

We departed herehence the 8. of Iune, and followed our courſe betweene Weſt and Northweſt, vntill the 4. of Iuly: all which time we had no night, but that eaſily, and without any impediment we had when we were ſo diſpoſed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleaſures to paſſe away the time: a thing of no ſmall moment, to ſuch as wander in vnknowen ſeas, and long nauigations, eſpecially, when both the winds and raging ſurges do paſſe their common and wonted courſe. This benefite endureth in thoſe parts not 6. weekes, while the ſunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the pole is raiſed to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth much longer.

In Iune and Iuly no night in thoſe Weſt and Northweſt regions.

All along theſe ſeas, after we were ſixe dayes ſailing from Orkney, we met floting in the ſea, great Firre trees, which as we iudged, were with the furie of great floods rooted vp, and ſo driuen into the ſea. Iſland hath almoſt no other wood nor fuell, but ſuch as they take vp vpon their coaſtes. It ſeemeth, that theſe trees are driuen from ſome part of the New found land, with the current that ſetteth from the Weſt to the Eaſt.

Great abundance of Firre trees floting in the ſea.

Inquire further of this current.

The 4. of Iuly we came within the making of Friſland. From this ſhoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Iſlands of yce, of halfe a mile, ſome more, ſome leſſe in compaſſe, ſhewing aboue the ſea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we ſuppoſed faſt on ground, where with our lead we could ſcarſe found the bottome for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant ſmels of ſweete gums, & pleaſant notes of muſicall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee taſted the moſt boiſterous Boreal blaſts mixt with ſnow and haile, in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, nothing inferior to our vntemperate winter: a ſudden alteration, and eſpecially in a place or Parallele, where the Pole is not eleuate aboue 61. degrees: at which heigth other Countreys more to the North, yea vnto 70. degrees, ſhew themſelues more temperate then this doth.

Yce, ſnow, and haile in Iune and Iuly.

All along this coaſt yce lieth, as a continuall bulwarke, & ſo defendeth the Countrey, that thoſe that would land there, incur great danger. Our Generall 3. dayes together attempted with the ſhip boate to haue gone on ſhoare, which for that without great danger he could not accompliſh, he deferred it vntill a more conuenient time. All along the coaſt lie very high mountaines couered with ſnow, except in ſuch places, where through the ſteepenes of the mountaines of force it muſt needs fall. Foure dayes coaſting along this land, we found no ſigne of habitation. Little birds, which we iudged to haue loſt the ſhore, by reaſon of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much ſubiect vnto, came flying into our ſhips, which cauſeth vs to ſuppoſe, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and alſo habitable within, then the outward ſhore maketh ſhew or ſignification.

Friſeland ſubiect to fogge.

From hence we departed the eight of Iuly: and the 16. of the ſame, we came with the making of land, which land our Generall the yeere before had named The Queenes foreland, being an Iſland as we iudge, lying neere the ſuppoſed continent with America: and on the other ſide, oppoſite to the ſame, one other Iſland called Halles Iſle, after the name of the Maſter of the ſhip, neere adiacent to the firme land, ſuppoſed continent with Aſia. Betweene the which two Iſlands there is a large entrance or ſtreight, called Frobiſhers ſtreight, after the name of our Generall, the firſt finder thereof. This ſaid ſtreight is ſuppoſed to haue paſſage into the ſea of Sur, which I leaue vnknowen as yet.

Frobiſhers ſtreight.

It ſeemeth that either here, or not farre hence, the ſea ſhould haue more large entrance, then in other parts within the frozen or vntemperate Zone: and that ſome contrary tide, either from the Eaſt or Weſt, with maine force caſteth out that great quantitie of yce, which commeth floting from this coaſt, [illegible] vnto Friſeland, cauſing that Countrey to ſeeme more vntemperate then others, much more Northerly then the ſame.

I cannot iudge that any temperature vnder the Pole, the time of the Sunnes Northerne declination being halfe a yere together, and one whole day, (conſidering that the Sunnes eleuation ſurmounteth not 23. degrees and 30. minutes) can haue power to diſſolue ſuch monſtrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by ſome other force, as by ſwift currents and tides, with the helpe of the ſaid day of halfe a yeere.

Iſlands of yce comparable to mountaines.

Before we came within the making of theſe lands we taſted cold ſtormes, in ſo much that it ſeemed we had changed ſummer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooued vs from that opinion.

At our firſt comming, the ſtreights ſeemed to be ſhut vp with a long mure of yce, which gaue no litle cauſe of diſcomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whoſe diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts ſeemed nothing, in reſpect of his willing mind, for the commoditie of his Prince and Countrey,) with two little Pinneſſes prepared of purpoſe, paſſed twiſe thorow them to the Eaſt ſhore, and the Iſlands thereunto adiacent: and the ſhip, with the two Barks lay off and on ſomething further into the ſea, from the danger of the yce.

Captaine Frobiſher his ſpeciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.

Whileſt

The order of the people appearing on ſhoare.

Whileſt he was ſearching the Countrey neere the ſhoare, ſome of the people of the Countrey ſhewed themſelues leaping and dauncing, with ſtrange ſhrikes and cries, which gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall deſirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, cauſed kniues, and other things to be proffered vnto them, which they would not take at our hands: but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing ſome thing of theirs to counteruaile the ſame. At the length two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Maſter, who did the like to them, commanding the company to ſtay, and went vnto them: who after certaine dumbe ſignes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly eſcaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not reſpecting the reſt of our companie which were ready for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt diuers of them: we tooke the one, and the other eſcaped.

Fierce and bold people. One taken.

Whileſt our Generall was buſied in ſearching the Countrey, and thoſe Iſlands adiacent on the Eaſtſhoare, the ſhip and barkes hauing great care, not to put farre into the ſea from him, for that he had ſmall ſtore of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempeſt, chancing in the night, amongſt and in the thickeſt of the yce, which was ſo monſtrous, that euen the leaſt of a thouſand had bene of force ſufficient, to haue ſhiuered our ſhip and barks into ſmall portions, if God (who in all neceſſities, hath care vpon the infirmitie of man) had not prouided for this our extremitie a ſufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well diſcerne to flee from ſuch imminent dangers, which we auoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the ſpace of 4. houres. If we had not incurred this danger amōgſt theſe monſtrous Iſlands of yce, we ſhould haue loſt our Generall and Maſter, and the moſt of our beſt ſailers, which were on the ſhoare deſtitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Maſter Gunner, Maſter Iackman, and Andrew Dier, the Maſters Mates, men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearſed, before we would with our owne ſafetie, runne into the ſeas, to the deſtruction of our ſayd Generall, and his company.

Richard Cox, Maſter gunner. Maſter Iackman. Andrew Dier.

The day following, being the 19. of Iulie, our Captaine returned to the ſhip, with report of ſuppoſed riches, which ſhewed it ſelfe in the bowels of thoſe barren mountaines, wherewith wee were all ſatiſfied.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the ſtreights, the Northweſt and Weſt winds diſperſed the yce into the ſea, & made vs a large entrance into the ſtreights, ſo that without any impediment, on the 19. of Iulie we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our Generall and Maſter with great diligence, ſought out and ſounded the Weſt ſhoare, and found out a faire Harborough for the ſhip and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Maſters mate, Iackmans ſound, and brought the ſhip, barkes, and all their company to ſafe anker, except one man, which died by Gods viſitation.

Iackmans ſound.

At our firſt arriuall, after the ſhip rode at anker, our generall, with ſuch company as could well be ſpared from the ſhips, in marching order entred the lande, hauing ſpeciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, wee ſhould all with one voyce, kneeling vpon our knees, chiefly thanke God for our ſafe arriuall: ſecondly beſeech him, that it would pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie, long to continue our Queene, for whom he, and all the reſt of our company in this order tooke poſſeſſion of the Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Chriſtian ſtudie and endeuour, thoſe barbarous people trained vp in Paganiſme, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of ſaluation in Chriſt our Redeemer. With other words very apt to ſignifie his willing mind, and affection toward his Prince and Countrey: whereby all ſuſpicion of an vndutifull ſubiect, may credibly be iudged to be vtterly exempted from his mind. All the reſt of the Gentlemen and other deſerue worthily herein, their due praiſe and commendation.

Poſſeſſion taken.

Theſe things in this order accompliſhed, our Generall commanded all the company to be obedient in things needfull for our owne ſafegard, to Maſter Fenton, Maſter Yorke, and Maſter Beaſt his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other neceſſarie affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Enſigne diſplaied, ſo farre as was thought needfull, and now and then heaped vp ſtones on high mountaines, and other places in token of poſſeſſion, as likewiſe to ſignifie vnto ſuch as hereafter may chance to arriue there, that poſſeſſion is taken in the behalfe of ſome other Prince, by thoſe who firſt found out the Countrey.

Yce needfull to be regarded of ſeafaring men.

Who ſo maketh nauigations to thoſe Countreys, hath not onely extreme winds, and furious ſeas to encounter withall, but alſo many monſtrous and great Iſlands of yce: a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced ſundry times, while the ſhip did ride here at anker, to haue continuall watch, with boats & men ready with halſers to knit faſt vnto ſuch yce, as with the ebbe & flood were toſſed to and fro in the harborough, & with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering the ſhip.

Our Generall certaine dayes ſearched this ſuppoſed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to anſwere his expectation, after he had made triall thereof he departed thence with two little barks, and men ſufficient to the Eaſt ſhore being the ſuppoſed continent of Aſia, and left the ſhip with moſt of the Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and ſailers, vntill ſuch time as he either thought good to ſend or come for them.

Stones gliſter with ſparkles like gold.

A common Prouerbe.

The ſtones of this ſuppoſed continent with America be altogether ſparkled, and gliſter in the Sunne like gold: ſo likewiſe doth the ſand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Prouerb: All is not gold that gliſtereth.

On this Weſt ſhore we found a dead fiſh floating, which had in his noſe a horne ſtreight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two ynches, being broken in the top, where we might perceiue it hollow, into the which ſome of our ſailers putting ſpiders they preſently died. I ſaw not the triall hereof, but it was reported vnto me of a trueth: by the vertue whereof we ſuppoſed it to be the ſea Unicorne.

The ſea Unicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ſhip and barks to anker in, and alſo ſuch ſtore of ſuppoſed gold ore as he thought himſelfe ſatiſfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Maſter Yorke aforeſaid was Captaine, accompanied with our maſter and his Mate: who coaſting along the Weſt ſhore not farre from whence the ſhip rode, they perceiued a faire harborough, and willing to ſound the ſame, at the entrance thereof they eſpied two tents of Seale skins, vnto which the Captaine, our ſaid Maſter, and other company reſorted. At the ſight of our men the people fled into the mountaines: neuertheleſſe they went to their tents, where leauing certaine trifles of ours, as glaſſes, bels, kniues, and ſuch like things they departed, not taking any thing of theirs except one dogge. They did in like maner leaue behind them a letter, pen, yncke, and paper, whereby our men whom the Captaine loſt the yere before, and in that peoples cuſtody, might (if any of them were aliue) be aduertiſed of our preſence and being there.

The people fled at the ſight of our men.

On the ſame day after conſultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewiſe that could be ſpared from the ſhip, vnder the conduct and leading of Maſter Philpot, (vnto whom in our Generall his abſence, and his Lieutenant Maſter Beaſt, al the reſt were obedient) went a ſhore, determining to ſee, if by faire means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwiſe take ſome of them, and ſo attaine to ſome knowledge of thoſe men whom our Generall loſt the yeere before.

Maſter Philpot.

Maſter Beaſt.

At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooued their tents further into the ſaid Bay or Sound, where they might if they were driuen from the land, flee with their boates into the ſea. We parting our ſelues into two companies, and compaſſing a mountaine came ſuddenly vpon them by land, who eſpying vs, without any tarying fled to their boates, leauing the moſt part of their oares behind them for haſte, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinneſſes met them and droue them to ſhore: but if they had had all their oares, ſo ſwift are they in rowing, it had bene loſt time to haue chaſed them.

When they were landed they fiercely aſſaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes: and perceiuing themſelues thus hurt, they deſperatly leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themſelues: which if they had not done, but had ſubmitted themſelues, or if by any meanes we could haue taken them aliue (being their enemies as they iudged) we would both haue ſaued them, & alſo haue ſought remedy to cure their wounds receiued at our hands. But they altogether voyd of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they ſhould fall into our hands, thus miſerably by drowning rather deſired death then otherwiſe to be ſaued by vs: the reſt perceiuing their fellowes in this diſtreſſe, fled into the high mountaines. Two women not being ſo apt to eſcape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong child, we tooke. The old wretch, whom diuers of our Saylers ſuppoſed to be eyther a deuill, or a witch, had her buſkins plucked off, to ſee if ſhe were clouen footed, and for her ougly hew and deformity we let her goe: the yong woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were ſlaine, Bloodie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorks ſound, after the name of one of the Captaines of the two Barks.

A fierce aſſault of a few.

Hauing this knowledge both of their fierceneſſe and cruelty, and perceiuing that faire meanes as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we diſpoſed our ſelues, contrary to our inclination, ſomething to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a ſpoyle of the ſame: where we found an old ſhirt, a doublet, a girdle, and alſo ſhooes of our men, whom we loſt the yeere before: on nothing elſe vnto them belonging could we ſet our eyes.

Faire meanes not able to allure them to familiarity.

Boates of ſkinnes.

Their riches are not gold, ſiluer or precious Drapery, but their ſaid tents and botes, made of the ſkins of red Deare and Seale ſkins: alſo dogges like vnto woolues, but for the moſt part black, with other trifles, more to be wondred at for their ſtrangeneſſe, then for any other commoditie needefull for our vſe.

Our departure from the Weſt ſhore.

Thus returning to our ſhip the 3. of Auguſt, we departed from the Weſt ſhore ſuppoſed firme with America, after we had ankered there 13. dayes: and ſo the 4. thereof we came to our Generall on the Eaſt ſhore and ankered in a faire Harborough named Anne Warwickes ſound, vnto which is annexed an Iland both named after the Counteſſe of Warwicke, Anne Warwickes ſound and Iſle.

In this Iſle our Generall thought good for this voyage, to fraight both the ſhip and barkes, with ſuch ſtone or ſuppoſed gold minerall, as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his firſt, and this his ſecond nauigation to theſe Countreys.

The countrey people ſhew themſelues vnto vs.

In the meane time of our abode here ſome of the countrey people came to ſhew themſelues vnto vs, ſundry times on the maine ſhore, neere adiacent to the ſaid Iſle. Our Generall deſirous to haue ſome newes of his men, whom he loſt the yeere before, with ſome company with him repaired with the ſhip boat to common, or ſigne with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is perſwaded to bring them. They at the firſt ſhew made tokens, that three of his fiue men were aliue, and deſired penne, ynck, and paper, and that within three or foure dayes they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring thoſe of our men which were liuing, with them.

They alſo made ſignes or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, & how he was carried on mens ſhoulders, and a man farre ſurmounting any of our company, in bigneſſe and ſtature.

Their vſage in traffique or exchange.

With theſe tokens and ſignes of writing, penne, yncke, and paper was deliuered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid vpon the ſhore, and the partie gone away, they tooke vp: which likewiſe they do when they deſire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left ſo much as they thinke will counteruaile the ſame, and not comming neere together. It ſeemeth they haue bene vſed to this trade or traffique, with ſome other people adioyning, or not farre diſtant from their Countrey.

The people ſhew themſelues the third time.

After 4. dayes ſome of them ſhewed themſelues vpon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, ſuppoſing to heare of our men, went from the Iland, with the boat, and ſufficient company with him. They ſeemed very glad, and allured him about a certaine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a company of the crafty villaines to lye lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, and ſo with few ſignes diſmiſſed them and returned to his company.

The people ſhew themſelues againe on firme land.

An other time as our ſaid Generall was coaſting the Countrey with two little Pinneſſes, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white ſkin allured vs to them. Once againe our generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neere the ſhore whereon they were, we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behind great ſtones, & thoſe 3, in ſight labouring by al meanes poſſible that ſome would come on land: and perceiuing we made no haſt by words nor friendly ſignes, which they vſed by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but 3. in ſight, they ſought further means to prouoke vs thereunto. One alone laid fleſh on the ſhore, which we tooke vp with the Boat hooke, as neceſſary victuals for the relieuing of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet they could not digeſt our meat: whereby they perceiued themſelues deceiued of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once againe to make (as it were) a full ſhew of their craftie natures, and ſubtile ſleights, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken ſome of our men, one of them counterfeited himſelfe impotent and lame of his legs, who ſeemed to deſcend to the water ſide, with great difficulty: and to couer his craft the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in ſuch places where he ſeemed vnable to paſſe, he tooke him on his ſhoulders, ſet him by the water ſide, and departed from him, leauing him (as it ſhould ſeeme) all alone, who playing his counterfait pageant very well, thought thereby to prouoke ſome of vs to come on ſhore, not fearing, but that one of vs might make our party good with a lame man.

Their firſt meanes to allure vs to ſhore.
Their ſecond meanes.
Their third and craftieſt allurement.

Compaſſion to cure a crafty lame man.

Our Generall hauing compaſſion of his impotency, thought good (if it were poſſible) to cure him thereof: wherefore he cauſed a ſouldier to ſhoote at him with his Caleeuer, which graſed before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrowes, and the reſt from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, ſlings, and darts. Our Generall cauſed ſome caleeuers to be ſhot off at them, wherby ſome being hurt, they might hereafter ſtand in more feare of vs.

This was all the anſwere for this time we could haue of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their craftie dealing at theſe three ſeuerall times being thus manifeſt vnto vs, may plainely ſhew their diſpoſition in other things to be correſpondent. We iudged that they vſed theſe ſtratagemes, thereby to haue caught ſome of vs, for the deliuering of the man woman and child whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much vnlike the Sunne burnt Countrey man, who laboureth daily in the Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire ſomething long, and cut before either with ſtone or knife, very diſorderly. Their women weare their haire long, and knit vp with two loupes, ſhewing forth on either ſide of their faces, and the reſt foltred vpon a knot. Alſo ſome of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wriſts of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meat all raw, both fleſh, fiſh, and foule, or ſomething per boyled with blood and a little water which they drinke. For lacke of water they will eate yce, that is hard froſen, as pleaſantly as we will do Sugar Candie, or other Sugar.

If they for neceſſities ſake ſtand in need of the premiſſes, ſuch graſſe as the Countrey yeeldeth they plucke vp and eate, not deintily, or ſalletwiſe to allure their ſtomacks to appetite: but for neceſſities ſake without either ſalt, oyles, or waſhing, like brute beaſts deuouring the ſame. They neither vſe table, ſtoole, or table cloth for comlines: but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deepe, and their kniues in like ſort, they vſe their tongues as apt inſtruments to lick them cleane: in doing whereof they are aſſured to looſe none of their victuals.

They franke or keepe certaine dogs not much vnlike Wolues, which they yoke together, as we do oxen & horſes, to a ſled or traile: and ſo carry their neceſſaries ouer the yce and ſnow from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfect ſignes. And when thoſe dogs are not apt for the ſame vſe: or when with hunger they are conſtrained for lacke of other victuals, they eat them: ſo that they are as needfull for them in reſpect of their bigneſſe, as our oxen are for vs.

Dogges like vnto wolues.

They eate dogs fleſh.

They apparell themſelues in the ſkins of ſuch beaſts as they kill, ſewed together with the ſinewes of them. All the foule which they kill, they ſkin, and make thereof one kind of garment or other, to defend them from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and tailes, which tailes they giue when they thinke to gratifie any friendſhip ſhewed vnto them: a great ſigne of friendſhip with them. The men haue them not ſo ſide as the women.

Hoods and tailes to their apparell.

The men and women weare their hoſe cloſe to their legges, from the waſt to the knee without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Vpon their legges they weare hoſe of leather, with the furre ſide inward two or three paire on at once, and eſpecially the women. In thoſe hoſe they put their kniues, needles, and other things needfull to beare about. They put a bone within their hoſe, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw their ſaid hoſe, and ſo in place of garters they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dreſſe their ſkinnes very ſoft and ſouple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter they weare the furre ſide inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none but the ſaid ſkinnes.

Thoſe beaſts, fiſhes, and foules which they kill, are their meat, drinke, apparell, houſes, bedding, hoſe, ſhooes, thred, and ſailes for their boates, with many other neceſſaries whereof they ſtand in need, and almoſt all their riches.

Their houſes are tents made of Seale ſkins, pitched vp with 4. Firre quarters [illegible] ſquare meeting at the top, and the ſkins ſewed together with ſinewes, and laid thereupon: they are ſo pitched vp, that the entrance into them is alwayes South or againſt the Sunne.

Their houſes of Seale ſkins and Firre.

They haue other ſorts of houſes which we found not to be inhabited, which are raiſed with ſtones and Whale bones, and a ſkinne layd ouer them, to withſtand the raine or other weather: the entrance of them being not much vnlike an Ouens mouth, whereto I thinke they reſort for a time to fiſh, hunt, and foule, and ſo leaue them vntill the next time they come thither againe.

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, darts, and ſlings. Their bowes are of wood of a yard long, ſinewed at the back with ſtrong ſinewes, not glued too, but faſt girded and tyed on. Their bow ſtrings are likewiſe ſinewes. Their arrowes are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with thoſe two ends, and the wood in the midſt, they paſſe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers the penne end being cut away, and the fethers layd vpon the arrow with the broad ſide to the wood: inſomuch that they ſeeme when they

Their weapons of defence.

are

Three ſorts of heads to their arrowes.

are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. They haue alſo three ſorts of heads to thoſe arrowes: one ſort of ſtone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the ſecond ſort of bone, much like vnto a ſtopt head, with a hooke on the ſame: the third ſort of bone likewiſe made ſharpe at both ſides, and ſharpe pointed. They are not made very faſt but lightly tyed to, or elſe ſet in a nocke, that vpon ſmall occaſion the arrowes leaue theſe heads behind them: and they are of ſmall force, except they be very neere when they ſhoote.

Two ſorts of Darts.

Their Darts are made of two ſorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore end, and likewiſe in the midſt: their proportions are not much vnlike our toaſting yrons but longer: theſe they caſt out of an inſtrument of wood, very readily. The other ſort is greater then the firſt aforeſayd, with a long bone made ſharpe on both ſides not much vnlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their moſt hurtfull weapon.

Two ſorts of boates made of leather.

They haue two ſorts of boats made of leather, ſet out on the inner ſide with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the ſame: the greater ſort are not much vnlike our wherries, wherein ſixteene or twenty men may ſit: they haue for a ſayle dreſt the guts of ſuch beaſts as they kill very fine and thinne, which they ſew together: the other boate is but for one man to ſit and row in with one oare.

They vſe to foule, fiſh, and hunt.

Their order of fiſhing, hunting, and fouling are with theſe ſaid weapons: but in what ſort, or how they vſe them we haue no perfect knowledge as yet.

It is to be ſuppoſed that their inhabiting is elſewhere.

I can ſuppoſe their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houſes or apparell, are of ſuch force to withſtand the extremity of cold, that the Countrey ſeemeth to be infected with all: neither do I ſee any ſigne likely to performe the ſame.

Thoſe houſes or rather dennes which ſtand there, haue no ſigne of footway, or any thing elſe troden, which is one of the chiefeſt tokens of habitation. And thoſe tents which they bring with them, when they haue ſufficiently hunted and fiſhed, they remoue to other places: and when they haue ſufficiently ſtored them of ſuch victuals, as the Countrey yeeldeth or bringeth forth, they returne to their winter ſtations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertility which I coniecture to be in that Countrey.

Their vſe of yron.

They haue ſome yron whereof they make arrow heads, knIues, and other little inſtruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and darts withall, which are very vnapt to doe any thing withall but with great labour.

It ſeemeth that they haue conuerſation with ſome other people, of whom for exchange they ſhould receiue the ſame. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giueth a ſound.

Anthropophagi.

What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idoll they adore, we haue no perfect intelligence. I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans fleſh then otherwiſe: for that there is no fleſh or fiſh which they find dead (ſmell it neuer ſo filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it without any other dreſſing. A loathſome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

Signes of gold ure.

There is no maner of creeping beaſt hurtfull, except ſome Spiders (which as many affirme, are ſignes of great ſtore of gold) and alſo certaine ſtinging Gnattes, which bite ſo fiercely, that the place where they bite ſhortly after ſwelleth and itcheth very ſore.

Signes of gold from other people.

They make ſignes of certaine people that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

Deſcription of the Countreis.

The Countreys on both ſides the ſtreights lye very high with rough ſtony mountaines, and great quantitie of ſnow thereon. There is very little plaine ground and no graſſe, except a little which is much like vnto moſſe that groweth on ſoft ground, ſuch as we get Turffes in. There is no wood at all. To be briefe there is nothing fit or profitable for the vſe of man, which that Countrey with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit there is great quantity of Deere, whoſe ſkins are like vnto Aſſes, there heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as alſo in breadth, any in theſe our parts or Countreys: their feete likewiſe are as great as our oxens, which we meaſured to be ſeuen or eight ynches in breadth. There are alſo hares, wolues, fiſhing beares, and ſea foule of ſundry ſorts.

As the Countrey is barren and vnfertile, ſo are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the ſame to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fiſhing, and fouling, with raw fleſh and warme blood to ſatisfie their greedy panches, which is their only glory.

A ſigne of Earthquakes or thunder.

There is great likelihood of Earthquakes or thunder: for that there are huge and monſtrous mountaines, whoſe greateſt ſubſtance are ſtones, and thoſe ſtones ſo ſhaken with ſome extraordinarie meanes that one is ſeparated from another, which is diſcordant from all other Quarries.

There are no riuers, or running ſprings, but ſuch as through the heate of the Sunne, with ſuch water as diſcendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of ſnow do lie, are ingendred.

No riuers, but ſuch as the Sunne doth cauſe to come of ſnow.

It argueth alſo that there ſhould be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter is ſo froſen within, that that water which ſhould haue recourſe within the ſame to maintaine ſprings, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is ſeene other where. Such valleis as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time by the operation of the Sunne deſcendeth from great abundance of ſnowe, which continually lyeth on the mountaines and hath no paſſage, ſinketh into the earth and ſo vaniſheth away, without any runnell aboue the earth, by which occaſion or continuall ſtanding of the ſaid water, the earth is opened, and the great froſt yeeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places foure or fiue fathoms within the ground for lacke of the ſaid moiſture, the earth (euen in the very Summer time) is froſen, and ſo combineth the ſtones together, that ſcarcely inſtruments with great force can vnknit them.

A probabilitie that there ſhould be neither ſpring or riuers in the ground.

Alſo where the water in thoſe valleis can haue no ſuch paſſage away, by the continuance of time in ſuch order as is before rehearſed, the yeerely deſcent from the mountaines filleth them full, that at the loweſt banke of the ſame, they fall into the valley, and ſo continue as fiſhing Ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard froſen: as by ſkarres that remaine thereof in Summer may eaſily be perceiued: ſo that the heat of Summer is nothing comparable or of force to diſſolue the extremitie of cold that commeth in Winter.

Neuertheleſſe I am aſſured that below the force of the froſt within the earth, the waters haue recourſe, and emptie themſelues out of ſight into the ſea, which through the extremitie of the froſt are conſtrained to doe the ſame: by which occaſion the earth within is kept the warmer, and ſprings haue their recourſe, which is the onely nutriment of golde and Minerals within the ſame.

Springs nouriſh gold.

There is much to be ſayd of the commodities of theſe Countreys, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let paſſe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

The 24. of Auguſt, after we had ſatiſfied our minds with fraight ſufficient for our veſſels, though not our couetous deſires with ſuch knowledge of the Countrey, people, and other commodities as are before rehearſed, we departed therehence. The 17. of September we fell with the lands end of England, and ſo ſailed to Milford Hauen, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Port or Hauen to conduct the ſhip.

Our departure from thoſe Countreys.

We loſt our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one the 29. of Auguſt, the other the 31. of the ſame moneth, by occaſion of great tempeſt and fogge. Howbeit God reſtored the one to Briſtowe, and the other made his courſe by Scotland to Yermouth. In this voyage we loſt two men, one in the way by Gods viſitation, and the other homeward caſt ouer borde with a ſurge of the ſea.

How & when we loſt our 2. Barks, which God neuertheleſſe reſtored.

I Could declare vnto the Readers, the latitude and longitude of ſuch places and regions as we haue bene at, but not altogether ſo perfectly as our maſters and others, with many circumſtances of tempeſts and other accidents incident to Sea faring men, which ſeeme not altogether ſtrange, but I let them paſſe to their reports as men moſt apt to ſet forth and declare the ſame. I haue alſo left the names of the Countreys on both the ſhores vntouched, for lacke of vnderſtanding the peoples language: as alſo for ſundry reſpects, not needfull as yet to be declared.

The concluſion.

Countreys new diſcouered where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accord with a new name giuen by the diſcouerers, then an vncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our general named ſundry Iſlands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harboroughs after the names of diuers Noble men and other gentlemen his friends, aſwel on the one ſhore as alſo on the other.

The third and laſt voyage vnto *Meta Incognita*, made by M.*Martin Frobiſher*, in the yeere 1578. Written by *Thomas Ellis*.

These are to let you know, that vpon the 25. of May, the Thomas Allen being Viceadmirall, whoſe Captaine was M.Yorke, M.Gibbes Maiſter, Chriſtopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmiral named the Hopewel, whoſe Captaine was M.Henrie Carewe, the M.Andrewe Dier, and certaine other ſhips came to Grauesend, where wee ankred and abode the comming of certaine of our Fleete which were not yet come.

Maſter Yorke.
Chriſtopher Hall.
The Hopewel.
Captaine Carew.
Andrew Dier,

Harwich.

Durſies, Ireland.

The 27.of the ſame moneth our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things preſt in a readineſſe,the wind fauouring,and tide ſeruing,we being of ſailes in number eight, waied ankers and hoiſed our ſailes toward Harwich to meete with our Admirall, and the reſidue which then and there abode our arriuall: where we ſafely arriued the 28.thereof,finding there our Admirall,whom we with the diſcharge of certaine pieces ſaluted, according to order and duety, and were welcommed with the like courteſie: which being finiſhed we landed: where our Generall continued muſtering his ſouldiers and Miners, and ſetting things in order appertaining to the voyage vntill the laſt of the ſaid moneth of May,which day we hoiſed our ſailes,and committing our ſelues to the conducting of Almightie God,we ſet forward toward the weſt Countrey in ſuch luckie wiſe and good ſucceſſe,that by the fift of Iune we paſſed the Durſies,being the vtmoſt part of Ireland to the Weſtward.

Plimmouth.

Briſtow.

And here it were not much amiſſe nor farre from our purpoſe,if I ſhould a little diſcourſe and ſpeake of our aduentures and chances by the way,as our landing at Plimmouth,as alſo the meeting certaine poore men,which were robbed and ſpoyled of all that they had by Pirates and Rouers: amongſt whom was a man of Briſtow,on whom our Generall vſed his liberalitie, and ſent him away with letters into England.

Frizeland.

But becauſe ſuch things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the ſame)to that from the which I haue digreſſed and ſwarued,I meane our ſhips now ſailing on the ſurging ſeas, ſometime paſſing at pleaſure with a wiſhed Eaſterne wind, ſometime hindered of our courſe againe by the Weſterne blaſts, vntill the 20.day of the foreſayd moneth of Iune, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land and was almoſt cleane couered with ſnow,ſo that we might ſee nought but craggie rockes and the tops of high and huge hilles, ſometimes (and for the moſt part) all couered with foggie miſts. There might we alſo perceiue the great Iſles of yce lying on the ſeas, like mountaines,ſome ſmall,ſome big,of ſundry kinds of ſhapes,and ſuch a number of them, that wee could not come neere the ſhore for them.

The curteſie of our Generall.

Thus ſailing alongſt the coaſt,at the laſt we ſaw a place ſomewhat voyd of yce,where our Generall (accompanied with certaine other)went a ſhore, where they ſawe certaine tents made of beaſts ſkinnes,and boates much like vnto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furniſhed with fleſh,fiſh,ſkins,and other trifles: amongſt the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did coniecture,that they had either Artificers amongſt them,or els a traffike with ſome other nation. The men ran away,ſo that wee could haue no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (becauſe hee would haue them no more to flee, but rather incouraged to ſtay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement that his men ſhould take nothing away with them,ſauing onely a couple of white dogs,for the which he left pinnes,poynts,kniues,and other trifling things,and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and ſo came abord, and hoyſed ſailes,and paſſed forwards.

But being ſcarce out of the ſight thereof,there fell ſuch a fogge and hidious miſt that we could not ſee one another: whereupon we ſtroke our drums, and ſounded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and ſo continued all that day and night till the next day that the miſt brake vp: ſo that we might eaſily perceiue all the ſhips thus ſailing together all that day, vntil the next day,being the 22.of the ſame: on which day wee ſawe an infinite number of yce,from the which we caſt about to ſhun the danger thereof.

Maſter Kinderſlie. Bartholomew Bull.

But one of our ſmall Barkes named the Michael, whoſe Captaine was Maſter Kinderſlie, the Maſter Bartholomew Bull,loſt our company,inſomuch that we could not obteine the ſight of her many dayes after,of whom I meane to ſpeake further anon when occaſion ſhall be miniſtred, and opportunitie ſerue. Thus we continued in our courſe vntill the ſecond of Iuly,on which day we fell with the Queenes foreland,where we ſaw ſo much yce, that we thought it vnpoſſible to get into the Straights: yet at the laſt we gaue the aduenture and entred the yce.

The Michael. The Iudith. M. Fenton. Charles Iackman.

The Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound.

Being amongſt it wee ſawe the Michael,of whom I ſpake before, accompanied with the Iudith,whoſe Captaine was Maſter Fenton, the Maſter Charles Iackman, bearing into the foreſayd yce,farre diſtant from vs,who in a ſtorme that fell that preſent night, (whereof I will at large God willing,diſcourſe hereafter) were ſeuered from vs, and being in, wandred vp and downe the Straights amongſt the yce many dayes in great perill, till at the laſt, (by the prouidence of God) they came ſafely to harbor in their wiſhed Port, in the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound,the 20.of Iuly aforeſayd,tenne dayes before any of the other ſhippes: who going on ſhore found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their prouiſion in great heapes of ſtones being both of fleſh and fiſh,which they had killed: whereof wee alſo found great ſtore in other places after our arriual. They found alſo diuers engins, as bowes, ſlings, and darts. They found likewiſe certaine pieces of the Pinneſſe which our Generall left there the yeere before, which Pinneſſe he had ſunke, minding to haue it againe the next yeere.

Now ſeeing I haue entreated ſo much of the Iudith and the Michael: I will returne to the reſt of the other ſhips, and will ſpeake a little of the ſtorme which fell, with the miſhaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

At the firſt entring into the yce in the mouth of the Straights, our paſſage was very narrow, and difficult but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce for the moſt part, being a league in compaſſe, the yce being round about vs and incloſing vs, as it were, within the pales of a parke. In which place, (becauſe it was almoſt night) we minded to take in our ſailes, and lie a hull all that night. But the ſtorme ſo increaſed, and the waues began to mount aloft, which brought the yce ſo neere vs, and comming on ſo faſt vpon vs, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might eſpie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs ſo faſt, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus paſſed we on in that great danger, ſeeing both our ſelues and the reſt of our ſhips ſo troubled and toſſed amongſt the yce, that it would make the ſtrongeſt heart to relent.

Our entrance & paſſage, &c.

At the laſt the Barke Dionyſe being but a weake ſhip, and bruiſed afore amongſt the yce, being ſo leake that no longer ſhe could tarry aboue the water, ſanke without ſauing any of the goods which were within her: which ſight ſo abaſhed the whole Fleete, that we thought verily we ſhould haue taſted of the ſame ſauce. But neuertheleſſe we ſeeing them in ſuch danger, manned our boates and ſaued all the men in ſuch wiſe, that not one periſhed: God be thanked.

Barke Dionyſe.

The ſtorme ſtill increaſed and the yce incloſed vs, ſo that we were faine to take downe top and top maſtes: for the yce had ſo inuironed vs, that we could ſee neither land nor ſea, as farre as we could kenne: ſo that we were faine to cut our cables to hang ouer boord for fenders, ſomewhat to eaſe the ſhips ſides from the great and driry ſtrokes of the the yce: ſome with Capſtan barres, ſome fending off with oares, ſome with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, ſome going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their ſhoulders from the ſhips. But the rigorouſnes of the tempeſt was ſuch, and the force of the yce ſo great, that not onely they burſt and ſpoyled the foreſaid prouiſion, but likewiſe ſo raſed the ſides of the ſhips, that it was pitifull to behold, and cauſed the hearts of many to faint.

Narow ſhifts for ſafetie.

Thus we continued all that diſmall and lamentable night plunged in this perplexitiy, looking for inſtant death: but our God (who neuer leaueth them deſtitute which faithfully call vpon him, although he often puniſheth for amendements ſake) in the morning cauſed the winds to ceaſe, and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: ſo that we might perceiue about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an eaſie breath of wind which our God ſent vs, we bent our ſelues. And furthermore, hee prouided better for vs then we deſerued or hoped for: for when we were in the foreſaid cleare place, he ſent vs a freſh gale at Weſt or at Weſt Southweſt, which ſet vs cleare without all the yce. And further he added more: for he ſent vs ſo pleaſant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after puniſhment conſolation.

Gods prouidence.

Thus we ioyfull wights being at libertie, tooke in all our ſailes and lay a hull, prayſing God for our deliuerance, and ſtayed to gather together our Fleete: which once being done, we ſeeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, ſauing onely they of whom I ſpake before and the ſhip which was loſt, then at the laſt wee hoiſed our ſailes, and lay bulting off and on, till ſuch time as it would pleaſe God to take away the yce that wee might get into the Straights.

And as we thus lay off and on we came by a marueilous huge mountaine of yce, which ſurpaſſed all the reſt that euer we ſaw: for we iudged it to be neere foureſcore fathomes aboue water, and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that we could perceiue, being there nine ſcore fathoms deepe, and of compaſſe about halfe a mile.

A mountaine of yce appearing in ſundry figures.

Alſo the fift of Iuly there fell a hidious fogge and miſt, that continued till the nineteenth of the ſame: ſo that one ſhippe could not ſee another. Therefore we were faine to beare a ſmall ſayle and to obſerue the time: but there ran ſuch a current of a tide, that it ſet vs to the Northweſt of the Queenes foreland the backſide of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge hauing no ſight either of Sunne or Starre) we ſcarce knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of Iuly we loſt the company of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy.

A fog of long continuance.

A current to the Northweſt.

The 16. day one of our ſmall Barkes named the Gabriel was ſent by our Generall to beare in

The Gabriel.

with the land to diſcrie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which ſeemed very humane and ciuill, and offered to traffike with our men, profering them foules and ſkins for kniues, and other trifles: whoſe courteſie cauſed vs to thinke, that they had ſmall conuerſation with other of the Streights.

The people offer to traffike with vs.

Then we bare backe againe to goe with the Queenes foreland: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Iſlands whereon we went on ſhore, and found where the people had bene: but we ſaw none of them. This day wee were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the firſt. For through the darkneſſe and obſcuritie of the foggie miſt, we were almoſt run on rocks and Iſlands before we ſaw them: But God (euen miraculouſly) prouided for vs, opening the fogges that we might ſee clearely, both where and in what danger we preſently were, and alſo the way to eſcape: or els without faile we had ruinouſly runne vpon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our inſtant caſe, wee caſt about to get againe on Sea-bord, which (God be thanked) by night we obtained and praiſed God. The cleare continued ſcarce an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

Then the Rearadmirall and the Beare got themſelues cleare without danger of yce and rocks, ſtrooke their ſailes and lay a hull, ſtaying to haue the reſt of the Fleete come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themſelues from the danger of rockes and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time the Rearadmirall diſcharged certaine warning pieces to giue notice that ſhe had eſcaped, and that the reſt (by following of her) might ſet themſelues free, which they did that day.

Warning pieces of ſafe paſſage diſcharged.

Then hauing gathered our ſelues togither we proceeded on our purpoſed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our ſelues diſtant from the coaſt till the 19. day of Iuly: at which time the fogges brake vp and diſperſed, ſo that we might plainely and clearely behold the pleaſant ayre, which ſo long had bene taken from vs, by the obſcuritie of the foggie miſts: and after that time we were not much encombred therewith vntill we had left the confines of the Countrey.

A faire ſound betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans ſound.

Then we eſpying a fayre ſound, ſuppoſed it to goe into the Streights betweene the Queenes foreland and Iackmans ſound, which proued as we imagined. For our Generall ſent forth againe the Gabriel to diſcouer it, who paſſed through with much difficulty: for there ran ſuch an extreme current of a tide, with ſuch a horrible gulfe, that with a freſh gale of wind they were ſcarce able to ſtemme it: yet at the length with great trauaile they paſſed it, and came to the Streights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipſwich, and the Buſſe of Bridgewater: who altogether aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to ſee if they could obtaine their wiſhed Port. But they were ſo incombred that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the laſt they eſcaping, the Thomas Allen, and the Gabriel bare in with the Weſterne ſhore, where they found harbour, and there moared their ſhips vntill the fourth of Auguſt, at which time they came to vs in the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound. The Thomas of Ipſwich caught a great leake which cauſed her to caſt againe to Seabord and ſo was mended.

We ſailed along ſtill by the coaſt vntill we came to the Queenes foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulfe aforeſaid, which place or gulfe (as ſome of our Maſters doe credibly report) doeth flow nine houres, and ebs but three. At that point wee diſcouered certaine lands Southward, which neither time nor opportunitie would ſerue to ſearch. Then being come to the mouth of the Streights we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulting vp and downe euer ſince her departure alone, neuer finding any of her company. We met then alſo the Francis of Foy, with whom againe we intended to venture and get in: but the yce was yet ſo thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get vs on Sea-bord.

There fell alſo the ſame day being the 26. of Iuly, ſuch an horrible ſnow, that it lay a foot thicke vpon the hatches which froſe as it fell.

An horrible ſnowe fell in Iuly.

We had alſo at other times diuers cruell ſtormes both of ſnow and haile, which manifeſtly declared the diſtemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that wee were ſo many times repulſed and put backe from our purpoſe, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutually conſented to our valiant Generall once againe, to giue the onſet.

The 28. day therefore of the ſame Iuly we aſſayed, and with little trouble (God be praiſed) we paſſed the dangers by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, wee hulled in the cleare, til the chearefull light of the day had chaſed away the noyſome darkeneſſe of the night: at which time we ſet forward towards our wiſhed Port: by the 30. day wee obteined our expected deſire, where we found the Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no ſmall ioy vnto the Generall, and great conſolation to the heauie hearts of thoſe wearied wights.

The time of our ſetting forward, &c.

The 30. day of July we brought our ſhips into the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, and moored them, namely theſe ſhips, The Admirall, the Rearadmiral, the Francis of Foy, the Beare, Armenel, the Salomon, and the Buſſe of Bridgewater: which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a ſhore vpon the Counteſſes Iland, where he ſet his Miners to worke vpon the Mine, giuing charge with expedition to diſpatch with their lading.

Our Generall himſelfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuers times made rodes into ſundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as alſo to finde out and ſee the people of the Countrey. He found out one Mine vpon an Iland by Beares ſound, and named it the Counteſſe of Suſſex Iland. One other was found in Winters Fornace, with diuers others, to which the ſhips were ſent ſunderly to be laden. In the ſame rodes he mette with diuers of the people of the Countrey at ſundry times, as once at a place called Dauids ſound: who ſhot at our men, and very deſperately gaue them the onſet, being not aboue three or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men aboue a doſen: but ſeeing themſelues not able to preuaile, they tooke themſelues to flight: whom our men purſued, but being not vſed to ſuch craggie cliffes, they ſoone loſt the ſight of them, and ſo in vaine returned.

The Counteſſe of Suſſex Iland. Winters Fornace.

Dauids ſound.

We alſo ſaw of them at Beares ſound, both by Sea and land in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betweene them and vs. And if any of our ſhips chanced to be in the ſound (as they came diuers times, becauſe the Harbor was not very good) the ſhip laden, and departed againe: then ſo long as any ſhips were in ſight, the people would not be ſeene. But when as they perceiued the ſhips to be gone, they would not only ſhew themſelues ſtanding vpon high cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but alſo would come in their Botes very neere to vs, as it were to brag at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertiſement, ſent for the Captaines and Gentlemen of the Ships, to accompany and attend vpon him, with the Captaine alſo of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and the Fleebote hauing loſt vs the 26. day in the great ſnowe, put into an harbour in the Queenes forelande, where they found good Oare, wherewith they laded themſelues, and came to ſeeke the Generall: ſo that now we had all our Shippes, ſauing one Barke, which was loſt, and the Thomas of Ipſwich, who (compelled by what furie I knowe not) forſooke our company, and returned home without lading.

The pollicie of the people for ſafetie of themſelues.

Our Generall accompanied with his Gentlemen, (of whom I ſpake) came all together to the Counteſſe of Suſſex Iland, neere to Beares ſound: where he manned out certaine Pinniſſes, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriuall, fledde away with all ſpeede, and in haſte left certaine dartes and other engines behinde them, which we found: but the people we could not finde.

Their fearefull flight at our Generals arriuall.

The next morning our Generall perceiuing certaine of them in botes vpon the Sea, gaue chaſe to them in a Pinneſſe vnder ſaile, with a freſh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he ſailed, the further off he was from them: which well ſhewed their cunning and actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approching, our Generall commaunded vs to lade with all expedition, that we might be againe on Seaboord with our ſhips: for whileſt we were in the Countrey, we were in continuall danger of freezing in: for often ſnowe and haile often falling, the water was ſo much froſen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could ſcarce rowe our botes or Pinneſſes, eſpecially in Diers ſound, which is a calme and ſtill water: which caused our Generall to make the more haſte, ſo that by the 30. day of Auguſt we were all laden, and made all things ready to depart.

But before I proceede any further herein, to ſhew what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a litle to M. Captaine Fenton, and thoſe Gentlemen which ſhould haue inhabited all the yeere in thoſe Countries, whoſe valiant mindes were much to be commended: For doubtleſſe they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withſtoode their willingneſſe.

Gentlemen ſhould haue inhabited the Countrey.

For the Barke Dionyſe which was loſt, had in her much of their houſe which was prepared and ſhould haue bene builded for them, with many other implements. Alſo the Thomas of Ipſwich which had moſt of their prouiſion in her, came not into the Streightes at all: neither did we ſee her ſince the day we were ſeparated in the great ſnow, of which I ſpake before. For theſe cauſes, hauing not their houſe, nor yet prouiſion, they were diſappointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ſhips, and ſo came away with vs.

But before we tooke ſhipping, we builded a litle houſe in the Counteſſe of Warwicks Iland, and garniſhed it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glaſſes, Kombes, Babes on horſebacke and on foote, with innumerable other ſuch fancies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the people to ſome familiaritie againſt other yeeres.

A houſe builded and garniſhed with diuers trifles.

Thus

An outragious tempeſt.

Thus hauing finiſhed all things we departed the Countrey, as I ſayd before: but becauſe the Buſſe had not lading enough in her, ſhe put into Beares ſound to take in a little more. In the meane while the Admirall, and the reſt without at Sea ſtayed for her. And that night fell ſuch an outragious tempeſt, beating on our ſhips with ſuch vehement rigor, that anchor and cable auailed nought: for we were driuen on rockes and Iſlands of yce, inſomuch that (had not the great goodneſſe of God bene miraculouſly ſhewed to vs) we had bene caſt away euery man. This danger was more doubtfull and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one ſhippe (I thinke) that eſcaped without damage. Some loſt anchor and alſo cables, ſome botes, ſome Pinniſſes: ſome anchor, cables, boates and Pinniſſes.

This boyſtrous ſtorme ſo ſeuered vs one from another, that one ſhippe knewe not what was become of another. The Admirall knewe not where to finde the Uiceadmirall or Rearadmirall, or any other ſhip of our company. Our Generall being on land in Beares ſound could not come to his Shippe, but was compelled to goe aboord the Gabriel where he continued all the way homeward: for the boyſtrous blaſts continued ſo extreamely and ſo long a time, that they ſent vs homewarde (which was Gods fauour towardes vs) will we, nill we, in ſuch haſte, as not any one of vs were able to keepe in company with other, but were ſeparated. And if by chance any one Shippe did ouertake other, by ſwiftneſſe of ſayle, or mette, as they often did: yet was the rigour of the wind ſo hideous, that they could not continue company together the ſpace of one whole night.

Our entring the coaſts dangerous.

Thus our iourney outward was not ſo pleaſant, but our comming thither, entering the coaſts and countrey, by narrow Streights, perillous yce, and ſwift tides, our times of aboade there in ſnowe and ſtormes, and our departure from thence the 31. of Auguſt with dangerous bluſtering windes and tempeſts, which that night aroſe, was as vncomfortable: ſeparating vs ſo as wee ſayled, that not any of vs mette together, vntill the 28. of September, which day we fell on the Engliſh coaſtes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and paſſed the channell, vntill our arriuall in the riuer of Thames.

The report of *Thomas VViars* paſſenger in the *Emanuel*, otherwiſe called the *Buſſe of Bridgewater*, wherein *Iames Leech* was Maſter, one of the ſhips in the laſt Voyage of Maſter *Martin Frobiſher* 1578. concerning the the diſcouerie of a great Iſland in their way homeward the 12. of September.

THe Buſſe of Bridgewater was left in Beares ſound at Meta incognita, the ſecond day of September behinde the Fleete in ſome diſtreſſe, through much winde, ryding neere the Lee ſhoare, and forced there to ride it out vpon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all aground but two. The third of September being fayre weather, and the winde North northweſt ſhe ſet ſayle, and departed thence, and fell with Friſland on the 8. day of September at ſixe of the clocke at night, and then they ſet off from the Southweſt point of Friſland, the winde being at Eaſt, and Eaſt Southeaſt, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and ſhifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at Weſt northweſt faire weather, they ſteered Southeaſt, and by ſouth, and continued that courſe vntil the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they deſcryed a lande, which was from them about fiue leagues, and the Southermoſt part of it was Southeaſt by Eaſt from them, and the Northermoſt next, North Northeaſt, or Northeaſt. The Maſter accompted that the Southeaſt poynt of Friſland was from him at that inſtant when hee firſt deſcryed this new Iſlande, Northweſt by North, 50. leagues. They account this Iſland to be 25. leagues long, and the longeſt way of it Southeaſt, and Northweſt. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. ſecond part, or there about. They continued in ſight of it, from the 12. day at a 11. of the clocke, till the 13. day three of the clocke in the after noone, when they left it: and the laſt part they ſaw of it, bare from them Northweſt by North. There appeared two Harboroughs vpon that coaſt: the greateſt of them ſeuen leagues to the Northwards of the Southermoſt poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was very much yce neere the ſame land, and alſo twentie or thirty leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September after noone. They plyed their Voyage homewards, and fell with the Weſt part of Ireland about Galway, and had firſt ſight of it on the 25. day of September.

The Iſland in length 25. leagues.
This Iſland is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1 ſecond part.
Two harboroughs in this Iſland.

Notes framed by M. *Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple Eſquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with *M. Frobiſher in his* Northweſt diſcouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, conſidering the ſame may ſtirre vp conſiderations of theſe and of ſuch other things, not vnmeete in ſuch new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.

That the firſt Seate be choſen on the ſeaſide, ſo as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Nauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your Seate ſafe from the enemie: and ſo as the enemie ſhalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be diſperſed with all windes and tempeſts that ſhall ariſe. Thus ſeated you ſhall be leaſt ſubiect to annoy of the enemie, ſo may you by your Nauie within paſſe out to all parts of the world, and ſo may the Shippes of England haue acceſſe to you to ſupply all wants, ſo may your commodities be caryed away alſo. This ſeat is to be choſen in a temperate Climat, in ſweete ayre, where you may poſſeſſe alwayes ſweete water, wood, ſeacoles or turfe, with fiſh, fleſh, graine, fruites, herbes and rootes, or ſo many of thoſe as may ſuffice very neceſſitie for the life of ſuch as ſhall plant there. And for the poſſeſſing of mines of golde, of ſiluer, copper, quickſiluer, or of any ſuch precious thing, the wants of thoſe needfull things may be ſupplyed from ſome other place by ſea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of,
Slate ſtone to tyle withall, or ſuch clay as maketh tyle,
Stone to wall withall, if Brycke may not bee made,
Timber for buylding eaſely to be conueied to the place,
Reede to couer houſes or ſuch like, if tyle or ſlate be not,

are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil ſort be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to liue without traffique, or by traffique and by trade of marchandiſe. If they ſhall liue without ſea traffique, at the firſt they become naked by want of linnen and woollen, and very miſerable by infinite wants that will otherwiſe enſue, and ſo will they be forced of themſelues to depart, or elſe eaſely they will be conſumed by the Spanyards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and ſo the enterprize becomes reprochfull to our Nation, and a let to many other good purpoſes that may be taken in hand.

And by trade of marchandiſe they can not liue, except the Sea or the Land there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to haue moſt ſpeciall regard of that poynt, and ſo to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and ſeate may draw to you acceſſe of Nauigation for the ſame, or that by your owne Nauigation you may cary the ſame out, and fetch home the ſupply of the wants of the ſeate.

Such Nauigation ſo to be employed ſhall, beſides the ſupply of wants, be able to encounter with forreine force.

And for that in the ample vent of ſuch things as are brought to you out of England by Sea, ſtandeth a matter of great conſequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curteſie and much forbearing of reuenge to the Inland people be vſed: ſo ſhall you haue firme amitie with your neighbours, ſo ſhall you haue their inland commodities to mainteine traffique, and ſo ſhall you waxe rich and ſtrong in force. Diuers and ſeuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of ſome portable or Nauigable riuer, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of ſuch a one is moſt requiſite: And ſo is it of effect for the diſperſing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indeuoured with the Inland people then familiarity. For ſo may you beſt diſcouer all the natural cõmodities of their countrey, & alſo all their wants, al their ſtrengths, all their weakneſſe, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greateſt conſequence.

And in your planting the conſideration of the clymate and of the ſoyle be matters that are to be reſpected. For if it be ſo that you may let in the ſalt ſea water, not mixed with the freſh into flats, where the ſunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of Portugal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of ſkill, and ſo you haue wonne one noble commoditie for the fiſhing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the ſoyle and clymate be ſuch as may yeeld you the Grape as good as that at Burdeaux, as that in Portugal, or as that about Siuil in Spaine, or that in the Ilands of the Canaries, then there reſteth but a workeman to put in execution to make Wines, and to dreſſe Reſigns of the ſunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a ſoyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Oliue tree to growe: Then you may be aſſured of a noble marchandize for this Realme, conſidering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying how deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the Weſt Indies, and if you finde the wilde Oliue there it may be graffed.

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our ſtate of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the Weſt Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue Hides of beaſts fitte for ſole Lether, &c. It will be a marchandize right good, and the Sauages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the ſoyle ſhall yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenges, Lemonds, Potatos, &c. there may ariſe ſome trade and traffique by Figs, Almonds, Sugar, Marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, cheſts may be made, if they be of ſome kinde of trees, Pitch and Tarre may be made, if they be of ſome other, then they may yeeld Roſin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and traffique, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewiſe ſhips and houſes, &c.

And becauſe traffique is a thing ſo materiall, I wiſh that great obſeruation be taken what euery ſoyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie ſoeuer, and what it may be made to yeelde by indeuour, and to ſend vs notice home, that thereupon we may deuiſe what meanes may be thought of to raiſe trades.

Now admit that we might not be ſuffered by the Sauages to enioy any whole country or any more then the ſcope of a citie, yet if we might enioy traffique, and be aſſured of the ſame, we might be much inriched, our Nauie might be increaſed, and a place of ſafetie might there be found, if change of religion or ciuil warres ſhould happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enioy any large territorie of apt ſoyle, we might ſo vſe the matter, as we ſhould not depend vpon Spaine for oyles, ſacks, reſignes, orenges, lemonds, ſpaniſh ſkins, &c. Nor vpon France for woad, bayſalt, and Gaſcoyne wines, nor on Eaſtland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, maſtes, &c. So we ſhould not ſo exhauſt our treaſure, and ſo exceedingly inrich our doubtfull friends, as we doe, but ſhould purchaſe the commodities that we want for halfe the treaſure that now wee doe: and ſhould by our owne induſtries and the benefites of the ſoyle there cheeply purchaſe oyles, wines, ſalt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, maſtes, boords, fiſh, golde, ſiluer, copper, tallow, hides and many commodities: beſides if there be no flats to make ſalt on, if you haue plentie of wood you may make it in ſufficient quantitie for common vſes at home there.

If you can keepe a ſafe Hauen, although you haue not the friendſhip of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue traffique by ſea vpon one ſhore or other, vpon that firme in time to come, if not preſent.

If you find great plentie of tymber on the ſhore ſide or vpon any portable riuer, you were beſt to cut downe of the ſame the firſt winter, to be ſeaſoned for ſhips, barks, boates and houſes.

And if neere ſuch wood there be any riuer or brooke vpon the which a ſawing mill may be placed, it would doe great ſeruice, and therefore conſideration would be had of ſuch places.

And if ſuch port & choſen place of ſetling were in poſſeſſion and after fortified by arte, although by the land ſide our Engliſhmen were kept in, and might not enioy any traffique with the next neighbours, nor any victuals: yet might they victuall themſelues of fiſh to ſerue very neceſſitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and ſo haue vent of their marchandize of England & alſo haue victual, or by meanes hereupon to be vſed, to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a nauy at the ſetling place, they ſhould find out along the tract of the land to haue traffique, and at diuers Ilands alſo. And ſo this firſt ſeat might in time become a ſtapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernour. And if the place firſt choſen ſhould not ſo well pleaſe our people, as ſome other more lately found out: There might be an eaſie remoue, and that might be raſed, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoyd an ill neighbour.

If the ſoyles adioyning to ſuch conuenient Hauen and ſetling places be found marſhie and boggie, then men ſkilful in drayning are to be caryed thither. For arte may worke wonderful effects therein, and make the ſoyle rich for many vſes.

To plant vpon an Iland in the mouth of ſome notable riuer, or vpon the point of the land entring into the riuer, if no ſuch Iland be, were to great end. For if ſuch riuer were nauigable or portable farre into the land, then would ariſe great hope of planting in fertil ſoyles, and traffike on the one or on the other ſide of the riuer, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other pettie king contending there for dominion.

Such riuers found, both Barges and Boates may be made for the ſafe paſſage of ſuch as ſhall pierce the ſame. Theſe are to be couered with doubles of courſe linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the ſauage from the rower.

Since euery ſoile of the world by arte may be made to yeeld things to feede and to clothe man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the ſoile without and within, and we ſhall deuiſe if neede require to amend the ſame, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we ſhall in fiue drifats furniſh you with ſuch kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as ſhall the very next ſummer following yeeld you ſome fruite, and the yeere next following, as much as ſhall ſuffice a towne as bigge as Calice, and that ſhortly after ſhall be able to yeeld you great ſtore of ſtrong durable good ſider to drinke, and theſe trees ſhall be able to encreaſe you within leſſe then ſeuen yeeres as many trees preſently to beare, as may ſuffice the people of diuers pariſhes, which at the firſt ſetling may ſtand you in great ſtead, if the ſoile haue not the commoditie of fruites of goodneſſe already. And becauſe you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld preſent reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefore I make mention of theſe thus ſpecially, to the end you may haue it ſpecially in minde.

A true Diſcourſe of the three Voyages of diſcouerie, for the finding of a paſſage to *Cathaya*, by the Northweſt, vnder the conduct of *Martin Frobiſher* Generall: Before which, as a neceſſary Preface is prefixed a twofolde diſcourſe, conteining certaine reaſons to proue all partes of the World habitable. Penned by Maſter *George Beſt*, a Gentleman employed in the ſame voyages.

What commodities and inſtructions may be reaped by diligent reading this Diſcourſe.

1 FIrſt, by example may be gathered, how a Diſcouerer of new Countries is to proceede in his firſt attempt of any Diſcouerie.

2 Item, how he ſhould be prouided of ſhipping, victuals, munition, and choice of men.

3 How to proceede and deale with ſtrange people, be they neuer ſo barbarous, cruell and fierce, either by lenitie or otherwiſe.

4 How trade of Merchandize may be made without money.

5 How a Pilot may deale, being inuironed with mountaines of yce in the frozen Sea.

6 How length of dayes, change of ſeaſons, Summers and Winters doe differ in ſundry regions.

7 How dangerous it is to attempt new Diſcoueries, either for the length of the voyage, or the ignorance of the language, the want of Interpretors, new and vnaccuſtomed Elements and ayres, ſtrange and vnſauoury meates, danger of theeues and robbers, fierceneſſe of wilde beaſtes and fiſhes, hugeneſſe of woods, dangerouſneſſe of Seas, dread of tempeſtes, feare of hidden rockes, ſteepneſſe of mountaines, darkeneſſe of ſudden falling fogges, continuall paynes taking without any reſt, and infinite others.

8 How pleaſant and profitable it is to attempt new Diſcoueries, either for the ſundry ſightes and ſhapes of ſtrange beaſtes and fiſhes, the wonderfull workes of nature, the different maners and faſhions of diuers nations, the ſundry ſortes of gouernment, the ſight of ſtrange trees, fruite, foules, and beaſtes, the infinite treaſure of Pearle, Golde and Siluer, the newes of newe found landes, the ſundry poſitions of the Sphere, and many others.

9 How valiant Captaines vſe to deale vpon extremitie, and otherwiſe.

10 How truſtie ſouldiers dutifully vſe to ſerue.

11 Alſo here may bee ſeene a good example to be obſerued of any priuate perſon, in taking notes, and making obſeruations of all ſuch things as are requiſite for a Diſcouerer of newe Countries.

12 Laſtly, the Reader here may ſee a good patterne of a well gouerned ſeruice, ſundry inſtructions of matters of Coſmographie, Geographie, and Nauigation, as in reading more at large may be ſeene.

Experiences and reaſons of the Sphere, to prooue all partes of the worlde habitable, and thereby to confute the poſition of the fiue Zones.

Experience to prooue that Torrida Zona is habitable.

FIrſt, it may be gathered by experience of our Engliſhmen in Anno 1553. For Captaine Windam made a Voyage with Merchandiſe to Guinea, and entred ſo farre within the Torrida Zona, that he was within three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, and his company abiding there certaine Moneths, returned with gaine.

Marochus more hote then about the Equinoctiall.

Alſo the Engliſhmen made another Voyage very proſperous and gainefull, An. 1554. to the coaſts of Guinea, within 3. degrees of the Equinoctiall. And yet it is reported of a trueth, that all the tract from Cape de las Palmas trending by C. de tres puntas alongſt by Benin, vnto the Ile of S. Thomas (which is perpendiculer vnder the Equinoctial) all that whole Bay is more ſubiect to many blooming and ſmoothering heates, with infectious and contagious ayres, then any other place in all Torrida Zona: and the cauſe thereof is ſome accidents in the land. For it is moſt certaine, that mountains, Seas, woods and lakes &c. may cauſe through their ſundry kinde of ſituation, ſundry ſtrange and extraordinary effects, which the reaſon of the clyme otherwiſe would not giue. I mention theſe Voyages of our Engliſhmen, not ſo much to prooue that Torrida Zona may bee, and is inhabited, as to ſhew their readineſſe in attempting long and dangerous Nauigations. Wee alſo among vs in England haue blacke Moores, Æthiopians, out of all partes of Torrida Zona, which after a ſmall continuance, can well endure the colde of our Countrey, and why ſhould not we as well abide the heate of their Countrey? But what ſhould I name any more experiences, ſeeing that all the coaſtes of Guinea and Benin are inhabited of Portugals, Spanyardes, French, and ſome Engliſhmen, who there haue built Caſtles and Townes. Onely this I will ſay to the Merchants of London, that trade yeerely to Marochus, it is very certaine, that the greateſt part of the burning Zone is farre more temperate and coole in June, then the Countrey of Marochus, as ſhall appeare by theſe reaſons and experiences following. For let vs firſt conſider the breadth and bigneſſe of this burning Zone (which as euery man knoweth, is 47. degrees) each Tropicke, which are the bounders thereof, being 23. degrees and a halfe diſtant from the Equinoctiall. Imagine againe two other Parallels, on each ſide the Equinoctiall one, eyther of them diſtant from the Equinoctial about 20. degrees, which Paralels may be deſcribed either of them twice a yeere by the Sunne, being in the firſt degrees of Gemini the 11. of May, and in Leo the 13. of July, hauing North latitude. And againe, the Sunne being in the firſt degrees of Sagittarius, the 12. of Nouember, and in Aquarius the 9. of January, hauing South latitude, I am to prooue by experience and reaſon, that all that diſtance included betweene theſe two Paralels laſt named (conteyning 40. degrees in latitude, going round about the earth, according to longitude) is not onely habitable, but the ſame moſt fruitfull and delectable, and that if any extremitie of heate bee, the ſame not to be within the ſpace of twenty degrees of the Equinoctiall on either ſide, but onely vnder and about the two Tropickes, and ſo proportionally the neerer you doe approch to eyther Tropicke, the more you are ſubiect to extremitie of heate (if any ſuch be) and ſo Marochus being ſituate but ſixe or ſeuen degrees from the Tropicke of Cancer, ſhall be more ſubiect to heate, then any place vnder or neere the Equinoctiall line.

Marueilous fruitfull ſoile vnder the Equinoctiall.

And firſt by the experience of ſundry men, yea thouſands, Trauailers and Merchants, to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies in many places both directly vnder, and hard by the Equinoctiall, they with one conſent affirme, that it aboundeth in the midſt of Torrida Zona with all manner of Graine, Hearbes, graſſe, fruite, wood and cattell, that we haue heere, and thouſandes other ſortes, farre more wholeſome, delectable and precious, then any wee haue in theſe Northerne climates, as very well ſhall appeare to him that will reade the Hiſtories and Nauigations of ſuch as haue trauelled Arabia, India intra & extra Gangem, the Ilands Moluccæ, America, &c. which all lye about the middle of the burning Zone, where it is truely reported, that the great hearbes, as are Radiſh, Lettuce, Colewortes, Borage, and ſuch like, doe waxe ripe, greater, more ſauourie and delectable in taſte then ours, within ſixteene dayes after the ſeede is ſowen. Wheate being ſowed the firſt of Februarie, was found ripe the firſt of May, and generally, where it is leſſe fruitfull, the wheate will be ripe the fourth moneth after the ſeed is ſowne, and in ſome places will bring foorth an eare as bigge as the wriſt of a mans arme containing 1000. graines; Beanes, peace, &c. are there ripe twice a yeere. Alſo graſſe being cut downe, will grow vp in ſixe dayes aboue one foote high. If our cattell be tranſported thither, within a ſmall time their yong-ones become of bigger ſtature, and more fat then euer they would haue bene in theſe countreys. There are found in euery wood in great numbers, ſuch timber trees as twelue men holding handes together are not able to fathome. And to be ſhort, all they that haue bene there with one conſent affirme, that there are the goodlieſt greene medowes and plaines, the faireſt mountaines couered with all ſorts of trees and fruites, the faireſt valleys, the goodlieſt pleaſant freſh riuers, ſtored with infinite kinde of fiſhes, the thickeſt woods, greene and bearing fruite all the whole yeere, that are in all the world. And as for gold, ſiluer, and all other kinde of Metals, all kinde of ſpices and delectable fruites, both for delicacie and health, are there in ſuch abundance, as hitherto they haue bene thought to haue beene bred no where elſe but there. And in concluſion, it is nowe thought that no where elſe but vnder the Equinoctiall, or not farre from thence, is the earthly Paradiſe, and the onely place of perfection in this worlde. And that theſe things may ſeeme the leſſe ſtrange, becauſe it hath bene accompted of the olde Philoſophers, that there coulde nothing proſper for the extreme heat of the Sunne continually going ouer their heades in the Zodiacke, I thought good here to alleadge ſuch naturall cauſes as to me ſeeme very ſubſtantiall and ſure reaſons.

Great trees.

Commodities and pleaſures vnder the Equinoctiall.

Firſt you are to vnderſtand that the Sunne doeth worke his more or leſſe heat in theſe lower parts by two meanes, the one is by the kinde of Angle that the Sunne beames doe make with the earth, as in all Torrida Zona it maketh perpendicularly right Angles in ſome place or other at noone, and towards the two Poles very oblique and vneuen Angles. And the other meane is the longer or ſhorter continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon. So that whereſoeuer theſe two cauſes do moſt concurre, there is moſt exceſſe of heat: and when the one is wanting, the rigor of the heat is leſſe. For though the Sunne beames do beat perpendicularly vpon any region ſubiect vnto it, if it hath no continuance or abode aboue the Horizon, to worke his operation in, there can no hote effect proceed. For nothing can be done in a moment. And this ſecond cauſe mora Solis ſupra Horizontem, the time of the Sunnes abiding aboue the Horizon, the old Philoſophers neuer remembred, but regarded onely the maner of Angles that the Sunne beames made with the Horizon, which if they were equall and right, the heat was the greater, as in Torrida Zona: if they were vnequall and oblique, the heat was the leſſe, as towards both Poles, which reaſon is very good and ſubſtantiall: for the perpendicular beames reflect and reuerberate in themſelues, ſo that the heat is doubled, euery beame ſtriking twice, & by vniting are multiplied, and continue ſtrong in forme of a Columne. But in our Latitude of 50. and 60. degrees, the Sunne beames deſcend oblique and ſlanting wiſe, and ſo ſtrike but once and depart, and therefore our heat is the leſſe for any effect that the Angle of the Sunne beames make. Yet becauſe wee haue a longer continuance of the Sunnes preſence aboue our Horizon then they haue vnder the Equinoctial; by this continuance the heat is increaſed, for it ſhineth to vs 16. or 18. houres ſometime, when it continueth with them but twelue houres alwayes.

Heat is cauſed by two meanes that is by his maner of Angle and by his continuance.

Note this reaſon.

And againe, our night is very ſhort wherein cold vapours vſe to abound, being but ſixe or eight houres long, whereas theirs is alwayes twelue houres long, by which two aduantages of long dayes and ſhort nights, though we want the equalitie of Angle, it commeth to paſſe that in Sommer our heat here is as great as theirs is there, as hath bene proued by experience, and is nothing diſſonant from good reaſon. Therefore whoſoeuer will rightly way the force of colde and heat in any region, muſt not onely conſider the Angle that the Sunne beames make, but alſo the continuance of the ſame aboue the Horizon. As firſt to them vnder the Equinoctiall the Sunne is twice a yeere at noone in their Zenith perpendicular ouer their heads, and therefore during the two houres of thoſe two dayes the heat is very vrgent, and ſo perhaps it will be in foure or fiue dayes more an houre euery day, vntill the Sunne in his proper motion haue croſſed the Equinoctiall; ſo that this extreme heat cauſed by the perpendicular Angle of the Sunne beames, endureth but two houres of two dayes in a yeere. But if any man ſay the Sunne may ſcalde a good while before and after it come to the Meridian, ſo farre foorth as reaſon leadeth, I am content to allow it, and therefore I will meaſure and proportion the Sunnes heat, by comparing the Angles there, with the Angles made here in England, becauſe this temperature is beſt knowen vnto vs. As for example, the 11. day of March, when vnder the Equinoctiall it is halfe houre paſt eight of the clocke in the morning, the Sunne will be in the Eaſt about 38. degrees aboue the Horizon, becauſe there it riſeth alwayes at ſixe of the clocke, and mounteth euery houre 15. degrees, and ſo high very neere will it be with vs at London the ſaid eleuenth day of March at noone. And therefore looke what force the Sunne hath with vs at noone, the eleuenth of March, the ſame force it ſeemeth to haue vnder the Equinoctial at half an houre paſt eight in the morning, or rather leſſe force vnder the Equinoctiall. For with vs the Sunne had bene already ſixe houres aboue the Horizon, and ſo had purified and clenſed all the vapours, and thereby his force encreaſed at noone; but vnder the Equinoctiall, the Sunne hauing bene vp but two houres and an halfe, had ſufficient to doe, to purge and conſume the cold and moyſt vapours of the long night paſt, and as yet had wrought no effect of heate. And therefore I may boldly pronounce, that there is much leſſe heate at halfe an houre paſt eight vnder the Equinoctiall, then is with vs at noone; à fortiori. But in March we are not onely contented to haue the Sunne ſhining, but we greatly deſire the ſame. Likewiſe the 11 of Iune, the Sunne in our Meridian is 62 degrees high at London: and vnder the Equinoctiall it is ſo high after 10 of the clocke, and ſeeing then it is beneficial with vs; à fortiori it is beneficiall to them after 10 of the clocke.

And thus haue wee meaſured the force of the Sunnes greateſt heate, the hotteſt dayes in the yeere, vnder the Equinoctiall, that is in March and September, from ſixe till after tenne of the clocke in the morning, and from two vntill Sunne ſet. And this is concluded, by reſpecting onely the firſt cauſe of heate, which is the conſideration of the Angle of the Sunne beames, by a certaine ſimilitude, that whereas the Sunne ſhineth neuer aboue twelue houres, more then eight of them would bee coole and pleaſant euen to vs, much more to them that are acquainted alwayes with ſuch warme places. So there remaineth leſſe then foure houres of any exceſſiue heate, and that onely in the two Sommer dayes of the yeere, that is the eleuenth day of March, and the foureteenth of September: for vnder the Equinoctiall they haue two Sommers, the one in March, and the other in September, which are our Spring and Autumne: and likewiſe two Winters, in Iune and December, which are our Sommer and Winter, as may well appeare to him that hath onely taſted the principles of the Sphere. But if the Sunne bee in either Tropicke, or approching neere thereunto, then may wee more eaſily meaſure the force of his Meridian altitude, that it ſtriketh vpon the Equinoctiall. As for example, the twelfth of Iune the Sunne will be in the firſt degree of Cancer. Then looke what force the heate of the Sunne hath vnder the Equinoctiall, the ſame force and greater it hath in all that Parallel, where the Pole is eleuated betweene fourtie and ſeuen, and fourtie and eight degrees. And therefore Paris in France the twelfth day of Iune ſuſtaineth more heate of the Sunne, then Saint Thomas Iland lying neere the ſame Meridian doeth likewiſe at noone, or the Ilands Taprobana, Moluccæ, or the firme lande of Peru in America, which all lye vnderneath the Equinoctiall. For vpon the twelfth day of Iune aforeſaid, the Sunne beames at noone doe make an Iſoſcheles Triangle, whoſe Vertex is the Center of the Sunne, the Baſis a line extended from Saint Thomas Iland vnder the Equinoctiall, vnto Paris in France neere the ſame Meridian: therefore the two Angles of the Baſe muſt needs be equal per 5. primi, Ergo the force of the heat equal, if there were no other cauſe then the reaſon of the Angle, as the olde Philoſophers haue appointed. But becauſe at Paris the Sunne riſeth two houres before it riſeth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, and ſetteth likewiſe two houres after them, by meanes of the obliquitie of the Horizon, in which time of the Sunnes preſence foure houres in one place more then the other, it worketh ſome effect more in one place then in the other, and being of equall height at noone, it muſt then needs follow to be more hote in the Parallel of Paris, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall.

Paris in France is as hote as vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune.

In Iune is greater heat at Paris then vnder the Equinoctial.

Alſo this is an other reaſon, that when the Sunne ſetteth to them vnder the Equinoctiall, it goeth very deepe and lowe vnder their Horizon, almoſt euen to their Antipodes, whereby their twilightes are very ſhort, and their nights are made very extreeme darke and long, and ſo the moyſture and coldneſſe of the long nightes wonderfully encreaſeth, ſo that at length the Sunne riſing can hardly in many houres conſume and driue away the colde humours and moyſt vapours of the night paſt, which is cleane contrary in the Parallel of Paris: for the Sunne goeth vnder their Horizon but very little, after a ſloping ſort, whereby their nights are not very darke, but lightſome, as looking into the North in a cleare night without cloudes it doeth manifeſtly appeare, their twilightes are long: for the Parallel of Cancer cutteth not the Horizon of Paris at right Angles, but at Angles very vneuen, and vnlike as it doeth the Horizon of the Equinoctiall. Alſo the Sommer day at Paris is ſixteene houres long, and the night but eight: where contrarywiſe vnder the Equinoctiall the day is but twelue houres long, and ſo long is alſo the night, in whatſoeuer Parallel the Sunne be: and therefore looke what oddes and difference of proportion there is betweene the Sunnes abode aboue the Horizon in Paris, and the abode it hath vnder the Equinoctiall, (it being in Cancer) the ſame proportion would ſeeme to be betweene the heate of the one

The twilightes are ſhorter, and the nightes darker vnder the Equinoctial then at Paris.

place and heate of the other: for other things (as the Angle of the whole arke of the Sunnes progreſſe that day in both places) are equall.

But vnder the Equinoctiall the preſence and abode of the Sunne aboue the Horizon is equall to his abſence, and abode vnder the Horizon, eche being twelue houres. And at Paris the continuance and abode of the Sunne is aboue the Horizon ſixteene houres long, and but eight houres abſence, which proportion is double, from which if the proportion of the equalitie be ſubtracted to finde the difference, there will remaine ſtill a double proportion, whereby it ſeemeth to follow, that in Iune the heate at Paris were double to the heate vnder the Equinoctiall. For (as I haue ſaid) the Angles of the Sunne beames are in all points equall, and the cauſe of difference is, Mora Solis ſupra Horizontem, the ſtay of the Sunne in the one Horizon more then in the other. Therefore, whoſoeuer could finde out in what proportion the Angle of the Sunne beames heateth, and what encreaſe the Sunnes continuance doeth adde thereunto, it might expreſly be ſet downe, what force of heat and cold is in all regions.

In what proportion the Angle of the Sun beames heateth.

Thus you partly ſee by comparing a Climate to vs well knowen, and familiarly acquainted by like height of the Sunne in both places, that vnder the Equinoctiall in Iune is no exceſſiue heat, but a temperate aire rather tending to cold. For as they haue there for the moſt part a continuall moderate heat, ſo yet ſometime they are a little pinched with colde, and vſe the benefite of fire as well as we, eſpecially in the euening when they goe to bed, for as they lye in hanging beds tied faſt in the vpper part of the houſe, ſo will they haue fires made on both ſides their bed, of which two fires, the one they deuiſe ſuperſtitiouſly to driue away ſpirits, and the other to keepe away from them the coldneſſe of the nights.

They vſe and haue neede of fire vnder the Equinoctiall.

Alſo in many places of Torrida Zona, eſpecially in the higher landes ſomewhat mountainous, the people a litle ſhrincke at the cold, and are often forced to prouide themſelues clothing, ſo that the Spaniards haue found in the Weſt Indies many people clothed, eſpecially in Winter, whereby appeareth, that with their heat there is colde intermingled, elſe would they neuer prouide this remedy of clothing, which to them is rather a griefe and trouble then otherwiſe. For when they goe to warres, they will put off all their apparell, thinking it to be comberſome, and will alwayes goe naked, that they thereby might be more nimble in their fight.

Colde intermingled with heate vnder the Equinoctial.

Some there be that thinke the middle Zone extreme hot, becauſe the people of the countrey can, and doe liue without clothing, wherein they childiſhly are deceiued: for our Clime rather tendeth to extremitie of colde, becauſe wee cannot liue without clothing: for this our double lining, furring, and wearing ſo many clothes, is a remedy againſt extremitie, and argueth not the goodneſſe of the habitation, but inconuenience and iniury of colde: and that is rather the moderate, temperate, and delectable habitation, where none of theſe troubleſome things are required, but that we may liue naked and bare, as nature bringeth vs foorth.

Others againe imagine the middle Zone to be extreme hot, becauſe the people of Africa, eſpecially the Ethiopians, are ſo cole blacke, and their haire like wooll curled ſhort, which blackneſſe and curled haire they ſuppoſe to come onely by the parching heat of the Sunne, which how it ſhould be poſſible I cannot ſee: for euen vnder the Equinoctiall in America, and in the Eaſt Indies, and in the Ilands Moluccæ the people are not blacke, but tauney and white, with long haire vncurled as wee haue, ſo that if the Ethiopians blackneſſe came by the heat of the Sunne, why ſhould not thoſe Americans and Indians alſo be as blacke as they, ſeeing the Sunne is equally diſtant from them both, they abiding in one Parallel: for the concaue and conuexe Superficies of the Orbe of the Sunne is concentrike, and equidiſtant to the earth; except any man ſhould imagine ſomewhat of Aux Solis, and Oppoſitum, which indifferently may be applied aſwel to the one place as to the other. But the Sunne is thought to giue no otherwiſe heat, but by way of Angle in reflection, and not by his neereneſſe to the earth: for throughout all Africa, yea in the middeſt of the middle Zone, and in all other places vpon the tops of mountaines there lyeth continuall ſnow, which is neerer to the Orbe of the Sunne, then the people are in the valley, by ſo much as the height of theſe mountaines amount vnto, and yet the Sunne notwithſtanding his neereneſſe, can not melt the ſnow for want of conuenient place of reflections. Alſo the middle region of the aire where all the haile, froſt, and ſnow is engendred, is neerer vnto the Sunne then the earth is, and yet there continueth perpetuall cold, becauſe there is nothing that the Sunne beames may reflect againſt, whereby appeareth that the neereneſſe of the body of the Sunne worketh nothing.

Ethiopians blacke, with curled haire.

The Sunne heateth not by his neereneſſe, but onely by reflection.

Therefore to returne againe to the blacke Moores, I my ſelfe haue ſeene an Ethiopian as blacke as a cole brought into England, who taking a faire Engliſh woman to wife, begat a ſonne in all reſpects as blacke as the father was, although England were his natiue countrey, and an Engliſh woman his mother: whereby it ſeemeth this blacknes proceedeth rather of ſome natural

A blacke Moores ſonne borne in England.

The colour of the people in Meta Incognita.

The complexion of the people of Meta incognita.

infection of that man, which was ſo ſtrong, that neither the nature of the Clime, neither the good complexion of the mother concurring, coulde any thing alter, and therefore wee cannot impute it to the nature of the Clime. And for a more freſh example, our people of Meta Incognita (of whom and for whom this diſcourſe is taken in hande) that were brought this laſt yeere into England, were all generally of the ſame colour that many nations be, lying in the middeſt of the middle Zone. And this their colour was not onely in the face which was ſubiect to Sunne and aire, but alſo in their bodies, which were ſtil couered with garments as ours are, yea the very ſucking childe of twelue moneths age had his ſkinne of the very ſame colour that moſt haue vnder the Equinoctiall, which thing cannot proceed by reaſon of the Clime, for that they are at leaſt ten degrees more towardes the North then wee in England are, No, the Sunne neuer commeth neere their Zenith by fourtie degrees: for in effect, they are within three or foure degrees of that which they call the froſen Zone, and as I ſaide, fourtie degrees from the burning Zone, whereby it followeth, that there is ſome other cauſe then the Climate or the Sonnes perpendicular reflexion, that ſhould cauſe the Ethiopians great blackneſſe. And the moſt probable cauſe to my iudgement is, that this blackeneſſe proceedeth of ſome naturall infection of the firſt inhabitants of that Countrey, and ſo all the whole progenie of them deſcended, are ſtill polluted with the ſame blot of infection. Therefore it ſhall not bee farre from our purpoſe, to examine the firſt originall of theſe blacke men, and howe by a lineall diſcent they haue hitherto continued thus blacke.

The cauſe of the Ethiopians blackneſſe.

The Arke of Noe.

Chus the ſonne of Cham accurſed.

Africa was called Chameſis.

It manifeſtly and plainely appeareth by holy Scripture, that after the generall inundation and ouerflowing of the earth, there remained no moe men aliue, but Noe and his three ſonnes, Sem, Cham, and Iapher, who onely were left to poſſeſſe and inhabite the whole face of the earth: therefore all the ſundry diſcents that vntil this preſent day haue inhabited the whole earth, muſt needes come of the off-ſpring either of Sem, Cham, or Iapher, as the onely ſonnes of Noe, who all three being white, and their wiues alſo, by courſe of nature ſhould haue begotten and brought foorth white children. But the enuie of our great and continuall enemie the wicked Spirite is ſuch, that as hee coulde not ſuffer our olde father Adam to liue in the felicitie and Angelike ſtate wherein hee was firſt created, but tempting him, ſought and procured his ruine and fall: ſo againe, finding at this flood none but a father and three ſonnes liuing, hee ſo cauſed one of them to tranſgreſſe and diſobey his fathers commaundement, that after him all his poſteritie ſhoulde bee accurſed. The fact of diſobedience was this: When Noe at the commandement of God had made the Arke and entred therein, and the floud-gates of heauen were opened, ſo that the whole face of the earth, euery tree and mountaine was couered with abundance of water, hee ſtraitely commaunded his ſonnes and their wiues, that they ſhould with reuerence and feare beholde the iuſtice and mighty power of God, and that during the time of the floud while they remained in the Arke, they ſhould vſe continencie, and abſtaine from carnall copulation with their wiues: and many other precepts hee gaue vnto them, and admonitions touching the iuſtice of God, in reuenging ſinne, and his mercie in deliuering them, who nothing deſerued it. Which good inſtructions and exhortations notwithſtanding his wicked ſonne Cham diſobeyed, and being perſwaded that the firſt childe borne after the flood (by right and Lawe of nature) ſhould inherite and poſſeſſe all the dominions of the earth, hee contrary to his fathers commandement while they were yet in the Arke, vſed company with his wife, and craftily went about thereby to diſ-inherite the off-ſpring of his other two brethren: for the which wicked and deteſtable fact, as an example for contempt of Almightie God, and diſobedience of parents, God would a ſonne ſhould bee borne whoſe name was Chus, who not onely it ſelfe, but all his poſteritie after him ſhould bee ſo blacke and lothſome, that it might remaine a ſpectacle of diſobedience to all the worlde. And of this blacke and curſed Chus came all theſe blacke Moores which are in Africa, for after the water was vaniſhed from off the face of the earth, and that the lande was dry, Sem choſe that part of the land to inhabite in, which nowe is called Aſia, and Iaphet had that which now is called Europa, wherein wee dwell, and Africa remained for Cham and his blacke ſonne Chus, and was called Chameſis after the fathers name, being perhaps a curſed, dry, ſandy, and vnfruitfull ground, fit for ſuch a generation to inhabite in.

Thus you ſee, that the cauſe of the Ethiopians blackneſſe is the curſe and naturall infection of blood, and not the diſtemperature of the Climate; Which alſo may bee prooued by this example, that theſe blacke men are found in all parts of Africa, as well without the Tropickes, as within, euen vnto Capo de buona Speranza Southward, where, by reaſon of the Sphere, ſhould be the ſame temperature that is in Sicilia, Morea and Candie, where al be of very good complexions. Wherefore I conclude, that the blackneſſe proceedeth not of the hotneſſe of the Clime, but as I ſaide, of the infection of blood, and therefore this their argument gathered of the Africans blackneſſe is not able to deſtroy the temperature of the middle Zone. Wee may therefore very well bee aſſertained, that vnder the Equinoctiall is the moſt pleaſant and delectable place of the worlde to dwell in; where although the Sunne for two houres in a yeere be direct ouer their heades, and therefore the heate at that time ſomewhat of force, yet becauſe it commeth ſo ſeldome, and continueth ſo ſmall a time, when it commeth, it is not to bee wayed, but rather the moderate heate of other times in all the yeere to be remembred. And if the heate at any time ſhould in the ſhort day waxe ſomewhat vrgent, the coldneſſe of the long night there would eaſily refreſh it, according as Homerus ſayeth, ſpeaking of the temperature vnder the Equinoctiall.

Greateſt temperature vnder the Equinoctial.

Quódque die ſolis violento incanduit æſtu,
Humida nox reficit, paribuſque refrigerat horis.

If the heate of the Sunne in the day time doe burne or parch any thing, the moyſture of the night doeth coole and refreſh the ſame againe, the Sunne being as long abſent in the night, as it was preſent in the day.

Alſo our Aucthour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacro Boſco, in the Chapter of the Zodiake, deriueth the Etymologie of Zodiacus, of the Greeke word Zoe, which in Latine ſignifieth Vita, life; for out of Ariſtotle hee alleadgeth, that Secundum acceſſum & receſſum ſolis in Zodiaco, fiunt generationes & corruptiones in rebus inferioribus: according to the Sunnes going to and fro in the Zodiake, the inferiour bodies take their cauſes of generation and corruption. Then it followeth, that where there is moſt going too and fro, there is moſt generation and corruption: which muſt needes be betweene the two Tropickes; for there the Sunne goeth too and fro moſt, and no where elſe but there. Therefore betweene the two Tropikes, that is, in the middle Zone, is greateſt increaſe, multiplication, generation, and corruption of things, which alſo wee finde by experience; for there is Sommer twice in the yeere, and twice Winter, ſo that they haue two Harueſts in the yeere, and continuall Spring. Seeing then the middle Zone falleth out ſo temperate, it reſteth to declare where the hotteſt part of the world ſhould bee, for we finde ſome places more hote then others.

Vnder the Equinoctiall is greateſt generation.

To anſwere this doubt, reaſon perſwadeth, the hoteſt place in the world to bee vnder and about the two Tropickes; for there more then in any other place doe both the cauſes of heate concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames, at right angles, and a greater continuance of the Sunne aboue the Horizon, the Pole there being eleuated three or foure and twentie degrees. And as before I concluded, that though the Sunne were perpendicular to them vnder the Equinoctiall, yet becauſe the ſame continued but a ſmall time, (their dayes being ſhort, and their nights long) and the ſpeedie departure of the Sunne from their Zenith, becauſe of the ſuddeine croſſing of the Zodiake with the Equinoctiall, and that by ſuch continuall courſe and recourſe of hote and colde, the temperature growes moderate, and very well able to bee endured: ſo now to them vnder the two Tropickes, the Sunne hauing once by his proper motion declined twentie degrees from the Equinoctial, beginneth to draw neere their Zenith, which may bee (as before) about the eleuenth day of May, and then beginneth to ſende his beames almoſt at right Angles, about which time the Sunne entreth into the firſt degree of Gemini, and with this almoſt right Angle the Sunne beames will continue vntill it bee paſt Cancer, that is, the ſpace of two moneths euery day at noone, almoſt perpendicular ouer their heades, being then the time of Solſtitium Aeſtiuale: which ſo long continuance of the Sunne about their Zenith may cauſe an extreeme heate (if any be in the world) but of neceſſitie farre more heate then can bee vnder the Equinoctiall, where the Sunne hath no ſuch long aboad in the Zenith, but paſſeth away there-hence very quickly. Alſo vnder the Tropickes, the day is longer by an houre and a halfe, then it is vnder the Equinoctiall; wherefore the heate of the Sunne hauing a longer time of operation, muſt needes be encreaſed, eſpecially ſeeing the night wherein colde and moyſture doe abound vnder the Tropickes, is leſſe then it is vnder the Equinoctiall. Therefore I gather, that vnder the Tropickes is the hoteſt place, not onely of Torrida Zona, but of any other part of the world, eſpecially becauſe there both cauſes of heate doe concurre, that is, the perpendicular falling of the Sunne beames two monethes together, and the longer aboad of the Sunnes preſence aboue the Horizon. And by this meanes more at large is prooued, that Marocchus in Sommer is farre more hote, then at any time vnder the Equinoctiall, becauſe it is ſituate ſo neere the Tropick of Cancer, and alſo for the length of their dayes. Neither yet do I thinke, that the Regions ſituate vnder the Tropicks are not habitable, for they are found to be very fruitfull alſo; although Marocchus and ſome other parts of Africa neere the Tropike for the drineſſe of the

Greateſt heate vnder the Tropicks.

Cuba. Hiſpaniola.

natiue ſandie ſoile, and ſome accidents may ſeeme to ſome to be intemperate for ouer much heat. For Ferdinandus Ouiedus ſpeaking of Cuba and Hiſpaniola, Ilands of America, lying hard vnder, or by the Tropike of Cancer, ſaith, that theſe Ilands haue as good paſture for cattell, as any other countrey in the world.

Alſo, they haue moſt holeſome and cleare water, and temperate aire, by reaſon whereof the heards of beaſtes are much bigger, fatter, and of better taſte, then any in Spaine, becauſe of the ranke paſture, whoſe moyſture is better digeſted in the hearbe or graſſe, by continuall and temperate heate of the Sunne, whereby being made more fat and vnctious, it is of better and more ſtedfaſt nouriſhment: For continuall and temperate heate doeth not onely drawe much moyſture out of the earth to the nouriſhment of ſuch things as growe, and are engendred in that Clime, but doeth alſo by moderation preſerue the ſame from putrifying, digeſting alſo, and condenſating or thickning the ſaid moyſt nouriſhment into a gumme and vnctious ſubſtance, whereby appeareth alſo, that vnder the Tropikes is both holeſome, fruitefull, and pleaſant habitation, whereby laſtly it followeth, that all the middle Zone, which vntill of late dayes hath bene compted and called the burning, broyling, and parched Zone, is now found to be the moſt delicate, temperate, commodious, pleaſant, and delectable part of the world; and eſpecially vnder the Equinoctiall.

Vnder the Tropikes is moderate temperature.

Hauing now ſufficiently at large declared the temperature of the middle Zone, it remaineth to ſpeake ſomewhat alſo of the moderate and continuall heate in colde Regions, as well in the night as in the day all the Sommer long, and alſo how theſe Regions are habitable to the inhabitants of the ſame, contrary to the opinion of the olde writers.

Of the temperature of colde Regions all the Sommer long, and alſo how in Winter the ſame is habitable, eſpecially to the inhabitants thereof.

The colde Regions of the world are thoſe, which tending toward the Poles Arctike, and Antarctike, are without the circuite or boundes of the ſeuen Climates: which aſſertion agreeable to the opinion of the olde Writers, is found and ſet out in our authour of the Sphere, Iohannes de Sacroboſco, where hee plainely ſaith, that without the ſeuenth Climate, which is bounded by a Parallel paſſing at fiftie degrees in Latitude, all the habitation beyonde is diſcommodious and intollerable. But Gemma Friſius a late writer finding England and Scotland to be without the compaſſe of thoſe Climates, wherein hee knewe to bee very temperate and good habitation, added thereunto two other Climates, the vttermoſt Parallel whereof paſſeth by 56. degrees in Latitude, and therein comprehendeth ouer and aboue the firſt computation, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Moſcouia, &c. which all are rich and mightie kingdomes.

Nine Climates.

The olde writers perſwaded by bare coniecture, went about to determine of thoſe places, by comparing them to their owne complexions, becauſe they felt them to bee hardly tollerable to themſelues, and ſo took thereby an argument of the whole habitable earth; as if a man borne in Marochus, or ſome other part of Barbarie, ſhould at the latter end of Sommer vpon the ſuddeine, either naked, or with his thinne veſture, bee brought into England, hee would iudge this Region preſently not to bee habitable, becauſe hee being brought vp in ſo warme a Countrey, is not able here to liue, for ſo ſuddeine an alteration of the colde aire: but if the ſame man had come at the beginning of Sommer, and ſo afterward by little and little by certaine degrees, had felt and acquainted himſelfe with the froſt of Autumne, it would haue ſeemed by degrees to harden him, and ſo to make it farre more tollerable, and by vſe after one yeere or two, the aire would ſeeme to him more temperate. It was compted a great matter in the olde time, that there was a braſſe pot broken in ſunder with froſen water in Pontus, which after was brought and ſhewed in Delphis, in token of a miraculous colde region and winter, and therefore conſecrated to the Temple of Apollo.

A compariſon betweene Marochus and England.

This effect being wrought in the Parallel of fourtie three degrees in Latitude, it was preſently counted a place very hardly and vneaſily to be inhabited for the great colde. And how then can ſuch men define vpon other Regions very farre without that Parallel, whether they were inhabited or not, ſeeing that in ſo neere a place they ſo groſſely miſtooke the matter, and others their followers being contented with the inuentions of the olde Authours, haue perſiſted willingly in the ſame opinion, with more confidence then conſideration of the cauſe: ſo lightly was that opinion receiued, as touching the vnhabitable Clime neere and vnder the Poles.

Therefore I am at this preſent to proue, that all the land lying betweene the laſt climat euen vnto the point directly vnder either poles, is or may be inhabited, eſpecially of ſuch creatures as are ingendred and bred therein. For indeed it is to be confeſſed, that ſome particular liuing creature cannot liue in euery particular place or region, eſpecially with the ſame ioy and felicitie, as it did where it was firſt bred, for the certeine agreement of nature that is betweene the place and the thing bred in that place; as appeareth by the Elephant, which being tranſlated and brought out of the ſecond or third climat, though they may liue, yet will they neuer ingender or bring forth yong. Alſo we ſee the like in many kinds of plants and herbs; for example, the Orange trees, although in Naples they bring forth fruit abundantly, in Rome and Florence they will beare onely faire greene leaues, but not any fruit: and tranſlated into England, they will hardly beare either flowers, fruit, or leaues, but are the next Winter pinched and withered with colde: yet it followeth not for this, that England, Rome, and Florence ſhould not be habitable.

All the North regions are habitable.

Elephant.

Orange tree.

In the prouing of theſe colde regions habitable, I ſhalbe very ſhort, becauſe the ſame reaſons ſerue for this purpoſe, which were alleged before in the prouing the middle Zone to be temperate, eſpecially ſeeing all heat and colde proceed from the Sunne, by the meanes either of the Angle which his beames do make with the Horizon, or els by the long or ſhort continuance of the Suns preſence aboue ground: ſo that if the Sunnes beames do beat perpendicularly at right Angles, then there is one cauſe of heat, and if the Sunne do alſo long continue aboue the Horizon, then the heat thereby is much increaſed by acceſſe of this other cauſe, & ſo groweth to a kinde of extremity. And theſe two cauſes, as I ſayd before, do moſt concurre vnder the two Tropicks, and therefore there is the greateſt heat of the world. And likewiſe, where both theſe cauſes are moſt abſent, there is greateſt want of heat, and increaſe of colde (ſeeing that colde is nothing but the priuation and abſence of heat) and if one cauſe be wanting, and the other preſent, the effect will grow indifferent. Therefore this is to be vnderſtood, that the neerer any region is to the Equinoctiall, the higher the Sunne doth riſe ouer their heads at noone, and ſo maketh either right or neere right Angles, but the Sunne tarieth with them ſo much the ſhorter time, and cauſeth ſhorter dayes, with longer and colder nights, to reſtore the domage of the day paſt, by reaſon of the moiſture conſumed by vapour. But in ſuch regions, ouer the which the Sunne riſeth lower (as in regions extended towards either pole) it maketh there vnequall Angles, but the Sunne continueth longer, and maketh longer dayes, and cauſeth ſo much ſhorter and warmer nights, as retaining warme vapours of the day paſt. For there are found by experience Summer nights in Scotland and Gothland very hot, when vnder the Equinoctiall they are found very cold. This benefit of the Sunnes long continuance & increaſe of the day, doth augment ſo much the more in colde regions as they are neerer the poles, and ceaſeth not increaſing vntill it come directly vnder the point of the pole Arcticke, where the Sunne continueth aboue ground the ſpace of ſixe moneths or halfe a yere together, and ſo the day is halfe a yere long, that is the time of the Sunnes being in the North ſignes, from the firſt degree of Aries vntill the laſt of Virgo, that is all the time from our 10 day of March vntill the 14 of September. The Sunne therfore during the time of theſe ſixe moneths without any offence or hindrance of the night, giueth his influence vpon thoſe lands with heat that neuer ceaſeth during that time; which maketh to the great increaſe of Summer, by reaſon of the Sunnes continuance. Therefore it followeth, that though the Sunne be not there very high ouer their heads, to cauſe right angle beames, and to giue great heat, yet the Sun being there ſometime almoſt 24 degrees high doth caſt a conuenient and meane heat, which there continueth without hindrance of the night the ſpace of ſixe moneths (as is before ſayd) during which time there followeth to be a conuenient, moderate and temperate heat: or els rather it is to be ſuſpected the heat there to be very great, both for continuance, and alſo, Quia virtus vnita creſcit, the vertue and ſtrength of heat vnited in one increaſeth. When there be ſuch a moderate heat vnder the poles, and the ſame to continue ſo long time; what ſhould moue the olde writers to ſay there cannot be place for habitation. And that the certainty of this temperate heat vnder both the poles might more manifeſtly appeare, let vs conſider the poſition & quality of the ſphere, the length of the day, and ſo gather the height of the Sunne at all times, and by conſequent the quantity of his angle, and ſo laſtly the ſtrength of his heat.

Two cauſes of heat.

Hote nights neere the pole.

Colde nights vnder the Equinoctiall.

One day of ſixe moneths.

Moderate heat vnder ÿ poles.

Thoſe lands and regions lying vnder the pole, and hauing the pole for their Zenith, muſt needs haue the Equinoctiall circle for their Horizon: therefore the Sunne entring into the North ſignes, and deſcribing euery 24 houres a parallel to the Equinoctiall by the diurnall motion of Primum mobile, the ſame parallels muſt needs be wholly aboue the Horizon: and ſo looke how many degrees there are from the firſt of Aries to the laſt of Virgo, ſo many whole reuolutions there are aboue their Horizon that dwell vnder the pole, which amount to 182, and ſo many of our dayes the

The Sunne neuer ſetteth in 182 dayes.

the Sunne continueth with them. During which time they haue there continuall day and light, without any hindrance of moiſt nights. Yet it is to be noted, that the Sunne being in the firſt degree of Aries, and laſt degree of Virgo, maketh his reuolution in the very horizon, ſo that in theſe 24 houres halfe the body of the Sunne is aboue the horizon, and the other halfe is vnder his only center, deſcribing both the horizon and the equinoctiall circle.

Horizon and Equinoctiall all one vnder the pole.

And therefore ſeeing the greateſt declination of the Sunne is almoſt 24 degrees, it followeth, his greateſt height in thoſe countreys to be almoſt 24 degrees. And ſo high is the Sun at noone to vs in London about the 29 of October, being in the 15 degree of Scorpio, and likewiſe the 21 of Ianuary being in the 15 of Aquarius. Therefore looke what force the Sun at noone hath in London the 29 of October, the ſame force of heat it hath, to them that dwell vnder the pole, the ſpace almoſt of two moneths, during the time of the Summer ſolſtitium, and that without intermingling of any colde night; ſo that if the heat of the Sunne at noone could be well meaſured in London (which is very hard to do, becauſe of the long nights which ingender great moiſture and cold) then would manifeſtly appeare by expreſſe numbers the maner of the heat vnder the poles, which certainly muſt needs be to the inhabitants very commodious and profitable, if it incline not to ouermuch heat, and if moiſture do not want.

London.

For as in October in England we finde temperate aire, and haue in our gardens hearbs and floures notwithſtanding our cold nights, how much more ſhould they haue the ſame good aire, being continuall without night. This heat of ours continueth but one houre, while the Sun is in that meridian, but theirs continueth a long time in one height. This our heat is weake, and by the cooleneſſe of the night vaniſheth, that heat is ſtrong, and by continuall acceſſe is ſtill increaſed and ſtrengthened. And thus by a ſimilitude of the equall height of the Sun in both places appeareth the commodious and moderate heat of the regions vnder the poles.

Commodious dwelling vnder the poles.

And ſurely I cannot thinke that the diuine prouidence hath made any thing vncommunicable, but to haue giuen ſuch order to all things, that one way or other the ſame ſhould be imployed, and that euery thing and place ſhould be tollerable to the next: but eſpecially all things in this lower world be giuen to man to haue dominion and vſe thereof. Therefore we need no longer to doubt of the temperate and commodious habitation vnder the poles during the time of Summer.

The nights vnder the pole.

But all the controuerſie conſiſteth in the Winter, for then the Sunne leaueth thoſe regions, and is no more ſeene for the ſpace of other ſixe moneths, in the which time all the Sunnes courſe is vnder their horizon for the ſpace of halfe a yere, and then thoſe regions (ſay ſome) muſt needs be deformed with horrible darkneſſe, and continuall night, which may be the cauſe that beaſts can not ſeeke their food, and that alſo the colde ſhould then be intollerable. By which double euils all liuing creatures ſhould be conſtrained to die, and were not able to indure the extremity and iniury of Winter, and famine inſuing thereof, but that all things ſhould periſh before the Summer following, when they ſhould bring foorth their brood and young, and that for theſe cauſes the ſayd Clime about the pole ſhould be deſolate and not habitable. To all which obiections may be anſwered in this maner: Firſt, that though the Sunne be abſent from them thoſe ſix moneths, yet it followeth not that there ſhould be ſuch extreme darkneſſe; for as the Sunne is departed vnder their horizon, ſo is it not farre from them: and not ſo ſoone as the Sunne falleth ſo ſuddenly commeth the darke night; but the euening doth ſuſteine and prolong the day a good while after by twilight. After which time the reſidue of the night receiueth light of the Moone and Starres, vntill the breake of the day, which giueth alſo a certaine light before the Sunnes riſing; ſo that by theſe meanes the nights are ſeldome darke; which is verified in all parts of the world, but leaſt in the middle Zone vnder the Equinoctiall, where the twilights are ſhort, and the nights darker then in any other place, becauſe the Sunne goeth vnder their horizon [illegible], euen to their antipodes. We ſee in England in the Summer nights, when the Sunne goeth not farre vnder the horizon, that by the light of the Moone & Starres we may trauell all night, and if occaſion were, do ſome other labour alſo. And there is no man that doubteth whether our cattell can ſee to feed in the nights, ſeeing we are ſo well certified thereof by our experience: and by reaſon of the ſphere our nights ſhould be darker then any time vnder the poles.

The Aſtronomers conſent that the Sunne deſcending from our vpper hemiſphere at the 18 parallel vnder the horizon maketh an end of twilight, ſo that at length the darke night inſueth, and that afterward in the morning the Sun approching againe within as many parallels, doth driue away the night by acceſſe of the twilight. Againe, by the poſition of the ſphere vnder the pole, the horizon, and the equinoctiall are all one. Theſe reuolutions therefore that are parallel to the equinoctiall are alſo parallel to the horizon, ſo that the Sunne deſcending vnder that horizon, and there deſcribing certaine parallels not farre diſtant, doth not bring darke nights to thoſe regions vntill it come to the parallels diſtant 18 degrees from the equinoctiall, that is, about the 21 degree of Scorpio, which will be about the 4 day of our Nouember, and after the Winter ſolſtitium, the Sunne returning backe againe to the 9 degree of Aquarius, which will be about the 19 of Ianuary; during which time onely, that is, from the 4 day of Nouember vntill the 19 day of Ianuary, which is about ſix weeks ſpace, thoſe regions do want the commoditie of twilights: therefore, during the time of theſe ſayd ſix moneths of darkneſſe vnder the poles, the night is deſtitute of the benefit of the Sunne and the ſayd twilights onely for the ſpace of ſix weeks or thereabout. And yet neither this time of ſix weeks is without remedy from heauen; for the Moone with her increaſed light hath acceſſe at that time, and illuminateth the moneths lacking light euery one of themſelues ſeuerally halfe the courſe of that moneth, by whoſe benefit it commeth to paſſe that the night named extreame darke poſſeſſeth thoſe regions no longer then one moneth, neither that continually, or all at one time, but this alſo diuided into two ſorts of ſhorter nights, of the which either of them indureth for the ſpace of 15 dayes, and are illuminate of the Moone accordingly. And this reaſon is gathered out of the ſphere, whereby we may teſtifie that the Summers are warme and fruitfull, and the Winters nights vnder the pole are tolerable to liuing creatures. And if it be ſo that the Winter and time of darkneſſe there be very colde, yet hath not nature left them vnprouided therefore: for there the beaſts are couered with haire ſo much the thicker in how much the vehemency of colde is greater; by reaſon whereof the beſt and richeſt furres are brought out of the coldeſt regions. Alſo the fowles of theſe colde countreys haue thicker ſkinnes, thicker feathers, and more ſtored of downe then in other hot places. Our Engliſh men that trauell to S. Nicholas, and go a fiſhing to Wardhouſe, enter farre within the circle Arctike, and ſo are in the frozen Zone, and yet there, aſwell as in Iſland and all along thoſe Northerne Seas, they finde the greateſt ſtore of the greateſt fiſhes that are; as Whales, &c. and alſo abundance of meane fiſhes; as Herrings, Cods, Haddocks, Brets, &c. which argueth that the ſea as well as the land may be and is well frequented and inhabited in the colde countreys.

The regions vnder the poles want twilights but ſixe weeks.

Winter nights vnder the pole tolerable to liuing creatures.

But ſome perhaps will maruell there ſhould be ſuch temperate places in the regions about the poles, when at vnder 62 degrees in latitude our captaine Frobiſher & his company were troubled with ſo many and ſo great mountaines of fleeting ice, with ſo great ſtormes of colde, with ſuch continuall ſnow on tops of mountaines, and with ſuch barren ſoile, there being neither wood nor trees, but low ſhrubs, and ſuch like. To all which obiections may be anſwered thus: Firſt, thoſe infinite Iſlands of ice were ingendred and congealed in time of Winter, and now by the great heat of Summer were thawed, and then by ebs, flouds, windes, and currents, were driuen to and fro, and troubled the fleet; ſo that this is an argument to proue the heat in Summer there to be great, that was able to thaw ſo monſtrous mountaines of ice. As for continuall ſnow on tops of mountaines, it is there no otherwiſe then is in the hoteſt part of the middle Zone, where alſo lieth great ſnow all the Summer long vpon tops of mountaines, becauſe there is not ſufficient ſpace for the Sunnes reflection, whereby the ſnow ſhould be molten. Touching the colde ſtormy windes and the barrenneſſe of the country, it is there as it is in Cornwall and Deuonſhire in England, which parts though we know to be fruitfull and fertile, yet on the North ſide thereof all alongſt the coaſt within ſeuen or eight miles off the ſea there can neither hedge nor tree grow, although they be diligently by arte huſbanded and ſeene vnto: and the cauſe thereof are the Northerne driuing windes, which comming from the ſea are ſo bitter and ſharpe that they kill all the yong & tender plants, and ſuffer ſcarſe any thing to grow; and ſo is it in the Iſlands of Meta incognita, which are ſubiect moſt to Eaſt & Northeaſtern windes, which the laſt yere choaked vp the paſſage ſo with ice that the fleet could hardly recouer their port. Yet notwithſtanding all the obiections that may be, the countrey is habitable; for there are men, women, children, & ſundry kind of beaſts in great plenty, as beares, deere, hares, foxes and dogs: all kinde of flying fowles, as ducks, ſeamewes, wilmots, partridges, larks, crowes, hawks, and ſuch like, as in the third booke you ſhall vnderſtand more at large. Then it appeareth that not onely the middle Zone but alſo the Zones about the poles are habitable.

An obiection of Meta incognita.

Meta incognita inhabited.

Which thing being well conſidered, and familiarly knowen to our Generall captaine Frobiſher, aſwell for that he is thorowly furniſhed of the knowledge of the ſphere and all other ſkilles appertaining to the arte of nauigation, as alſo for the confirmation he hath of the ſame by many yeres experience both by ſea and land, and being perſuaded of a new and neerer paſſage to Cataya then by Capo de buona Sperança, which the Portugals yeerly vſe: he began firſt with himſelfe to deuiſe, and then with his friends to conferre, and layed a plaine plat vnto them that that voyage was not onely poſſible by the Northweſt, but alſo he could proue eaſie to be performed. And further, he determined and reſolued with himſelfe to go make full proofe thereof, and to accompliſh or

Captaine Frobiſhers firſt voyage.

bring true certificate of the truth, or els neuer to returne againe, knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet vndone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to performe this notable voyage, whereof he had conceiued in his minde a great hope by ſundry ſure reaſons and ſecret intelligence, which here for ſundry cauſes I leaue vntouched, yet he wanted altogether meanes and ability to ſet forward, and performe the ſame. Long time he conferred with his priuate friends of theſe ſecrets, and made alſo many offers for the performing of the ſame in effect vnto ſundry merchants of our countrey aboue 15 yeres before he attempted the ſame, as by good witneſſe ſhall well appeare (albeit ſome euill willers which challenge to themſelues the fruits of other mens labours haue greatly iniured him in the reports of the ſame, ſaying that they haue bene the firſt authours of that action, and that they haue learned him the way, which themſelues as yet haue neuer gone) but perceiuing that hardly he was hearkened vnto of the merchants, which neuer regard vertue without ſure, certaine, and preſent gaines, he repaired to the Court (from whence, as from the fountaine of our Common wealth, all good cauſes haue their chiefe increaſe and maintenance) and there layed open to many great eſtates and learned men the plot and ſumme of his deuice. And amongſt many honourable minds which fauoured his honeſt and commendable enterpriſe, he was ſpecially bound and beholding to the right honourable Ambroſe Dudley earle of Warwicke, whoſe fauourable minde and good diſpoſition hath alwayes bene ready to countenance and aduance all honeſt actions with the authours and executers of the ſame: and ſo by meanes of my lord his honourable countenance he receiued ſome comfort of his cauſe, and by litle and litle, with no ſmall expenſe and paine brought his cauſe to ſome perfection, and had drawen together ſo many aduenturers and ſuch ſummes of money as might well defray a reaſonable charge to furniſh himſelfe to ſea withall.

He prepared two ſmall barks of twenty and fiue and twenty tunne a piece, wherein he intended to accompliſh his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furniſhed with the foreſayd two barks, and one ſmall pinneſſe of tenne tunne burthen, hauing therein victuals and other neceſſaries for twelue moneths prouiſion, he departed vpon the ſayd voyage from Blacke-wall the 15 of Iune anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named The Gabriel, and the other The Michael; and ſailing Northweſt from England vpon the 11 of Iuly he had ſight of an high and ragged land, which he iudged to be Friſland (whereof ſome authors haue made mention) but durſt not approch the ſame by reaſon of the great ſtore of ice that lay alongſt the coaſt, and the great miſts that troubled them not a litle. Not farre from thence he loſt company of his ſmall pinneſſe, which by meanes of the great ſtorme he ſuppoſed to be ſwallowed vp of the Sea, wherein he loſt onely foure men.

The Michael returned home.

Alſo the other barke named The Michael miſtruſting the matter, conueyed themſelues priuily away from him, and returned home, with great report that he was caſt away.

The worthy captaine notwithſtanding theſe diſcomforts, although his maſt was ſprung, and his toppe maſt blowen ouerboord with extreame foule weather, continued his courſe towards the Northweſt, knowing that the ſea at length muſt needs haue an ending, & that ſome land ſhould haue a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the leaſt to bring true proofe what land and ſea the ſame might be ſo farre to the Northweſtwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore diſcouered. And the twentieth of Iuly he had ſight of an high land, which he called Queene Elizabeths Forland, after her Maieſties name. And ſailing more Northerly alongſt that coaſt, he deſcried another forland with a great gut, bay, or paſſage, diuiding as it were two maine lands or continents aſunder. There he met with ſtore of exceeding great ice all this coaſt along, and coueting ſtill to continue his courſe to the Northwards, was alwayes by contrary winde deteined ouerthwart theſe ſtraights, and could not get beyond. Within few dayes after he perceiued the ice to be well conſumed and gone, either there ingulfed in by ſome ſwift currents or indrafts, carried more to the Southwards of the ſame ſtraights, or els conueyed ſome other way: wherefore he determined to make proofe of this place, to ſee how farre that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himſelfe thorow the ſame into ſome open ſea on the backe ſide, whereof he conceiued no ſmall hope, and ſo entred the ſame the one and twentieth of Iuly, and paſſed aboue fifty leagues therein, as he reported, hauing vpon either hand a great maine or continent. And that land vpon his right hand as he ſailed Weſtward he iudged to be the continent of Aſia, and there to be diuided from the firme of America, which lieth vpon the left hand ouer againſt the ſame.

Frobiſhers firſt entrance within ÿ ſtreights.

Frobiſhers ſtraights.

This place he named after his name Frobiſhers ſtreights, like as Magellanus at ÿ Southweſt end of the world, hauing diſcouered the paſſage to the South ſea (where America is diuided from the continent of that land, which lieth vnder the South pole) and called the ſame ſtraights, Magellanes ſtraits.

After he had paſſed 60 leagues into this foreſayd ſtraight, he went aſhore, and found ſignes where fire had bene made.

He ſaw mightie deere that ſeemed to be mankinde, which ranne at him, and hardly he eſcaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was faine to vſe defence and policy to ſaue his life. Deere.

In this place he ſaw and perceiued ſundry tokens of the peoples reſorting thither. And being aſhore vpon the top of a hill, he perceiued a number of ſmall things fleeting in the ſea afarre off, which he ſuppoſed to be porpoſes, or ſeales, or ſome kinde of ſtrange fiſh; but comming neerer, he diſcouered them to be men in ſmall boats made of leather. And before he could deſcend downe frō the hill, certaine of thoſe people had almoſt cut off his boat from him, hauing ſtollen ſecretly behinde the rocks for that purpoſe, where he ſpeedily haſted to his boat, and bent himſelfe to his halberd, and narrowly eſcaped the danger, and ſaued his boat. Afterwards he had ſundry conferences with them, and they came aboord his ſhip, and brought him ſalmon and raw fleſh and fiſh, and greedily deuoured the ſame before our mens faces. And to ſhew their agility, they tried many maſteries vpon the ropes of the ſhip after our mariners faſhion, and appeared to be very ſtrong of their armes, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of ſeales, and beares ſkinnes, and ſuch like, with our men; and receiued belles, looking glaſſes, and other toyes, in recompenſe thereof againe. After great curteſie, and many meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captaines direction, began more eaſily to truſt them; and fiue of our men going aſhore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were neuer ſince heard of to this day againe: ſo that the captaine being deſtitute of boat, barke, and all company, had ſcarſely ſufficient number to conduct backe his barke againe. He could now neither conuey himſelfe aſhore to reſcue his men (if he had bene able) for want of a boat; and againe the ſubtile traitours were ſo wary, as they would after that neuer come within our mens danger. The captaine notwithſtanding deſirous to bring ſome token from thence of his being there, was greatly diſcontented that he had not before apprehended ſome of them: and therefore to deceiue the deceiuers he wrought a prety policy; for knowing wel how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and ſpecially in belles, he rang a prety lowbell, making ſignes that he would giue him the ſame that would come and fetch it. And becauſe they would not come within his danger for feare, he flung one bell vnto them, which of purpoſe he threw ſhort, that it might fall into the ſea and be loſt. And to make them more greedy of the matter he rang a louder bell, ſo that in the end one of them came nere the ſhip ſide to receiue the bel; which when he thought to take at the captaines hand, he was thereby taken himſelfe: for the captaine being readily prouided let the bell fall, and caught the man faſt, and plucked him with maine force boat and all into his barke out of the ſea. Whereupon when he found himſelfe in captiuity, for very choler and diſdaine he bit his tongue in twaine within his mouth: notwithſtanding, he died not thereof, but liued vntill he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at ſea.

The firſt ſight of yͤ Sauages.

Salmon.

Fiue Engliſhmen intercepted and taken.

Taking of the firſt Sauage.

Now with this new pray (which was a ſufficient witneſſe of the captaines farre and tedious trauell towards the vnknowen parts of the world, as did well appeare by this ſtrange infidell, whoſe like was neuer ſeene, read, nor heard of before, and whoſe language was neither knowen nor vnderſtood of any) the ſayd captaine Frobiſher returned homeward, and arriued in England in Harwich the 2 of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but ſpecially famous for the great hope he brought of the paſſage to Cataya.

Frobiſhers returne.

And it is eſpecially to be remembred that at their firſt arriuall in thoſe parts there lay ſo great ſtore of ice all the coaſt along ſo thicke together, that hardly his boat could paſſe vnto the ſhore. At length, after diuers attempts he commanded his company, if by any poſſible meanes they could get aſhore, to bring him whatſoeuer thing they could firſt finde, whether it were liuing or dead, ſtocke or ſtone, in token of Chriſtian poſſeſſion, which thereby he tooke in behalfe of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty, thinking that thereby he might iuſtify the hauing and inioying of the ſame things that grew in theſe vnknowen parts.

The taking poſſeſſion of Meta incognita.

Some of his company brought floures, ſome greene graſſe; and one brought a piece of blacke ſtone much like to a ſea cole in colour, which by the waight ſeemed to be ſome kinde of mettall or minerall. This was a thing of no account in the iudgement of the captaine at the firſt ſight; and yet for nouelty it was kept in reſpect of the place from whence it came.

How the ore was found by chance.

After his arriuall in London, being demanded of ſundry his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that countrey, he had nothing left to preſent thē withall but a piece of this blacke ſtone,

ſtone. And it fortuned a gentlewoman one of the aduenturers wiues to haue a piece thereof, which by chance ſhe threw and burned in the fire, ſo long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a litle vineger, it gliſtered with a bright marqueſſet of golde. Whereupon the matter being called in ſome queſtion, it was brought to certaine Goldfiners in London to make aſſay thereof, who gaue out that it held golde, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards, the ſame Goldfiners promiſed great matters thereof if there were any ſtore to be found, and offered themſelues to aduenture for the ſearching of thoſe parts from whence the ſame was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter ſought ſecretly to haue a leaſe at her Maieſties hands of thoſe places, whereby to inioy the maſſe of ſo great a publike profit vnto their owne priuate gaines.

Many aduenturers.

In concluſion, the hope of more of the ſame golde ore to be found kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many to aduance the voyage againe. Whereupon preparation was made for a new voyage against the yere following, and the captaine more ſpecially directed by commiſſion for the ſearching more of this golde ore then for the ſearching any further diſcouery of the paſſage. And being well accompanied with diuers reſolute and forward gentlemen, her Maieſty then lying at the right honourable the lord of Warwicks houſe in Eſſex, he came to take his leaue, and kiſſing her highneſſe hands, with gracious countenance & comfortable words departed toward his charge.

In the ſecond voyage commiſſion was giuen onely for the bringing of ore.

A true report of ſuch things as happened in the ſecond voyage of captaine *Frobiſher*, pretended for the diſcouery of a new paſſage to *Cataya*, *China*, and the *Eaſt India*, by the Northweſt. *Ann. Dom.* 1577.

BEing furniſhed with one tall ſhip of her Maieſties, named The Ayde, of two hundred tunne, and two other ſmall barks, the one named The Gabriel, the other The Michael, about thirty tun a piece, being fitly appointed with men, munition, victuals, and all things neceſſary for the voyage, the ſayd captaine Frobiſher, with the reſt of his company came aboord his ſhips riding at Blackwall, intending (with Gods helpe) to take the firſt winde and tide ſeruing him, the 25 day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1577.

The names of ſuch gentlemen as attempted this diſcouery, and the number of ſouldiers and mariners in ech ſhip, as followeth.

ABoord the Ayd being Admirall were the number of 100 men of all ſorts, whereof 30 or moe were Gentlemen and Souldiers, the reſt ſufficient and tall Saylers.

Aboord the Gabriel being Viceadmirall, were in all 18 perſons, whereof ſixe were Souldiers, the reſt Mariners.

Aboord the Michael were 16 perſons, whereof fiue were Souldiers, the reſt Mariners.

Aboord the Ayde was	Generall of the whole company for her Maieſty	Martin Frobiſher.
	His Lieutenant	George Beſt.
	His Enſigne	Richard Philpot.
	Corporall of the ſhot	Francis Forder.
	The reſt of the gentlemen	Henry Carew. Edmund Stafford. Iohn Lee. M. Haruie. Mathew Kinerſley. Abraham Lins. Robert Kinerſley. Francis Brakenbury. William Armſhow.
	The Maſter	Chriſtopher Hall.
	The Mate	Charles Iackman.
	The Pilot	Andrew Dier.
	The Maſter gunner	Richard Cox.

Aboord

Aboord the Gabriell was	Captaine	Edward Fenton.
	One Gentleman	William Tamfield.
	The Maiſter	William Smyth.
Aboord the Michaell was	Captaine	Gilbert Yorke.
	One Gentleman	Thomas Chamberlaine
	The Maiſter	James Beare.

On Whitſunday being the 26 of May, Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed ancher at Blackwall, and fell that tyde downe to Grauesend, where we remained vntill Monday at night.

On munday morning the 27 of May, aboord the Ayde we receiued all the Communion by the Miniſter of Grauesend, and prepared vs as good Chriſtians towards God, and reſolute men for all fortunes: and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

[illegible] are at the communion.

Tueſday the eight and twenty of May, about nine of the clocke at night, we arriued at Harwich in Eſſex and there ſtayed for the taking in of certaine victuals, vntill Friday being the thirtieth of May, during which time came letters from the Lordes of the Councell, ſtraightly commanding our Generall, not to exceede his complement and number appointed him, which was, one hundred and twentie perſons: whereupon he diſcharged many proper men which with vnwilling mindes departed.

The number of men in this voyage.

He alſo diſmiſſed all his condemned men, which he thought for ſome purpoſes very needefull for the voyage, and towards night vpon Friday the one and thirtieth of May we ſet ſaile, and put to the Seas againe. And ſayling Northward alongſt the Eaſt coaſts of England and Scotland, the ſeuenth day of June we arriued in Saint Magnus ſound in Orkney Ilands, called in latine Orcades, and came to ancher on the South ſide of the Bay, and this place is reckoned from Blackwall where we ſet ſaile firſt leagues.

The condemned men diſcharged.

The firſt arriuall after our departing frō England.

Here our companie going on lande, the Inhabitants of theſe Ilandes beganne to flee as from the enemie, whereupon the Lieutenant willed euery man to ſtay togither, and went himſelfe vnto their houſes to declare what we were and the cauſe of our comming thither, which being vnderſtood, after their poore maner they friendly entreated vs, and brought vs for our money ſuch things as they had. And here our Goldfiners found a Mine of ſiluer.

A Mine of ſiluer found in Orkney.

Orkney is the principall of the Iſles of the Orcades, and ſtandeth in the latitude of fiftie nine degrees and a halfe. The countrey is much ſubiect to colde, anſwerable for ſuch a climate, and yet yeeldeth ſome fruites, and ſufficient maintenance for the people contented ſo poorely to liue.

There is plentie ynough of Poultrey, ſtore of egges, fiſh, and foule.

For their bread they haue Oaten Cakes, and their drinke is Ewes milke, and in ſome partes Ale.

Their houſes are but poore without and ſluttiſh ynough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable.

For their fire they burne heath and turffe, the Countrey in moſt parts being voide of wood.

They haue great want of Leather, and deſire our old ſhoes, apparell, and old ropes (before money) for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coine. The chiefe towne is called Kyrway.

Kyrway the chiefe towne of Orkney.

In this Iland hath bene ſometime an Abbey or a religious houſe called Saint Magnus, being on the Weſt ſide of the Ile, whereof this ſound beareth name, through which we paſſed. Their Gouernour or chiefe Lord is called the Lord Robert Steward, who at our being there, as we vnderſtood, was in durance at Edenburgh, by the Regents commandement of Scotland.

S. Magnus ſound why ſo called.

After we had prouided vs here of matter ſufficient for our voyage the eight of June wee ſet ſayle againe, and paſſing through Saint Magnus ſound hauing a merrie winde by night, came cleare and loſt ſight of all the land, and keeping our courſe Weſt Northweſt by the ſpace of two dayes, the winde ſhifted vpon vs ſo that we lay in trauerſe on the Seas, with contrary windes, making good (as neere as we could) our courſe to the weſtward, and ſometime to the Northward, as the winde ſhifted. And hereabout we met with 3 ſaile of Engliſh fiſhermen frō Iſeland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters vnto our friends in England. We trauerſed theſe Seas by the ſpace of 26 dayes without ſight of any land, and met with much drift wood, & whole bodies of trees. We ſawe many monſterous fiſhes and ſtrange foules, which ſeemed to liue onely

Great bodies of trees driuing in the ſeas.

Monſtrous fiſh & ſtrange foule liuing onely by the Sea.

onely by the Sea, being there ſo farre diſtant from any land. At length God fauoured vs with more proſperous windes, and after wee had ſayled foure dayes with good winde in the Poop, the fourth of Iuly the Michaell being formoſt a head ſhot off a peece of Ordinance, and ſtroke all her ſayles, ſuppoſing that they deſcryed land, which by reaſon of the thicke miſtes they could not make perfit: howbeit, as well our account as alſo the great alteration of the water, which became more blacke and ſmooth, did plainely declare we were not farre off the coaſt. Our Generall ſent his Maſter aboord the Michaell (who had beene with him the yeere before) to beare in with the place to make proofe thereof, who deſcryed not the land perfect, but ſawe ſundry huge Ilands of yce, which we deemed to be not paſt twelue leagues from the ſhore, for about tenne of the clocke at night being the fourth of Iuly, the weather being more cleare, we made the land perfect and knew it to be Friſlande. And the heigth being taken here, we found our ſelues to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a halfe, and were fallen with the Southermoſt part of this land. Betweene Orkney and Friſland are reckoned leagues.

Water being blacke and ſmooth ſignifieth land to be neere.

Ilands of yce.

The firſt ſight of Friſland the 4. of Iuly.

This Friſlande ſheweth a ragged and high lande, hauing the mountaines almoſt couered ouer with ſnow alongſt the coaſt full of drift yce, and ſeemeth almoſt inacceſſible, and is thought to be an Iland in bigneſſe not inferiour to England, and is called of ſome Authors, Weſt Friſlande, I thinke becauſe it lyeth more Weſt then any part of Europe. It extendeth in latitude to the Northward very farre as ſeemed to vs, and appeareth by a deſcription ſet out by two brethren Venetians, Nicholaus and Antonius Zeni, who being driuen off from Ireland with a violent tempeſt made ſhipwracke here, and were the firſt knowen Chriſtians that diſcouered this land about two hundred yeares ſithence, and they haue in their Sea-cardes ſet out euery part thereof and deſcribed the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as ciuill and religious people as we. And for ſo much of this land as we haue ſayled alongſt, comparing their Carde with the coaſt, we finde it very agreeable. This coaſt ſeemeth to haue good fiſhing, for we lying becalmed let fall a hooke without any bayte and preſently caught a great fiſh called a Hollibut, who ſerued the whole companie for a dayes meate, and is dangerous meate for ſurfetting. And ſounding about fiue leagues off from the ſhore, our leade brought vp in the tallow a kinde of Corrall almoſt white, and ſmall ſtones as bright as Chriſtall: and it is not to be doubted but that this land may be found very rich and beneficial if it were throughly diſcouered, although we ſawe no creature there but little birdes. It is a maruellous thing to behold of what great bigneſſe and depth ſome Ilands of yce be here, ſome ſeuentie, ſome eightie fadome vnder water, beſides that which is aboue, ſeeming Ilands more then halfe a mile in circuit. All theſe yce are in taſt freſh, and ſeeme to be bredde in the ſounds thereabouts, or in ſome lande neere the pole, and with the winde and tides are driuen alongſt the coaſtes. We found none of theſe Ilands of yce ſalt in taſte, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the Ocean Sea water which is alwayes ſalt, but of ſome ſtanding or little mouing lakes or great freſh waters neere the ſhore, cauſed eyther by melted ſnowe from tops of mountaines, or by continuall acceſſe of freſh riuers from the land, and intermingling with the Sea water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreame froſt) may cauſe ſome part of ſalt water to freeſe ſo with it, and ſo ſeeme a little brackiſh, but otherwiſe the maine Sea freeſeth not, and therefore there is no Mare Glaciale or froſen Sea, as the opinion hitherto hath bene. Our Generall prooued landing here twice, but by the ſuddaine fall of miſtes (whereunto this coaſt is much ſubiect) he was like to looſe ſight of his ſhips, and being greatly endangered with the driuing yce alongſt the coaſt, was forced aboord and faine to ſurceaſe his pretence till a better opportunitie might ſerue: and hauing ſpent foure dayes and nightes ſayling alongſt this land, finding the coaſt ſubiect to ſuch bitter colde and continuall miſtes, he determined to ſpend no more time therein, but to beare out his courſe towardes the ſtreightes called Frobiſhers ſtreights after the Generals name, who being the firſt that euer paſſed beyond 58 degrees to the Northwardes, for any thing that hath beene yet knowen of certaintie of New found land, otherwiſe called the continent or firme land of America, diſcouered the ſaide ſtraights this laſt yere 1576.

Friſland deſcribed.

An eaſie kinde of Fiſhing.

White Corrall got vp by ſounding.

Monſtrous Iſles of yce, in taſte freſh, wherehence they are ſuppoſed to come.

The opinion of the froſen Seas to be deſtroyed by experience.

Betweene Friſland and the ſtraights we had one great ſtorme, wherein the Michaell was ſomewhat in danger, hauing her Steirrage broken, and her toppe Maſtes blowen ouer boord, & being not paſt 50 leagues ſhort of the ſtraights by our account, we ſtroke ſayle & lay a hull, fearing the continuance of of the ſtorme, the winde being at the Northeaſt, and hauing loſt companie of the Barkes in that flaw of winde, we happily met againe the ſeuenteenth day of Iuly, hauing ~~the euening before ſeene diuers Ilands of fleeting yce, which gaue an argument that we were~~ not farre from land. Our Generall in the morning from the maine top (the weather being reaſonable

The Steirrage of the Michaell broken by tempeſt.

The firſt entrance of the ſtraights.

ſonable cleare) deſcried land, but to be better aſſured he ſent the two Barkes two contrarie courſes, whereby they might deſcrie either the South or North foreland, the Ayde lying off and on at Sea, with a ſmall ſayle by an Iland of yce, which was the marke for vs to meete togither againe. And about noone, the weather being more cleare, we made the North foreland perfite, which otherwiſe is called Halles Iland, and alſo the ſmall Iland bearing the name of the ſayde Hall whence the Ore was taken vp which was brought into England this laſt yeere 1576 the ſaid Hall being preſent at the finding & taking vp thereof, who was then Maiſter in the Gabriell with Captaine Frobiſher. At our arriuall here all the Seas about this coaſt were ſo couered ouer with huge quantitie of great yce, that we thought theſe places might onely deſerue the name of Mare Glaciale, and be called the Iſie Sea.

Halles Iland.

This North foreland is thought to be deuided from the continent of the Northerland, by a little ſound called Halles ſound, which maketh it an Iland, and is thought little leſſe then the Iſle of Wight, and is the firſt entrance of the ſtraightes vpon the Norther ſide, and ſtandeth in the latitude of ſixtie two degrees and fiftie minutes, and is reckoned from Friſland leagues. God hauing bleſſed vs with ſo happie a land-fall, we bare into the ſtraights which runne in next hand, and ſomewhat further vp to the Northwarde, and came as neere the ſhore as wee might for the yce, and vpon the eighteenth day of Iuly our Generall taking the Goldfiners with him, attempted to goe on ſhore with a ſmall rowing Pinneſſe, vpon the ſmall Ilande where the Ore was taken vp, to prooue whether there were any ſtore thereof to be found, but he could not get in all that Iland a peece ſo bigge as a Walnut, where the firſt was found. But our men which ſought the other Ilands thereabouts found them all to haue good ſtore of the Ore, whereupon our Generall with theſe good tidings returned aboord about tenne of the clocke at night, and was ioyfully welcommed of the company with a volie of ſhot. He brought egges, foules, and a young Seale aboord, which the companie had killed aſhore, and hauing found vpon thoſe Ilands ginnes ſet to catch fowle, and ſtickes newe cut, with other things, he well perceiued that not long before ſome of the countrey people had reſorted thither.

The deſcription of the ſtraightes.

No more gold Ore found in the firſt Iland.

Egs & foules of Meta incognita.

Snares ſet to catch birds withall.

Hauing therefore found thoſe tokens of the peoples acceſſe in thoſe parts, and being in his firſt voyage well acquainted with their ſubtill and cruell diſpoſition, hee prouided well for his better ſafetie, and on Friday the nineteenth of Iuly in the morning early, with his beſt companie of Gentlemen and ſouldiers, to the number of fortie perſons, went on ſhore, aſwell to diſcouer the Inland and habitation of the people, as alſo to finde out ſome fit harborowe for our ſhippes. And paſſing towardes the ſhoare with no ſmall difficultie by reaſon of the abundance of yce which lay alongſt the coaſt ſo thicke togither that hardly any paſſage through them might be diſcouered, we arriued at length vpon the maine of Halles greater Iland, and found there alſo aſwell as in the other ſmall Ilands good ſtore of the Ore. And leauing his boates here with ſufficient guarde we paſſed vp into the countrey about two Engliſh miles, and recouered the toppe of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a Columne or Croſſe of ſtones heaped vp of a good heigth togither in good ſort, and ſolemnely ſounded a Trumpet, and ſaide certaine prayers kneeling about the Enſigne, and honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwicke, in remembrance of the Right Honorable the Lord Ambroſe Dudley Earle of Warwick, whoſe noble minde and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gaue great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retyred our companies not ſeeing any thing here worth further diſcouerie, the countrey ſeeming barren and full of ragged mountaines and in moſt parts couered with ſnow.

The building of a Columne, called Mount Warwicke.

And thus marching towards our botes, we eſpied certaine of the countrey people on the top of Mount Warwick with a flag wafting vs backe againe and making great noiſe, with cries like the mowing of Buls ſeeming greatly deſirous of conference with vs: whereupon the Generall being therewith better acquainted, anſwered them againe with the like cries, whereat and with the noiſe of our trumpets they ſeemed greatly to reioyce, ſkipping, laughing and dancing for ioy. And hereupon we made ſignes vnto them, holding vp two fingers, commaunding two of our men to go apart from our cõpanies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men & two of theirs met togither a good ſpace from company, neither partie hauing their weapons about thẽ. Our men gaue them pins and points and ſuch trifles as they had. And they likewiſe beſtowed on our men two bow caſes and ſuch things as they had. They earneſtly deſired our men to goe vp into their countrey, and our men offered them like kindneſſe aboord our ſhips, but neither part (as it ſeemed) admitted or truſted the others curteſie. Their maner of traffique is thus, they doe vſe to lay downe of their marchandiſe vpon the ground, ſo much as they meane to part withal, and ſo looking that the other partie with whom they make trade ſhould doe the like, they themſelues

The firſt ſight of the countrie people, wafting with a flagge.

The meeting a part of two Engliſhmen, with two of that countrey.

The order of their traffique.

wee depart, and then if they doe like of their part they come againe, and take in exchange the others marchandiſe, otherwiſe if they like not, they take their owne and depart. The day being thus well neere ſpent, in haſte wee retired our companies into our boates againe, minding forthwith to ſearch alongſt the coaſt for ſome harborow fit for our ſhippes, for the preſent neceſſitie thereof was much, conſidering that all this while they lay off and on betweene the two landes, being continually ſubiect aſwell to great danger of fleeting yce, which enuironed them, as to the ſodaine flawes which the coaſt ſeemeth much ſubiect vnto. But when the people perceiued our departure, with great tokens of affection they earneſtly called vs backe againe, following vs almoſt to our boates: whereupon our Generall taking his Maſter with him, who was beſt acquainted with their maners, went apart vnto two of them, meaning, if they could lay ſure hold vpon them, forcibly to bring them aboord, with intent to beſtow certaine toyes and apparell vpon the one, and ſo to diſmiſſe him with all arguments of curteſie, and retaine the other for an Interpreter. The Generall and his Maſter being met with their two companions togither, after they had exchanged certaine things the one with the other, one of the Saluages for lacke of better marchandiſe, cut off the tayle of his coat (which is a chiefe ornament among them) and gaue it vnto our Generall for a preſent. But he preſently vpon a watchword giuen with his Maſter ſodainely laid hold vpon the two Saluages. But the ground vnderfoot being ſlipperie with the ſnow on the ſide of the hill, their handfaſt failed and their prey eſcaping ranne away and lightly recouered their bow and arrowes, which they had hid not farre from them behind the rockes. And being onely two Saluages in ſight, they ſo fiercely, deſperately, and with ſuch fury aſſaulted and purſued our Generall and his Maſter, being altogether vnarmed, and not miſtruſting their ſubtiltie that they chaſed them to their boates, and hurt the Generall in the buttocke with an arrow, who the rather ſpeedily fled backe, becauſe they ſuſpected a greater number behind the rockes. Our ſouldiers (which were commanded before to keepe their boates) perceiuing the danger, and hearing our men calling for ſhot came ſpeedily to reſcue, thinking there had bene a greater number. But when the Saluages heard the ſhot of one of our caliuers (and yet hauing firſt beſtowed their arrowes) they ranne away, our men ſpeedily following them. But a ſeruant of my Lord of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger a good footman, and vncombred with any furniture hauing only a dagger at his backe ouertooke one of them, and being a Corniſhman and a good wraſtler, ſhewed his companion ſuch a Corniſh tricke, that he made his ſides ake againſt the ground for a moneth after. And ſo being ſtayed, he was taken aliue and brought away, but the other eſcaped. Thus with their ſtrange and new prey our men repaired to their boates, and paſſed from the maine to a ſmall Iland of a mile compaſſe, where they reſolued to tarrie all night; for euen now a ſodaine ſtorme was growen ſo great at ſea, that by no meanes they could recouer their ſhips. And here euery man refreſhed himſelfe with a ſmall portion of victuals which was laide into the boates for their dinners, hauing neither eate nor drunke all the day before. But becauſe they knewe not how long the ſtorme might laſt, nor how farre off the ſhippes might be put to ſea, nor whether they ſhould euer recouer them againe or not, they made great ſpare of their victuals, as it greatly behoued them: For they knew full well that the beſt cheare the countrey could yeeld them, was rockes and ſtones, a hard food to liue withall, and the people more readie to eate them then to giue them wherewithall to eate. And thus keeping verie good watch and warde, they lay there all night vpon hard cliffes of ſnow and yce both wet, cold, and comfortleſſe.

Another meeting of two of our men with two of theirs.

The Engliſhmen chaſed to their boates.

One of that Countreymen taken.

These things thus hapning with the company on land, the danger of the ſhips at Sea was no leſſe perilous. For within one houre after the Generals departing in the morning by negligence of the Cooke in ouer-heating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Ayde was ſet on fire, and had bene the confuſion of the whole if by chance a boy eſpying it, it had not bene ſpeedily with great labour and Gods helpe well extinguiſhed.

The Ayde ſet on fire.

This day alſo were diuerſe ſtormes and flawes, and by nine of the clocke at night the ſtorme was growen ſo great, ẏ continued ſuch vntill the morning, that it put our ſhips at ſea in no ſmall perill: for hauing mountaines of fleeting yce on euery ſide, we went roomer for one, and loofed for another, ſome ſcraped vs, and ſome happily eſcaped vs, that the leaſt of a M. were as dangerous to ſtrike as any rocke, and able to haue ſplit aſunder the ſtrongeſt ſhip of the world. We had a ſcope of cleare without yce, (as God would) wherein we turned, being other wiſe compaſſed on euery ſide about: but ſo much was the winde and ſo litle was our ſea roome, that being able to beare onely our forecourſe we caſt ſo oft about, that we made fourteene bordes in eight glaſſes running, being but foure houres: but God being our beſt Steresman, & by the induſtrie of Charles Iackman and Andrew Dyer the maſters mates, both very expert Mariners, & Richard Cox ẏ maſter Gunner,

The great danger of theſe rockes of yce.

with other very carefull ſailers, then within bord, and alſo by the helpe of the cleare nights which are without darkeneſſe, we did happily auoide thoſe preſent dangers, whereat ſince wee haue more maruelled then in the preſent danger feared, for that euery man within borde, both better and worſe had ynough to doe with his hands to hale ropes, and with his eyes to looke out for danger. But the next morning being the 20 of Iuly, as God would, the ſtorme ceaſed, and the Generall eſpying the ſhips with his new Captiue and whole company, came happily abord, and reported what had paſſed a ſhoare, whereupon altogither vpon our knees we gaue God humble and hartie thankes, for that it had pleaſed him, from ſo ſpeedy peril to ſend vs ſuch ſpeedy deliuerance, and ſo from this Northerne ſhore we ſtroke ouer towards the Southerland.

Night without darkneſſe in that countrey.

The one and twentieth of Iuly, we diſcouered a bay which ranne into the land, that ſeemed a likely harborow for our ſhips, wherefore our Generall rowed thither with his boats, to make proofe thereof, and with his goldfiners to ſearch for Ore, hauing neuer aſſayed any thing on the South ſhore as yet, and the firſt ſmall Iland which we landed vpon. Here all the ſands and cliffs did ſo gliſter and had ſo bright a marqueſite, that it ſeemed all to be gold, but vpon tryall made, it prooued no better then black-lead, and verified the prouerbe. All is not gold that gliſtereth.

Our firſt comming on the Southerland of the land ſtraights.

A Mine of Blacke lead.

Upon the two and twentieth of Iuly we bare into the ſayde ſound, and came to ancker a reaſonable bredth off the ſhore, where thinking our ſelues in good ſecuritie, we were greatly endangered with a peece of drift yce, which the Ebbe brought foorth of the ſounds and came thwart vs ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and ſouldiers within bord taking great paines at this pinch at the Capſtone, ouercame the moſt danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it ſtroke on our ſterne ſuch a blow, that we feared leaſt it had ſtriken away our rudder, and being forced to cut our Cable in the hawſe, we were faine to ſet our fore ſaile to runne further vp within, and if our ſtirrage had not bene ſtronger then in the preſent time we feared, we had runne the ſhip vpon the rockes, hauing a very narrow Channell to turne in, but as God would, all came well to paſſe. And this was named Iackmans ſound, after the name of the Maſters mate, who had firſt liking vnto the place.

Iackmans ſound.

Upon a ſmall Iland, within this ſound called Smithes Iland (becauſe he firſt ſet vp his forge there) was found a Mine of ſiluer, but was not wonne out of the rockes without great labour. Here our goldfiners made ſay of ſuch Ore as they found vpon the Northerland, and found foure ſorts thereof to holde gold in good quantitie. Upon another ſmall Iland here was alſo found a great dead fiſh, which as it ſhould ſeeme, had bene embayed with yce, and was in proportion round like to a Porpoſe, being about twelue foote long, and in bigneſſe anſwerable, hauing a horne of two yardes long growing out of the ſnoute or noſtrels. This horne is wreathed and ſtraite, like in faſhion to a Taper made of waxe, and may truely be thought to be the ſea Unicorne. This horne is to be ſeene and reſerued as a Iewell by the Queenes Maieſties commandement, in her Wardrope of Robes.

Smiths Iland.

The finding of an Unicornes horne.

Tueſday the three and twentieth of Iuly, our Generall with his beſt company of gentlemen, ſouldiers and ſaylers, to the number of ſeuentie perſons in all, marched with enſigne diſplayde, vpon the continent of the Southerland (the ſuppoſed continent of America) where, commanding a Trumpet to ſound a call for euery man to repaire to the enſigne, he declared to the whole company how much the cauſe imported for the ſeruice of her Maieſtie, our countrey, our credites, and the ſafetie of our owne liues, and therefore required euery man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by thoſe he ſhould aſſigne. And he appointed for leaders, Captaine Fenton, Captaine Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Beſte: which done, we caſt our ſelues into a ring, and altogither vpon our knees, gaue God humble thanks for that it had pleaſed him of his great goodneſſe to preſerue vs from ſuch imminent dangers, beſeeching likewiſe the aſſiſtance of his holy ſpirite, ſo to deliuer vs in ſafetie into our Countrey, whereby the light and truth of theſe ſecrets being knowen, it might redound to the more honour of his holy name, and conſequently to the aduancement of our common wealth. And ſo, in as good ſort as the place ſuffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountaines, which were no leſſe painfull in climbing then dangerous in deſcending, by reaſon of their ſteepneſſe & yce. And hauing paſſed about fiue miles, by ſuch vnwieldie wayes, we returned vnto our ſhips without ſight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here diuerſe of the Gentlemen deſired our Generall to ſuffer them to the number of twentie or thirtie perſons to march vp thirtie or fortie leagues in the countrey, to the end they might diſcouer the Inland, and doe ſome acceptable ſeruice for their countrey. But he not contented with the matter he ſought for, and well conſidering the ſhort time he had in hand, and the greedie deſire our countrey hath to a preſent ſauour and returne of gaine, bent his whole indeuour only to find a Mine to fraight his ſhips, and to leaue the reſt (by Gods helpe) hereafter to be well accompliſhed.

And therefore the twentie ſixe of Iuly he departed ouer to the Northland, with the two barkes, leauing the Ayde ryding in Iackmans ſound, and ment (after hee had found conuenient harborow, and fraight there for his ſhips) to diſcouer further for the paſſage. The Barkes came the ſame night to ancker in a ſound vpon the Northerland, where the tydes did runne ſo ſwift, and the place was ſo ſubiect to indrafts of yce, that by reaſon thereof they were greatly endangered, & hauing found a very rich Myne, as they ſupposed, and got almoſt twentie tunne of Ore together, vpon the 28 of Iuly the yce came driuing into the ſound where the Barkes rode, in ſuch ſort, that they were therewith greatly diſtreſſed. And the Gabriell riding aſterne the Michael, had her Cable gauld aſunder in the hawſe with a peece of driuing yce, and loſt another ancker, and hauing but one cable and ancker left, for ſhe had loſt two before, and the yce ſtill driuing vpon her, ſhe was (by Gods helpe) well fenced from the danger of the reſt, by one great Iland of yce, which came a ground hard a head of her, which if it had not ſo chanced, I thinke ſurely ſhee had beene caſt vpon the rockes with the yce. The Michael mored ancker vpon this great yce, and roade vnder the lee thereof: but about midnight, by the weight of it ſelfe, and the ſetting of the Tydes, the yce brake within halfe the Barkes length, and made vnto the companie within boord a ſodaine and fearefull noyſe. The next flood toward the morning we weyed ancker, and went further vp the ſtraights, and leauing our Ore behind vs which we had digged, for haſt left the place by the name of Beares ſound after the Maſters name of the Michaell, and named the Iland Leceſters Iland. In one of the ſmall Ilands here we found a Tombe, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our ſauage Captiue being with vs, & being demanded by ſignes whether his countreymen had not ſlaine this man and eat his fleſh ſo from the bones, he made ſignes to the contrary, and that he was ſlaine with Wolues and wild beaſts. Here alſo was found hid vnder ſtones good ſtore of fiſh, and ſundry other things of the inhabitants; as ſleddes, bridles, kettels of fiſh-ſkinnes, kniues of bone, and ſuch other like. And our Sauage declared vnto vs the vſe of all thoſe things. And taking in his hand one of thoſe countrey bridles, he caught one of our dogges and hampred him handſomely therein, as we doe our horſes, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dogge to drawe in a ſled as we doe horſes in a coach, ſetting himſelfe thereupon like a guide: ſo that we might ſee they vſe dogges for that purpoſe that we do our horſes. And we found ſince by experience, that the leſſer ſort of dogges they feede fatte, and keepe them as domeſticall cattell in their tents for their eating, and the greater ſort ſerue for the vſe of drawing their ſleds.

Beares ſound. Leceſters Iland. A tombe with a dead mans bones in it.

Bridles, kniues, and other inſtruments found hid among the Rockes.

They vſe great dogs to draw ſleds, and litle dogs for their meat.

The twentie ninth of Iuly, about fiue leagues from Beares ſound, we diſcouered a Bay which being fenced on ech ſide with ſmal Ilands lying off the maine, which breake the force of the tides, and make the place free from any indrafts of yce, did prooue a very fit harborow for our ſhips, where we came to ancker vnder a ſmall Ilande, which now together with the ſound is called by the name of that right Honourable and vertuous Ladie, Anne Counteſſe of Warwicke. And this is the furtheſt place that this yeere we haue entred vp within the ſtreites, and is rekoned from the Cape of the Queenes foreland, which is the entrance of the ſtreites not aboue 30 leagues. Vpon this Iland was found good ſtore of the Ore, which in the waſhing helde gold to our thinking plainly to be ſeene: whereupon it was thought beſt rather to load here, where there was ſtore and indifferent good, then to ſeeke further for better, and ſpend time with ieoperdie. And therefore our Generall ſetting the Myners to worke, and ſhewing firſt a good preſident of a painefull labourer and a good Captaine in himſelfe, gaue good examples for others to follow him: whereupon euery man both better and worſe, with their beſt endeuours willingly layde to their helping handes. And the next day, being the thirtieth of Iuly, the Michaell was ſent ouer to Iackmans ſound, for the Ayde and the whole companie to come thither.

Thirty leagues diſcouered within the ſtraites.

A good preſident of a good Captain ſhewed by Captain Frobiſher.

Vpon the maine land ouer againſt the Counteſſes Iland we diſcouered and behelde to our great maruell the poore caues and houſes of thoſe countrey people, which ſerue them (as it ſhould ſeeme) for their winter dwellings, and are made two fadome vnder grounde, in compaſſe round, like to an Ouen, being ioyned faſt one by another, hauing holes like to a Foxe or Conny berry, to keepe and come togither. They vndertrenched theſe places with gutters ſo, that the water falling from the hilles aboue them, may ſlide away without their annoyance: and are ſeated commonly in the foote of a hill, to ſhield them better from the cold windes, hauing their doore and entrance euer open towards the South. From the ground vpward they builde with whales bones, for lacke of timber, which bending one ouer another, are handſomely compacted in the top together, and are couered ouer with Sealeſkinnes, which in ſtead of tiles, fence them from the raine. In which houſe they haue onely one roome, hauing the one halfe of the floure raiſed with broad ſtones a foot higher than ÿ other, whereon ſtrawing Moſſe, they make their neſts to ſleep in.

The maner of their houſes in this countrey.

Whales bones vſed in ſtead of timber.

They defile theſe dennes moſt filthily with their beaſtly feeding, & dwell ſo long in a place (as we thinke) vntill their ſluttiſhnes lothing them, they are forced to ſeeke a ſweeter ayre, and a new ſeate, and are (no doubt) a diſperſed and wandring nation, as the Tartarians, and liue in hords and troupes, without any certaine abode, as may appeare by ſundry circumſtances of our experience.

The ſluttiſhneſſe of theſe people.

Here our captiue being aſhore with vs, to declare the vſe of ſuch things as we ſaw, ſtayd himſelfe alone behind the company, and did ſet vp fiue ſmall ſtickes round in a circle one by another, with one ſmal bone placed iuſt in the middeſt of all: which thing when one of our men perceiued, he called vs backe to behold the matter, thinking that hee had meant ſome charme or witchcraft therein. But the beſt coniecture we could make thereof was, that hee would thereby his countreymen ſhould vnderſtand, that for our fiue men which they betrayed the laſt yeere (whom he ſignified by the fiue ſtickes) he was taken and kept priſoner, which he ſignified by the bone in the midſt. For afterwards when we ſhewed him the picture of his countreman, which the laſt yeere was brought into England (whoſe counterfeit we had drawen, with boate and other furniture, both as he was in his own, & alſo in Engliſh apparel) he was vpon the ſudden much amazed thereat, and beholding aduiſedly the ſame with ſilence a good while, as though he would ſtreine courteſie whether ſhould begin the ſpeech (for he thought him no doubt a liuely creature) at length began to queſtion with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, ſeemed to ſuſpect him, as one diſdeinfull, and would with a little helpe haue growen into choller at the matter, vntill at laſt by feeling and handling, hee found him but a deceiuing picture. And then with great noiſe and cryes, ceaſed not wondring, thinking that we could make men liue or die at our pleaſure.

A ſigne ſet vp by the ſauage captiue, & the meaning thereof.

The ſauage captiue amazed at his countreymans picture.

And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gaue vs plainely to vnderſtand by ſignes, that he had knowledge of the taking of our fiue men the laſt yeere, and confeſſing the maner of ech thing, numbred the fiue men vpon his fiue fingers, and pointed vnto a boat in our ſhip, which was like vnto that wherein our men were betrayed: And when we made him ſignes, that they were ſlaine and eaten, he earneſtly denied, and made ſignes to the contrary.

The laſt of Iuly the Michael returned with the Aide to vs from the Southerland, and came to anker by vs in the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, and reported that ſince we departed from Iackmans ſound there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, vntill the thirtieth of Iuly, when certaine of our company being a ſhoare vpon a ſmall Iſland within the ſayd Iackmans ſound, neere the place where the Aide rode, did eſpie a long boat with diuers of the countrey people therein, to the number of eighteene or twenty perſons, whom ſo ſoone as our men perceiued, they returned ſpeedily aboord, to giue notice thereof vnto our company. They might perceiue theſe people climbing vp to the top of a hill, where with a flagge, they wafted vnto our ſhip, and made great outcries and noyſes, like ſo many Buls. Hereupon our men did preſently man foorth a ſmall ſkiffe, hauing not aboue ſixe or ſeuen perſons therein, which rowed neere the place where thoſe people were, to prooue if they could haue any conference with them. But after this ſmall boate was ſent a greater, being wel appointed for their reſcue, if need required.

Another ſhew of twenty perſons of that countrey in one boate.

As ſoone as they eſpied our company comming neere them, they tooke their boates and haſted away, either for feare, or elſe for pollicie, to draw our men from reſcue further within their danger: wherefore our men conſtruing that their comming thither was but to ſeeke aduantage, followed ſpeedily after them, but they rowed ſo ſwiftly away, that our men could come nothing neere them. Howbeit they failed not of their beſt endeuour in rowing, and hauing chaſed them aboue two miles into the ſea, returned into their ſhips againe.

The morning following being the firſt of Auguſt, Captaine Yorke with the Michael came into Iackmans ſound, and declared vnto the company there, that the laſt night paſt he came to anker in a certaine baye (which ſithens was named Yorkes ſound) about foure leagues diſtant from Iackmans ſound, being put to leeward of that place for lacke of winde, where he diſcouered certaine tents of the countrey people, where going with his company aſhore, he entred into them, but found the people departed, as it ſhould ſeeme, for feare of their comming. But amongſt ſundry ſtrange things which in theſe tents they found, there was rawe and new killed fleſh of vnknowen ſorts, with dead carcaſſes and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They alſo beheld (to their greater maruelle) a dublet of Canuas made after the Engliſh faſhion, a ſhirt, a girdle, three ſhoes for contrary feete, and of vnequall bigneſſe, which they well coniectured to be the apparell of our fiue poore countreymen, which were intercepted the laſt yeere by theſe Countrey people, about fifty leagues from this place, further within the Straights. Whereupon our men being in good

Yorkes ſound.

The apparell found againe of our Engliſh men which the yere before were taken captiue.

hope, that ſome of them might be here, and yet liuing: the Captaine deuiſing for the beſt left his minde behind him in writing, with pen, ynke, and paper alſo, whereby our poore captiue countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends minds, and of their arriuall, and likewiſe returne their anſwere. And ſo without taking any thing away in their tents, leauing there alſo looking glaſſes, points, and other of our toyes (the better to allure them by ſuch friendly meanes) departed aboord his Barke, with intent to make haſte to the Aide, to giue notice vnto the company of all ſuch things as he had there diſcouered: and ſo meant to returne to theſe tents againe, hoping that he might by force or policie entrappe or intice the people to ſome friendly conference. Which things when he had deliuered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captaine Yorke with the maſter of the Aide and his mate (who the night before had bene at the tents, and came ouer from the other ſide in the Michael with him) being accompanied with the Gentlemen and ſouldiors to the number of thirty or forty perſons in two ſmall rowing Pinnaſſes made towards the place, where the night before they diſcouered the tents of thoſe people, and ſetting Charles Iackman, being the maſters Mate, aſhore with a conuenient number, for that he could beſt guide them to the place, they marched ouer land, meaning to compaſſe them on the one ſide, whileſt the Captaine with his boates might entrap them on the other ſide. But landing at laſt at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents remoued. Notwithſtanding, our men which marched vp into the countrey, paſſing ouer two or three mountaines, by chance eſpied certaine tents in a valley vnderneath them neere vnto a creeke by the Sea ſide, which becauſe it was not the place where the guide had bene the night before, they iudged them to be another company, and beſetting them about, determined to take them if they could. But they hauing quickly diſcried our company, lanched one great & another ſmal boat, being about 16 or 18 perſons, and very narrowly eſcaping, put themſelues to ſea. Whereupon our ſouldiers diſcharged their Caliuers, and followed them, thinking the noiſe therof being heard to our boats at ſea, our men there would make what ſpeede they might to that place. And thereupon indeede our men which were in the boates (croſſing vpon them in the mouth of the ſound whereby their paſſage was let from getting ſea roome, wherein it had bene impoſſible for vs to ouertake them by rowing) forced them to put themſelues aſhore vpon a point of land within the ſayd ſound (which vpon the occaſion of the ſlaughter there, was ſince named The bloody point) whereunto our men ſo ſpeedily followed, that they had little leiſure left them to make any eſcape. But ſo ſoone as they landed, ech of them brake his Oare, thinking by that meanes to preuent vs, in carying away their boates for want of Oares. And deſperatly returning vpon our men, reſiſted them manfully in their landing, ſo long as their arrowes and dartes laſted, and after gathering vp thoſe arrowes which our men ſhot at them, yea, and plucking our arrowes out of their bodies incountred afreſh againe, and maintained their cauſe vntill both weapons and life fayled them. And when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they caſt themſelues headlong from off the rockes into the ſea, leaſt perhaps their enemies ſhould receiue glory or prey of their dead carcaiſes, for they ſuppoſed vs belike to be Canibals or eaters of mans fleſh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerouſly hurt in the belly with one of their arrowes, and of them were ſlaine fiue or ſixe, the reſt by flight eſcaping among the rockes, ſauing two women, whereof the one being old and vgly, our men thought ſhee had bene a deuill or ſome witch, and therefore let her goe: the other being yong, and cumbred with a ſucking childe at her backe, hiding her ſelfe behind the rockes, was eſpied by one of our men, who ſuppoſing ſhe had bene a man, ſhot through the haire of her head, and pierced through the childs arme, whereupon ſhe cried out, and our Surgeon meaning to heale her childes arme, applyed ſalues thereunto. But ſhe not acquainted with ſuch kind of ſurgery, plucked thoſe ſalues away, and by continuall licking with her owne tongue, not much vnlike our dogs, healed vp the childes arme. And becauſe the day was welneere ſpent our men made haſte vnto the reſt of our company which on the other ſide of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparell, letter, and other Engliſh furniture, that they were the ſame company which Captaine Yorke diſcouered the night before, hauing remoued themſelues from the place where he left them.

A good deuiſe of Captaine Yorke.

The Sauages haue boats of ſundry bignes.

The Engliſh men purſue thoſe people of that countrey.

The ſwift rowing of thoſe people.

The bloody point.

Yorkes ſound.

A hot ſkirmiſh betweene the Engliſh and them of that countrey.

The deſperate nature of thoſe people.

The taking of the woman & her child.

A prety kind of ſurgery which nature teacheth.

And now conſidering their ſudden flying from our men, and their deſperate maner of fighting, we began to ſuſpect that we had heard the laſt newes of our men which the laſt yere were betrayed of theſe people. And conſidering alſo their rauenous and bloody diſpoſition in eating any kind of raw fleſh or carrion howſoeuer ſtinking, it is to bee thought that they had ſlaine and deuoured our men: For the dublet which was found in their tents had many holes therein being made with their arrowes and dartes.

But now the night being at hand, our men with their captiues and ſuch poore ſtuffe as they found in their tents, returned towards their ſhips, when being at ſea, there aroſe a ſudden flaw of winde, which was not a little dangerous for their ſmall boates: but as God would they came all ſafely aboord. And with theſe good newes they returned (as before mentioned) into the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound vnto vs. And betweene Iackmans ſound, from whence they came, and the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound betweene land and land, being thought the narroweſt place of the Straights were iudged nine leagues ouer at the leaſt: and Iackmans ſound being vpon the Southerland, lyeth directly almoſt ouer againſt the Counteſſes ſound, as is reckoned ſcarce thirty leagues within the Straights from the Queenes Cape, which is the entrance of the Streits of the Southerland. This Cape being named Queene Elizabeths Cape, ſtandeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and a halfe to the Northwards of New found land, and vpon the ſame continent, for any thing that is yet knowen to the contrary.

The narroweſt place of the Straites is 9. leagues ouer.

The Queenes Cape.

Hauing now got a woman captiue for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together, and euery man with ſilence deſired to behold the maner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was more worth the beholding than can be well expreſſed by writing. At their firſt encountring they beheld each the other very wiſtly a good ſpace, without ſpeech or word vttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it ſeemed the griefe and diſdeine of their captiuity had taken away the vſe of their tongues and vtterance: the woman at the firſt very ſuddenly, as though ſhe diſdeined or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to ſing as though ſhe minded another matter: but being againe brought together, the man brake vp the ſilence firſt, and with ſterne and ſtayed countenance, began to tell a long ſolemne tale to the woman, whereunto ſhe gaue good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finiſhed, and afterwards, being growen into more familiar acquaintance by ſpeech, they were turned together, ſo that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued without the comfort of the other. And for ſo much as we could perceiue, albeit they liued continually together, yet they did neuer vſe as man & wife, though the woman ſpared not to doe all neceſſary things that appertained to a good houſwife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and euery other thing that appertained to his eaſe: for when he was ſeaſicke, ſhe would make him cleane, ſhe would kill and flea the dogs for their eating, and dreſſe his meate. Only I thinke it worth the noting, the continencie of them both: for the man would neuer ſhift himſelfe, except he had firſt cauſed the woman to depart out of his cabin, and they both were moſt ſhamefaſt, leaſt any of their priuie parts ſhould be diſcouered, either of themſelues, or any other body.

The maner of the meeting of the two captiues, and their entertainment.

The ſhamefaſtnes and chaſtity of thoſe Sauage captiues.

On Munday the ſixth of Auguſt, the Lieutenant with all the Souldiers, for the better garde of the Myners and the other things a ſhore, pitched their tents in the Counteſſes Iſland, and fortified the place for their better better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of fortie perſons, when being all at labour, they might perceiue vpon the top of a hill ouer againſt them a number of the countrey people wafting with a flag, and making great outcries vnto them, and were of the ſame companie, which had encountred lately our men vpon the other ſhore, being come to complaine their late loſſes, and to entreate (as it ſeemed) for reſtitution of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away; whereupon the Generall taking the ſauage captiue with him, and ſetting the woman where they might beſt perceiue her in the higheſt place of the Iſland, went ouer to talke with them. This captiue at his firſt encounter of his friends fell ſo out into teares that he could not ſpeake a word in a great ſpace, but after a while, ouercomming his kindneſſe, he talked at full with his companions, and beſtowed friendly vpon them ſuch toyes and trifles as we had giuen him, whereby we noted, that they are very kind one to another, and greatly ſorrowfull for the loſſe of their friends. Our Generall by ſignes required his fiue men which they tooke captiue the laſt yere, and promiſed them, not only to releaſe thoſe which he had taken, but alſo to reward them with great gifts and friendſhip. Our Sauage made ſignes in anſwere from them that our men ſhould be deliuered vs, and were yet liuing, and made ſignes likewiſe vnto vs that we ſhould write our letters vnto them, for they knew very well the vſe we haue of writing, and receiued knowledge thereof, either of our poore captiue countreymen which they betrayed, or elſe by this our new captiue who hath ſeene vs dayly write, and repeate againe ſuch words of his language as we deſired to learne: but they for this night, becauſe it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earneſtly in haſt for the ſame. And the next morning early being the ſeuenth of Auguſt, they called againe for the letter, which being deliuered vnto them, they ſpeedily departed, making ſignes with three fingers, and pointing to the Sunne, that they meant to returne within 3 dayes, vntill which time we heard no more of them, & about the time appointed they returned, in ſuch ſort as you ſhal afterwards heare.

Another appearance of the countrey people.

Theſe people know the vſe of writing.

A letter ſent vnto the Engliſh captiues.

This night becauſe the people were very neere vnto vs, the Lieutenant cauſed the Trumpet to ſound a call, and euery man in the Iſland repayring to the Enſigne, he put them in minde of the place ſo farre from their countrey wherein they liued, and the danger of a great multitude which they were ſubiect vnto, if good watch and warde were not kept, for at euery low water the enimie might come almoſt dryſhod from the mayne vnto vs, wherefore he willed euery man to prepare him in good readineſſe vpon all ſudden occaſions, and ſo giuing the watch their charge, the company departed to reſt.

I thought the Captaines letter well worth the remembring, not for the circumſtance of curious enditing, but for the ſubſtance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore haue repeated here the ſame, as by himſelfe it was haſtily written.

The forme of M. *Martin Frobiſhers* letter to the Engliſh captiues.

IN the name of God, in whom we all beleeue, who (I truſt) hath preſerued your bodies and ſoules amongſt theſe Infidels, I commend me vnto you. I will be glad to ſeeke by al meane you can deuiſe for your deliuerance, either with force, or with any commodities within my ſhips, which I will not ſpare for your ſakes, or any thing elſe I can doe for you. I haue aboord, of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliuer for you, but the man which I caried away from hence the laſt yeere is dead in *England*. Moreouer you may declare vnto them, that if they deliuer you not, I will not leaue a man aliue in their countrey. And thus, if one of you can come to ſpeake with mee, they ſhall haue either the man, woman, or childe in pawne for you. And thus vnto God whom I truſt you doe ſerue, in haſt I leaue you, and to him wee will dayly pray for you. This Tueſday morning the ſeuenth of Auguſt. Anno 1577.

Yours to the vttermoſt of my power,
MARTIN FROBISHER.

Poſtſcript. I haue ſent you by theſe bearers, penne, ynke, and paper, to write backe vnto me againe, if perſonally you cannot come to certifie me of your eſtate.

The cauſe why M. Frobiſher entred no further within the Streites this yere.

Now had the Generall altered his determination for going any further into the Countries at this time for any further diſcouery of the paſſage hauing taken a man and a woman of that countrey, which he thought ſufficient for the vſe of language: & hauing alſo met with theſe people here, which intercepted his men the laſt yere, (as the apparell and Engliſh furniture which was found in their tents, very well declared) he knew it was but a labour loſt to ſeeke them further off, when he had found them there at hand. And conſidering alſo the ſhort time he had in hand, he thought it beſt to bend his whole endeuour for the getting of Myne, and to leaue the paſſage further to be diſcouered hereafter. For his commiſſion directed him in this voyage, onely for the ſearching of the Ore, and to deferre the further diſcouery of the paſſage vntill another time.

Beſts bulwarke.

On Thurſday the ninth of Auguſt we began to make a ſmal Fort for our defence in the Counteſſes Iſland, and entrenched a corner of a cliffe, which on three parts like a wall of good heigth was compaſſed and well fenced with the ſea, and we finiſhed the reſt with caſkes of the earth, to good purpoſe, and this was called Beſts bulwarke, after the Lieutenants name, who firſt deuiſed the ſame. This was done for that wee ſuſpected more leſt the deſperate men might oppreſſe vs with multitude, then any feare we had of their force, weapons, or policie of battel: but as wiſedome would vs in ſuch place (ſo farre from home) not to be of our ſelues altogether careleſſe: ſo the ſignes which our captiue made vnto vs, of the comming downe of his Gouernour or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gaue vs occaſion to foreſee what might enſue thereof, for he ſhewed by ſignes that this Catchoe was a man of higher ſtature farre then any of our nation is, and he is accuſtomed to be caried vpon mens ſhoulders.

Their King called Catchoe. How he is honoured.

About midnight the Lieutenant cauſed a falſe Alarme to be giuen in the Iſland, to proue as well the readines of the company there aſhore, as alſo what help might be hoped for vpon the ſudden frō the ſhips if need ſo required, & euery part was found in good readines vpon ſuch a ſudden.

Saturday the eleuenth of Auguſt the people ſhewed themſelues againe, & called vnto vs from the ſide of a hil ouer againſt vs. The General (with good hope to heare of his men, and to haue anſwere of his letter) went ouer vnto them, where they preſented themſelues not aboue three in ſight, but were hidden indeede in greater numbers behind the rockes, and making ſignes of delay with vs to intrappe ſome of vs to redeeme their owne, did onely ſeeke aduantage to traine our boat about a point of land from ſight of our companie: whereupon our men iuſtly ſuſpecting them,kept aloofe without their danger, and yet ſet one of our company aſhore, which tooke vp a great bladder which one of them offered vs, and leauing a looking glaſſe in the place, came into the boate againe. In the meane while our men which ſtood in the Counteſſes Iland to beholde, who might better diſcerne them, then thoſe of the boate, by reaſon they were on higher ground, made a great outcrie vnto our men in the boate,for that they ſaw diuers of the Sauages creeping behind the rockes towards our men,whereupon the Generall preſently returned without tidings of his men.

A bladder changed for a looking glaſſe.

No newes of the Engliſh captiues.

Concerning this bladder which we receiued, our Captiue made ſignes that it was giuen him to keepe water and drinke in,but we ſuſpected rather it was giuen him to ſwimme and ſhift away withall,for he and the woman ſought diuers times to eſcape, hauing looſed our boates from aſterne our ſhips,and we neuer a boate left to purſue them withall, and had preuailed very farre, had they not bene very timely eſpied and preuented therein.

To what end the bladder was deliuered.

After our Generals comming away from them they muſtred themſelues in our ſight,vpon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a ranche, all holding hands ouer their heads, and dancing with great noiſe and ſongs together: we ſuppoſed they made this dance and ſhew for vs to vnderſtand,that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we ſhould doe the ſame. And thus they continued vpon the hill tops vntill night, when hearing a piece of our great Ordinance,which thundred in the hollowneſſe of the high hilles,it made vnto them ſo fearefull a noiſe, that they had no great will to tarie long after. And this was done more to make them know our force then to doe them any hurt at all.

Theſe people dancing vpon the hil toppes.

On Sunday the 12 of Auguſt,Captaine Fenton trained the company,and made the ſouldiers maintaine ſkirmiſh among themſelues, as well for their exerciſe,as for the countrey people to behold in what readines our men were alwaies to be found,for it was to be thought,that they lay hid in the hilles thereabout,and obſerued all the manner of our proceedings.

A ſkirmiſh ſhewed to theſe people.

On Wedneſday the fourteenth of Auguſt, our Generall with two ſmall boates well appointed,for that hee ſuſpected the countrey people to lie lurking thereabout, went vp a certaine Bay within the Counteſſes ſound,to ſearch for Ore,and met againe with the countrey people, who ſo ſoone as they ſaw our men made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders ſowed together with the guts and ſinewes of beaſts, wafted vs amaine vnto them,but ſhewed not aboue three of their company. But when wee came neere them, wee might perceiue a great multitude creeping behinde the rockes, which gaue vs good cauſe to ſuſpect their traiterous meaning: whereupon we made them ſignes, that if they would lay their weapons aſide, and come forth,we would deale friendly with them, although their intent was manifeſted vnto vs: but for all the ſignes of friendſhip we could make them they came ſtill creeping towards vs behind the rocks to get more aduantage of vs,as though we had no eyes to ſee them,thinking belike that our ſingle wits could not diſcouer ſo bare deuiſes and ſimple drifts of theirs. Their ſpokeſman earneſtly perſwaded vs with many inticing ſhewes, to come eate and ſleepe aſhore, with great arguments of courteſie, and clapping his bare hands ouer his head in token of peace and innocencie, willed vs to doe the like. But the better to allure our hungry ſtomackes, he brought vs a trimme baite of raw fleſh, which for faſhion ſake with a boat-hooke wee caught into our boate: but when the cunning Cater perceiued his firſt cold morſell could nothing ſharpen our ſtomacks, he caſt about for a new traine of warme fleſh to procure our appetites, wherefore he cauſed one of his fellowes in halting maner,to come forth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to declare his kindnes in caruing,he hoiſed him vpon his ſhoulders,and bringing him hard to the water ſide where we were,left him there limping as an eaſie prey to be taken of vs. His hope was that we would bite at this baite,and ſpeedily leape aſhore within their danger,whereby they might haue apprehended ſome of vs, to ranſome their friends home againe, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and ſouldiers had great will to encounter them aſhore, but the Generall more carefull by proceſſe of time to winne them, then wilfully at the firſt to ſpoile them, would in no wiſe admit that any man ſhould put himſelfe in hazard aſhore,conſidering the matter he now intended was for the Ore, and not for the Conqueſt: notwithſtanding to proue this cripples footemanſhip,he gaue liberty for one to ſhoote: whereupon the cripple hauing a parting blow, lightly recouered a rocke and went away a true and no fained cripple,and hath learned his leſſon for euer halting afore ſuch cripples againe. But his fellowes which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likeneſſe,and maintained the ſkirmiſh with their ſlings, bowes and arrowes very fiercely, and came as neere as the water ſuffred them: and with as deſperate minde as hath bene ſeene in any men, without feare of ſhotte or any thing, followed vs all along the coaſt, but all their ſhot fell ſhort of vs,and are of little danger. They had belayed all the

Their flagges made of bladders.

Great offers.

A hundreth Sauages.

coaſt along for vs, and being diſperſed ſo, were not well to be numbred, but wee might diſcerne of them aboue an hundreth perſons, and had cauſe to ſuſpect a greater number. And thus without loſſe or hurt we returned to our ſhips againe.

Now our worke growing to an end, and hauing, onely with fiue poore Miners, and the helpe of a few gentlemen and ſouldiers, brought aboord almoſt two hundreth tunne of Ore in the ſpace of twenty dayes, euery man therewithall well comforted, determined luſtily to worke a freſh for a bone voyage, to bring our labour to a ſpeedy and happy ende.

And vpon Wedneſday at night being the one and twentieth of Auguſt, we fully finiſhed the whole worke. And it was now good time to leaue, for as the men were well wearied, ſo their ſhooes and clothes were well worne, their baskets bottoms torne out, their tooles broken, and the ſhips reaſonably well filled. Some with ouer-ſtraining themſelues receiued hurts not a little dangerous, ſome hauing their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the yce began to congeale and freeze about our ſhips ſides a night, which gaue vs a good argument of the Sunnes declining Southward, and put vs in mind to make more haſte homeward.

It is not a little worth the memorie, to the commendation of the gentlemen and ſouldiers herein, who leauing all reputation apart, with ſo great willingneſſe and with couragious ſtomackes, haue themſelues almoſt ouercome in ſo ſhort a time the difficultie of this ſo great a labour. And this to be true, the matter, if it bee well weyed without further proofe, now brought home doth well witneſſe.

Thurſday the 22 of Auguſt, we plucked downe our tents, and euery man haſted homeward, and making bonefires vpon the top of the higheſt Mount of the Iland, and marching with Enſigne diſplayed round about the Iland, wee gaue a vollie of ſhotte for a farewell, in honour of the right honourable Lady Anne, Counteſſe of Warwicke, whoſe name it beareth: and ſo departed aboord.

The 23 of Auguſt hauing the wind large at Weſt, we ſet ſaile from out of the Counteſſes ſound homeward, but the wind calming we came to anker within the point of the ſame ſound againe.

They returne. Snow halfe a foote deepe 24 Auguſt.

The 24 of Auguſt about three of the clocke in the morning, hauing the wind large at Weſt, we ſet ſaile againe, and by nine of the clocke at night, wee left the Queenes Foreland aſterne of vs, and being cleere of the Streites, we bare further into the maine Ocean, keeping our courſe more Southerly, to bring our ſelues the ſooner vnder the latitude of our owne climate.

The wind was very great at ſea, ſo that we lay a hull all night, & had ſnow halfe a foote deepe on the hatches.

From the 24 vntill the 28 we had very much wind, but large, keeping our courſe Southſoutheaſt, and had like to haue loſt the Barkes, but by good hap we met againe. The height being taken, we were in degrees and a halfe.

The 29 of Auguſt the wind blew much at Northeaſt, ſo that we could beare but onely a bunt of our foreſaile, and the Barkes were not able to cary any ſayle at all.

The Michael loſt company of vs and ſhaped her courſe towards Orkney becauſe that way was better knowne vnto them, and arriued at Yermouth.

The Maſter of the Gabriel ſtrooken ouerboord.

The 30 of Auguſt with the force of the wind, and a ſurge of the ſea, the Maſter of the Gabriel and the Boatſwain were ſtriken both ouerboord, & hardly was the Boatſwain recouered, hauing hold on a roape hanging ouerboord in the ſea, and yet the Barke was laced fore and after with ropes a breaſt high within boorde.

The Maſter was called William Smith, being but a yong man and a very ſufficient mariner, who being all the morning before exceeding pleaſant, told his Captaine he dreamed that he was caſt ouerboord, and that the Boatſwain had him by the hand, and could not ſaue him, and ſo immediately vpon the end of his tale, his dreame came right euilly to paſſe, and indeed the Boatſwain in like ſort held him by one hand, hauing hold on a rope with the other, vntill his force failed, and the Maſter drowned. The height being taken we found our ſelues to be in the latitude of degrees and a halfe, and reckoned our ſelues from the Queenes Cape homeward about two hundreth leagues.

The laſt of Auguſt about midnight, we had two or three great and ſudden flawes or ſtormes.

The firſt of September the ſtorme was growen very great, and continued almoſt the whole day and night, and lying a hull to tarrie for the Barkes our ſhip was much beaten with the ſeas, euery ſea almoſt ouertaking our poope, ſo that we were conſtrained with a bunt of our ſaile to trie it out, and eaſe the rolling of our ſhip. And ſo the Gabriel not able to beare any ſayle to keepe company with vs, and our ſhip lying higher in the poope, and a tall ſhip, whereon the winde had more force to driue, went ſo faſt away that we loſt ſight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of Sea. The ſecond day of September in the morning, it pleaſed God of his goodneſſe to ſend vs a calme, whereby we perceiued the Rudder of our ſhip torne in twaine, and almoſt ready to fall away. Wherefore taking the benefite of the time, we flung halfe a dozen couple of our beſt men ouer boord, who taking great paines vnder water, driuing plankes, and binding with ropes, did well ſtrengthen and mend the matter, who returned the moſt part more then halfe dead out of the water, and as Gods pleaſure was, the ſea was calme vntill the worke was finiſhed. The fift of September, the height of the Sunne being taken, we found our ſelues to bee in the latitude of   degrees and a halfe. In this voyage commonly wee tooke the latitude of the place by the height of the Sunne, becauſe the long day taketh away the light not onely of the Polar, but alſo of all other fixed Starres. And here the North Starre is ſo much eleuated aboue the Horizon, that with the ſtaffe it is hardly to bee well obſerued, and the degrees in the Aſtrolabe are too ſmall to obſerue minutes. Therefore wee alwaies vſed the Staffe and the Sunne as fitteſt inſtruments for this vſe.

The Rudder of the Aide torne in twaine.

How the latitudes were alwayes taken in this voyage rather with the Staffe then Aſtrolabe.

Hauing ſpent foure or fiue dayes in trauerſe of the ſeas with contrary winde, making our Souther way good as neere as we could, to raiſe our degrees to bring our ſelues with the latitude of Sylley, wee tooke the height the tenth of September, and found our ſelues in the latitude of   degrees and ten minutes. The eleuenth of September about ſixe a clocke at night the winde came good Southweſt, we vered ſheat and ſet our courſe Southeaſt.

And vpon Thurſday, the twelfth of September, taking the height, wee were in the latitude of   and a halfe, and reckoned our ſelues not paſt one hundred and fiftie leagues ſhort of Sylley, the weather faire, the winde large at Weſtſouthweſt, we kept our courſe Southeaſt.

The thirteenth day the height being taken, wee found our ſelues to be in the latitude of   degrees, the wind Weſtſouthweſt, then being in the height of Sylley, and we kept our courſe Eaſt, to run in with the ſleeue or chanel ſo called, being our narrow ſeas, and reckoned vs ſhort of Sylley twelue leagues.

Sonday, the 15 of September about foure of the clocke, we began to ſound with our lead, and had ground at 61 fadome depth, white ſmall ſandy ground, and reckoned vs vpon the backe of Sylley, and ſet our courſe Eaſt and by North, Eaſt northeaſt, and Northeaſt among.

The ſixteenth of September, about eight of the clocke in the morning ſounding, we had 65. fadome oſey ſand, and thought our ſelues thwart of S. Georges channell a little within the bankes. And bearing a ſmall ſaile all night, we made many ſoundings, which were about fortie fadome, and ſo ſhallow, that we could not well tell where we were.

The ſeuenteenth of September we ſounded, and had fortie fadome, and were not farre off the lands end, finding branded ſand with ſmall wormes and Cockle ſhelles, and were ſhotte betweene Sylley and the lands ende, and being within the bay, we were not able to double the pointe with a South and by Eaſt way, but were faine to make another boord, the wind being at Southweſt and by Weſt, and yet could not double the point to come cleere of the lands end, to beare along the channel: and the weather cleered vp when we were hard aboord the ſhore, and we made the lands end perfit, and ſo put vp along Saint Georges chanel. And the weather being very foule at ſea, we coueted ſome harborough, becauſe our ſteerage was broken, and ſo came to ancor in Padſtow road in Cornewall. But riding there a very dangerous roade, we were aduiſed by the countrey, to put to Sea againe, and of the two euils, to chooſe the leſſe, for there was nothing but preſent perill where we roade: whereupon we plyed along the channell to get to Londy, from whence we were againe driuen, being but an open roade, where our Anker came home, and with force of weather put to Seas againe, and about the three and twentieth of September, arriued at Milford Hauen in Wales, which being a very good harborough, made vs happy men, that we had receiued ſuch long deſired ſafetie.

The arriual of the Ayde at Padſtow in Cornewall.

Our comming to Milford Hauen.

About one moneth after our arriuall here, by order from the Lords of the Counſell, the ſhip came vp to Briſtow, where the Ore was committed to keeping in the Caſtel there. Here we found the Gabriel one of the Barkes, arriued in good ſafetie, who hauing neuer a man within boord very ſufficient to bring home the ſhip, after the Maſter was loſt, by good fortune, when ſhe came vpon the coaſt, met with a ſhip of Briſtow at ſea, who conducted her in ſafety thither.

The arriuall of the Gabriel at Briſtow.

Here we heard good tidings alſo of the arriuall of the other Barke called the Michael, in the North parts, which was not a little ioyful vnto vs, that it pleaſed God ſo to bring vs to a ſafe meeting againe, and wee loſt in all the voyage only one man, beſides one that dyed at ſea, which was ſicke before he came aboord, and was ſo deſirous to follow this enterpriſe, that he rather choſe to dye therein, then not to be one to attempt ſo notable a voyage.

The Michael arriued in the North parts.

Only one man died the voyage.

The third voyage of Captaine *Frobiſher*, pretended for the diſcouerie of *Cataia*, by *Meta Incognita*, *Anno Do.* 1578.

THe Generall being returned from the ſecond voyage, immediately after his arriuall in England, repaired with all haſt to the Court being then at Windſore, to aduertiſe her Maieſtie of his proſperous proceeding, and good ſucceſſe in this laſt voyage, & of the plenty of gold Ore, with other matters of importance which he had in theſe Septentrionall parts diſcouered. He was courteouſly enterteyned, and hartily welcommed of many noble men, but eſpecially for his great aduenture, commended of her Maieſtie, at whoſe hands he receiued great thankes, and moſt gracious countenance, according to his deſerts. Her Highneſſe alſo greatly commended the reſt of the Gentlemen in this ſeruice, for their great forwardnes in this ſo dangerous an attempt: but eſpecially ſhe reioyced very much, that among them there was ſo good order of gouernement, ſo good agreement, euery man ſo ready in his calling, to do whatſoeuer the General ſhould cōmand, which due commendation graciouſly of her Maieſtie remembred, gaue ſo great encouragement to all the Captaines and Gentlemen, that they, to continue her Highneſſe ſo good and honourable opinion of them, haue ſince neither ſpared labour, limme, nor life, to bring this matter (ſo well begun) to a happie and proſperous ende. And finding that the matter of the golde Ore had appearance & made ſhew of great riches & profit, & the hope of the paſſage to Cataya, by this laſt voyage greatly increaſed, her Maieſtie appointed ſpeciall Commiſſioners choſen for this purpoſe, gentlemen of great iudgement, art, and ſkill, to looke thorowly into the cauſe, for the true triall and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. And becauſe that place and countrey hath neuer heretofore beene diſcouered, and therefore had no ſpeciall name, by which it might be called and knowen, her Maieſtie named it very properly Meta Incognita, as a marke and bound vtterly hitherto vnknowen. The commiſſioners after ſufficient triall and proofe made of the Ore, and hauing vnderſtood by ſundrie reaſons, and ſubſtantiall grounds, the poſſibilitie and likelyhood of the paſſage, aduertiſed her highneſſe, that the cauſe was of importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be aduanced againe. Whereupon preparation was made of ſhips and all other things neceſſary, with ſuch expedition, as the time of the yeere then required. And becauſe it was aſſuredly made accompt of, that the commoditie of Mines, there already diſcouered, would at the leaſt counteruaile in all reſpects the aduenturers charge, and giue further hope & likelyhood of greater matters to follow: it was thought needfull, both for the better guard of thoſe parts already found, and for further diſcouery of the Inland and ſecrets of thoſe countreys, & alſo for further ſearch of the paſſage to Cataya (whereof the hope continually more & more increaſeth) that certaine numbers of choſen ſouldiers and diſcreet men for thoſe purpoſes ſhould be aſſigned to inhabite there. Whereupon there was a ſtrong fort or houſe of timber, artificially framed, & cunningly deuiſed by a notable learned man here at home, in ſhips to be caried thither, wherby thoſe men that were appointed to winter & ſtay there the whole yere, might aſwell bee defended from the danger of the ſnow and cold ayre, as alſo fortified from the force or offence of thoſe countrey people, which perhaps otherwiſe with too great multitudes might oppreſſe them. And to this great aduenture and notable exploit many well minded and forward yong Gentlemen of our countrey willingly haue offered themſelues. And firſt Captaine Fenton Lieutenant generall for Captaine Frobiſher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captaine Beſt, and Captaine Filpot, vnto whoſe good diſcretions the gouernment of that ſeruice was chiefly commended, who, as men not regarding peril in reſpec of the profit and common wealth of their countrey, were willing to abide the firſt brunt & aduenture of thoſe dangers among a ſauage and brutiſh kinde of people, in a place hitherto euer thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabite Meta Incognita all the yeere, were one hundreth perſons, wherof 40 ſhould be mariners for the vſe of ſhips, 30 Miners for gathering the gold Ore together for the next yere, and 30 ſouldiers for the better guard of the reſt, within which laſt number are included the Gentlemen, Goldfiners, Bakers, Carpenters, & all neceſſary perſons. To each of the Captaines was aſſigned one ſhip, aſwel for the further ſearching of the coaſt & countrey there, as for to returne & bring backe their companies againe, if the neceſſity of the place ſo vrged, or by miſcarying of the fleet the next yere, they might be diſappointed of their further prouiſion. Being therfore thus furniſhed withal neceſſaries, there were ready to depart vpon the ſaid voyage 15 ſaile of good ſhips, wherof the whole number was to returne again with their loding of gold Ore in the end of the ſommer, except thoſe 3 ſhips, which ſhould be left for the vſe of thoſe Captains which ſhould inhabite there the whole yere. And being in ſo good

M. Frobiſher cōmended of her Maieſtie.

The Gentlemen commended.

Cōmiſſioners appointed to examine the goodneſſe of the Ore.

A name giuen to yͤ place new diſcouered.

The hope of the paſſage to Cataya.

A forte to be built in Meta Incognita.

A hundreth men appointed to inhabite there.

Fifteene ſayle.

readineſſe, the Generall with all the Captaines came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leaue of her Maieſtie, at whoſe hands they all receiued great incouragement, and gracious countenance. Her highneſſe beſides other good gifts, and greater promiſes, beſtowed on the Generall a faire chaine of golde, and the reſt of the Captaines kiſſed her hand, tooke their leaue, and departed euery man towards their charge.

A chaine of gold giuen to M. Frobiſher.

The names of the ſhips with their ſeuerall Captaines.

1	In the Aide being Amirall, was the Generall	Captaine	Frobiſher.
2	In the Thomas Allen Viceadmirall		Yorke.
3	In the Iudith Lieutenant generall		Fenton.
4	In the Anne Francis		Beſt.
5	In the Hopewell		Carew.
6	In the Beare		Filpot.
7	In the Thomas of Ipſwich		Tanfield.
8	In the Emmanuel of Exceter		Courtney.
9	In the Francis of Foy		Moyles.
10	In the Moone		Vpcot.
11	In the Emmanuel of Bridgewater		Newton.
12	In the Salomon of Weymouth		Randal.
13	In the Barke Dennis		Kendal.
14	In the Gabriel		Haruey.
15	In the Michael		Kinnerſley.

The ſayd fifteene ſaile of ſhips arriued and met together at Harwich, the ſeuen and twentieth day of May Anno 1578, where the Generall and the other Captaines made view, and muſtred their companies. And euery ſeuerall Captaine receiued from the Generall certaine Articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way, which Articles are as followeth.

Articles and orders to be obſerued for the Fleete, ſet downe by Captaine Frobiſher Generall, and deliuered in writing to euery Captaine, as well for keeping company, as for the courſe, the 31 of May.

1 INprimis, to baniſh ſwearing, dice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to ſerue God twice a day, with the ordinary ſeruice vſuall in Churches of England, and to cleare the glaſſe, according to the old order of England.

2 The Admiral ſhall carie the light, & after his light be once put out, no man to goe a head of him, but euery man to fit his sailes to follow as neere as they may, without endangering one another.

3 That no man ſhall by day or by night depart further from the Admirall them the diſtance of one Engliſh mile, and as neere as they may, without danger one of another.

4 If it chance to grow thicke, and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the Admirall be forced to caſt about, before her caſting about ſhee ſhall giue warning, by ſhooting off a peece, and to her ſhall anſwere the Viceadmirall and the Rereadmirall each of them with a piece, if it bee by night, or in a fogge; and that the Viceadmirall ſhall anſwere firſt, and the Rereadmirall laſt.

5 That no man in the Fleete deſcrying any ſayle or ſayles, giue vpon any occaſion any chace before he haue ſpoken with the Admirall.

6 That euery euening all the Fleete come vp and ſpeake with the Admirall, at ſeuen of the Clocke, or betweene that and eight, and if the weather will not ſerue them all to ſpeake with the Admirall, then ſome ſhall come to the Viceadmirall, and receiue the order of their courſe of Maſter Hall chiefe Pilot of the Fleete, as he ſhall direct them.

7 If to any man in the Fleete there happen any miſchance, they ſhal preſently ſhoote off two peeces by day, and if it be by night, two peeces, and ſhew two lights.

8 If any man in the Fleete come vp in the night, & hale his fellow, knowing him not, he ſhall giue him this watch-word, Before the world was God. The other ſhal anſwere him (if he be one of our Fleete) After God came Chriſt his Sonne. So that if any be found amongſt vs, not of our

owne company, he that firſt deſcrieth any ſuch ſayle or ſayles, ſhall giue warning to the Admirall by himſelfe or any other that he can ſpeake to, that ſailes better then he, being neereſt vnto him.

9 That euery ſhip in the fleete in the time of fogs, which continually happen with little windes, and moſt part calmes, ſhall keepe a reaſonable noiſe with trumpet, drumme, or otherwiſe, to keepe themſelues cleere one of another.

10 If it fall out ſo thicke or miſtie that we lay it to hull, the Admiral ſhall giue warning with a piece, and putting out three lights one ouer another, to the end that euery man may take in his ſailes, and at his ſetting of ſayles againe doe the like, if it be not cleere.

11 If any man diſcouer land by night, that he giue the like warning, that he doth for miſchances, two lights, and two pieces, if it be by day one piece, and put out his flagge, and ſtrike all his ſailes he hath aboord.

12 If any ſhip ſhall happen to loſe company by force of weather, then any ſuch ſhip or ſhips ſhall get her into the latitude of   , and ſo keepe that latitude vntil they get Friſland. And after they be paſt the Weſt parts of Friſland, they ſhall get them into the latitude of   , and   , and not to the Northward of   ; and being once entred within the Streites, al ſuch ſhips ſhal euery watch ſhoote off a good piece, and looke out well for ſmoke and fire which thoſe that get in firſt ſhall make euery night, vntill all the fleete be come together.

13 That vpon the ſight of an Enſigne in the maſt of the Admirall (a piece being ſhot off) the whole fleete ſhall repaire to the Admirall, to vnderſtand ſuch conference as the Generall is to haue with them.

14 If we chance to meete with any enemies, that foure ſhips ſhall attend vpon the Admirall, viz. the Francis of Foy, the Moone, the Barke Dennis, and the Gabriel: and foure vpon my Lieutenant generall in the Iudith, viz. the Hopewel, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon: and the other foure vpon the Vizadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipſwich, the Emmanuel, and the Michael.

15 If there happen any diſordred perſon in the Fleete, that he be taken and kept in ſafe cuſtodie vntill he may conueniently be brought aboord the Admirall, and there to receiue ſuch puniſhment as his or their offences ſhall deſerue.

By me *Martin Frobiſher.*

Our departure from England.

Hauing receiued theſe articles of direction we departed from Harwich the one and thirtieth of May. And ſayling along the South part of England Weſtward, we at length came by the coaſt of Ireland at Cape Cleare the ſixth of Iune, and gaue chaſe there to a ſmall barke which was ſuppoſed to be a Pyrat, or Rouer on the Seas, but it fell out indeede that they were poore men of Briſtow, who had met with ſuch company of Frenchmen as had ſpoiled and ſlaine many of them, and left the reſt ſo ſore wounded that they were like to periſh in the ſea, hauing neither hand nor foote hole to helpe themſelues with, nor victuals to ſuſtaine their hungry bodies. Our Generall, who well vnderſtood the office of a Souldier and an Engliſhman, and knew well what the neceſſitie of the ſea meaneth, pitying much the miſerie of the poore men, relieued them with Surgerie and ſalues to heale their hurtes, and with meate and drinke to comfort their pining hearts; ſome of them hauing neither eaten nor drunke more then oliues and ſtinking water in many dayes before, as they reported. And after this good deede done, hauing a large wind, we kept our courſe vpon our ſayd voyage without ſtaying for the taking in of freſh water, or any other prouiſion, whereof many of the fleete were not throughly furniſhed: and ſayling towards the Northweſt parts from Ireland, we mette with a great current from [illegible] the Southweſt, which caried vs (by our reckoning) one point to the Northeaſtwards of our [illegible] courſe, which current ſeemed to vs to continue it ſelfe towards Norway, and other the Northeaſt parts of the world, whereby we may be induced to beleeue, that this is the ſame which the Portugals meete at Capo de buona Speranza, where ſtriking ouer from thence to the Streites of Magellan, and finding no paſſage there for the narrowneſſe of the ſayde Streites, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico, where alſo hauing a let of land, it is forced to ſtrike backe againe towards the Northeaſt, as we not onely here, but in another place alſo, further to the Northwards, by good experience this yeere haue found, as ſhalbe hereafter in his place more at large declared.

Cape Cleare the ſixt of Iune.

A charitable deede.

Marke this current.

Now had we ſayled about foureteene dayes, without ſight of any land, or any other liuing thing, except certaine foules, as Wilmots, Nodies, Gulles, &c. which there ſeeme onely to liue by ſea.

The twentieth of Iune, at two of the clocke in the morning, the General deſcried land, & found it to be Weſt Friſland, now named Weſt England. Here the Generall, & other Gentlemen went aſhore, being the firſt knowen Chriſtians that we haue true notice of, that euer ſet foot vpon that ground: and therefore the Generall tooke poſſeſſion thereof to the vſe of our Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maieſtie, and diſcouered here a goodly harborough for the ſhips, where were alſo certaine little boates of that countrey. And being there landed, they eſpied certaine tents and people of that countrey, which were (as they iudge) in all ſorts, very like thoſe of Meta Incognita, as by their apparell, and other things which we found in their tents, appeared.

Weſt England.

The Sauage and ſimple people ſo ſoone as they perceiued our men comming towards them, (ſuppoſing there had bene no other world but theirs) fled fearefully away, as men much amazed at ſo ſtrange a ſight, and creatures of humane ſhape, ſo farre in apparell, complexion, and other things different from themſelues. They left in their tents all their furniture for haſte behind them, where amongſt other things were found a boxe of ſmall nailes, and certaine red Herrings, boords of Firre tree well cut, with diuers other things artificially wrought: whereby it appeareth, that they haue trade with ſome ciuill people, or elſe are indeede themſelues artificiall workemen.

Our men brought away with them onely two of their dogs, leauing in recompenſe belles, looking-glaſſes, and diuers of our countrey toyes behinde them.

This countrey, no doubt, promiſeth good hope of great commoditie and riches, if it may be well diſcouered. The deſcription whereof you ſhall finde more at large in the ſecond voyage.

Some are of opinion, that this Weſt England is firme land with the Northeaſt partes of Meta Incognita, or elſe with Groenland. And their reaſon is, becauſe the people, apparel, boates, and other things are ſo like to theirs: and another reaſon is, the multitude of Iſlands of yce, which lay betweene it and Meta Incognita, doth argue, that on the Northſide there is a bay, which cannot be but by conioyning of the two lands together.

Friſland ſuppoſed to be continent with Groenland.

And hauing a faire and large winde we departed from thence towards Frobiſhers Streites, the three and twentieth of Iune. But firſt wee gaue name to a high cliffe in Weſt England, the laſt that was in our ſight, and for a certaine ſimilitude, we called it Charing croſſe. Then wee bare Southerly towards the Sea, becauſe to the Northwardes of this coaſt we met with much driuing yce, which by reaſon of the thicke miſtes and weather might haue bene ſome trouble vnto vs.

The 23 of Iune.

Charing croſſe.

On Munday the laſt of Iune, wee met with many great Whales, as they had bene Porpoſes.

This ſame day the Salamander being vnder both her corſes and bonets, happened to ſtrike a great Whale with her full ſtemme, with ſuch a blow that the ſhip ſtoode ſtill, and ſtirred neither forward nor backward. The Whale thereat made a great and vgly noyſe, and caſt vp his body and taile, and ſo went vnder water, and within two daies after, there was found a great Whale dead ſwimming aboue water, which wee ſuppoſed was that which the Salamander ſtrooke.

A Whale ſtrooke a ſhip.

The ſecond day of Iuly early in the morning we had ſight of the Queenes Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and paſſing thorow great quantity of yce, by night were entred ſomewhat within the Streites, perceiuing no way to paſſe further in, the whole place being frozen ouer from the one ſide to the other, and as it were with many walles, mountaines, and bulwarks of yce, choked vp the paſſage, and denied vs entrance. And yet doe I not thinke that this paſſage or Sea hereabouts is frozen ouer at any time of the yere: albeit it ſeemed ſo vnto vs by the abundance of yce gathered together, which occupied the whole place. But I doe rather ſuppoſe theſe yce to bee bred in the hollow ſoundes and freſhets thereabouts: which by the heate of the ſommers Sunne, being looſed, doe emptie themſelues with the ebbes into the ſea, and ſo gather in great abundance there together.

Frobiſhers Streites choked vp with yce.

And to ſpeake ſomewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen ſea in theſe parts: I doe thinke it to be rather a bare coniecture of men, then that euer any man hath made experience of any ſuch ſea. And that which they ſpeake of Mare glaciale, may be truely thought to be ſpoken of theſe parts: for this may well be called indeede the ycie ſea, but not the frozen ſea, for no ſea conſiſting of ſalt water can be frozen, as I haue more at large herein ſhewed my opinion in my ſecond voyage, for it ſeemeth impoſſible for any ſea to bee frozen which hath his courſe of ebbing and flowing, eſpecially in thoſe places where the tides doe ebbe and flowe aboue ten fadome. And alſo all theſe aforeſayd yce, which we ſometime met a hundreth mile from lande, being gathered out of the ſalt Sea, are in taſte freſh, and being diſſolued, become ſweete and holeſome water.

Salt water cannot freeze.

And the cauſe why this yere we haue bene more combred with yce then at other times before, may be by reaſon of the Eaſterly & Southerly winds, which brought vs more timely thither now then we looked for. Which blowing from the ſea directly vpon the place of our Streits, hath kept in the yce, and not ſuffered them to be caried out by the ebbe to the maine ſea, where they would in more ſhort time haue bene diſſolued. And all theſe fleeting yce are not onely ſo dangerous in that they wind and gather ſo neere together, that a man may paſſe ſometimes tenne or twelue miles as it were vpon one firme Iſland of yce: but alſo for that they open and ſhut together againe in ſuch ſort with the tides and ſea-gate, that whileſt one ſhip followeth the other with full ſayles, the yce which was open vnto the foremoſt will ioyne and cloſe together before the latter can come to follow the firſt, whereby many times our ſhippes were brought into great danger, as being not able ſo ſodainely to take in our ſayles, or ſtay the ſwift way of our ſhips.

We were forced many times to ſtemme and ſtrike great rockes of yce, and ſo as it were make way through mighty mountaines. By which meanes ſome of the fleete, where they found the yce to open, entred in, and paſſed ſo farre within the danger thereof, with continuall deſire to recouer their port, that it was the greateſt wonder of the world that they euer eſcaped ſafe, or were euer heard of againe. For euen at this preſent we miſſed two of the fleete, that is, the Iudith, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton; and the Michael, whom both we ſuppoſed had bene vtterly loſt, hauing not heard any tidings of them in moe then 20 dayes before.

Barke Dennis ſunke.

And one of our fleete named the Barke Dennis, being of an hundreth tunne burden, ſeeking way in amongſt theſe yce, receiued ſuch a blow with a rocke of yce that ſhe ſunke downe therewith in the ſight of the whole fleete. Howbeit hauing ſignified her danger by ſhooting off a peece of great Ordinance, new ſuccour of other ſhips came ſo readily vnto them, that the men were all ſaued with boats.

Part of the houſe loſt.

Within this ſhip that was drowned there was parcell of our houſe which was to bee erected for them that ſhould ſtay all the winter in Meta Incognita.

This was a more fearefull ſpectacle for the Fleete to beholde, for that the outragious ſtorme which preſently followed, threatned them the like fortune and danger. For the Fleete being thus compaſſed (as aforeſayd) on euery ſide with yce, hauing left much behinde them, thorow which they paſſed, and finding more before them, thorow which it was not poſſible to paſſe, there aroſe a ſudden terrible tempeſt at the Southeaſt, which blowing from the maine ſea, directly vpon the place of the Streites, brought together all the yce a ſea-boorde of vs vpon our backes, and thereby debard vs of turning backe to recouer ſea-roome againe: ſo that being thus compaſſed with danger on euery ſide, ſundry men with ſundry deuiſes ſought the beſt way to ſaue themſelues. Some of the ſhips, where they could find a place more cleare of yce, and get a little birth of ſea roome, did take in their ſayles, and there lay a drift. Other ſome faſtened & mored Anker vpon a great Iſland of yce, and roade vnder the Lee therof, ſuppoſing to be better guarded thereby from the outragious winds, and the danger of the leſſer fleeting yce. And againe ſome were ſo faſt ſhut vp, and compaſſed in amongſt an infinite number of great countreys and Iſlands of yce, that they were faine to ſubmit themſelues and their ſhips to the mercy of the vnmercifull yce, and ſtrengthened the ſides of their ſhips with iunckes of cables, beds, Maſtes, plankes and ſuch like, which being hanged ouer boord on the ſides of their ſhips, might the better defend them from the outragious ſway and ſtrokes of the ſaid yce. But as in greateſt diſtreſſe, men of beſt valour are beſt to bee diſcerned, ſo it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what inuincible minde euery Captaine encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painefull Mariners and poore Miners (vnacquainted with ſuch extremities) to the euerlaſting renowne of our nation, did ouercome the brunt of theſe ſo great and extreme dangers: for ſome, euen without boord vpon the yce, and ſome within boord vpon the ſides of their ſhips, hauing poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and Ores in their handes, ſtoode almoſt day and night without any reſt, bearing off the force, and breaking the ſway of the yce with ſuch incredible paine and perill, that it was wonderfull to beholde, which otherwiſe no doubt had ſtriken quite through and through the ſides of their ſhips, notwithſtanding our former prouiſion: for plankes of timber of more then three inches thicke, and other things of greater force and bigneſſe, by the ſurging of the ſea and billowe, with the yce were ſhiuered and cut in ſunder, at the ſides of our ſhips, ſo that it will ſeeme more then credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainely to bee prooued, and that by many ſubſtantiall witneſſes, that our ſhips, euen thoſe of greateſt burdens, with the meeting of contrary waues of the ſea, were heaued vp betweene Iſlands of yce, a foote welneere out of the ſea aboue their watermarke, hauing their knees and timbers within boord both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidſt theſe extremes, whileſt ſome laboured for defence of the ſhips, and ſought to ſaue their bodies, other ſome of more milder ſpirit ſought to ſaue the ſoule by deuout prayer and meditation to the Almightie, thinking indeede by no other meanes poſſible then by a diuine Miracle to haue their deliuerance: ſo that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himſelfe in beſt ſecuritie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remayning for his beſt ſafetie.

Thus all the gallant Fleete and miſerable men without hope of euer getting foorth againe, diſtreſſed with theſe extremities remayned here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting foure ſhips, that is, the Anne Francis, the Moone, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriell, which being ſomewhat a Seaboord of the Fleete, and being faſt ſhips by a winde, hauing a more ſcope of cleare, tryed it out all the time of the ſtorme vnder ſayle, being hardly able to beare a coaſt of each.

And albeit, by reaſon of the fleeting yce, which were diſperſed here almoſt the whole ſea ouer, they were brought many times to the extreameſt point of perill, mountaines of yce tenne thouſand times ſcaping them ſcarce one ynch, which to haue ſtriken had bene their preſent deſtruction, conſidering the ſwift courſe and way of the ſhips, and the vnwieldineſſe of them to ſtay and turne as a man would wiſh: yet they eſteemed it their better ſafetie, with ſuch perill to ſeeke Sea-roome, than without hope of euer getting libertie to lie ſtriuing againſt the ſtreame, and beating amongſt the Iſie mountaines, whoſe hugeneſſe and monſtrous greatneſſe was ſuch, that no man would credite, but ſuch as to their paines ſawe and felt it. And theſe foure ſhippes by the next day at noone got out to Sea, and were firſt cleare of the yce, who now enioying their owne libertie, beganne a new to ſorrow and feare for their fellowes ſafeties. And deuoutly kneeling about their maine Maſt, they gaue vnto God humble thankes, not only for themſelues, but beſought him likewiſe highly for their friendes deliuerance. And euen now whileſt amiddeſt theſe extremities this gallant Fleete and valiant men were altogither ouerlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearefull continuance of the foreſayd dangers, it pleaſed God with his eyes of mercie to looke downe from heauen to ſende them helpe in good time, giuing them the next day a more fauourable winde at the Weſt Northweſt, which did not onely diſperſe and driue foorth the yce before them, but alſo gaue them libertie of more ſcope and Sea-roome, and they were by night of the ſame day following perceiued of the other foure ſhippes, where (to their greateſt comfort) they enioyed againe the fellowſhip one of another. Some in mending the ſides of their ſhips, ſome in ſetting vp their top Maſtes, and mending their ſayles and tacklings; Againe, ſome complayning of their falſe Stemme borne away, ſome in ſtopping their leakes, ſome in recounting their dangers paſt, ſpent no ſmall time & labour. So that I dare well auouch, there were neuer men more dangerouſly diſtreſſed, nor more mercifully by Gods prouidence deliuered. And hereof both the torne ſhips, and the forwearied bodies of the men arriued doe beare moſt euident marke and witneſſe. And now the whole Fleete plyed off to Seaward, reſoluing there to abide vntill the Sunne might conſume, or the force of winde diſperſe theſe yce from the place of their paſſage: and being a good birth off the ſhore, they tooke in their ſailes, and lay adrift.

The ſeuenth of Iuly as men nothing yet diſmayed, we caſt about towards the inward, and had ſight of land, which roſe in forme like the Northerland of the ſtraights, which ſome of the Fleete, and thoſe not the worſt Marriners, iudged to be the North Foreland: howbeit other ſome were of contrary opinion. But the matter was not well to be diſcerned by reaſon of the thicke fogge which a long time hung vpon the coaſt, & the new falling ſnow which yeerely altereth the ſhape of the land, and taketh away oftentimes the Mariners markes. And by reaſon of the darke miſts which continued by the ſpace of twentie dayes togither, this doubt grewe the greater and the longer perilous. For whereas indeede we thought our ſelues to be vpon the Northeaſt ſide of Frobiſhers ſtraights, we were now caried to the Southweſtwards of the Queenes Foreland, and being deceiued by a ſwift current comming from the Northeaſt, were brought to the Southweſtwards of our ſaid courſe many miles more then we did thinke poſſible could come to paſſe. The cauſe whereof we haue ſince found, and it ſhall be at large hereafter declared.

Another aſſault.

Fogge, ſnow, and miſtes hinder the Marriners markes.

A ſwift current from the Northeaſt.

Here we made a point of land which ſome miſtooke for a place in the ſtraightes called Mount Warwicke: but how we ſhould be ſo farre ſhot vp ſo ſuddainely within the ſaid ſtraightes the experteſt Mariners began to maruell, thinking it a thing impoſſible that they could be ſo farre ouertaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceiue them here which they had not by former experience prooued and found out. Howbeit many confeſſed that they found a ſwifter

A current.

courſe of flood then before time they had obſerued. And truely it was wonderfull to heare and ſee the ruſhing and noiſe that the tides do make in this place with ſo violent a force that our ſhips lying a hull were turned ſometimes round about euen in a moment after the maner of a whirlepoole, and the noyſe of the ſtreame no leſſe to be heard a farre off, then the waterfall of London Bridge.

Iames Beare a good Mariner.

Chriſtopher Hall chiefe Pylot.

But whileſt the Fleete lay thus doubtfull amongſt great ſtore of yce in a place they knew not without ſight of Sunne, whereby to take the height, and ſo to know the true eleuation of the pole, and without any cleere of light to make perfite the coaſt, the Generall with the Captaines & Maſters of his ſhips, began doubtfully to queſtion of the matter, and ſent his Pinneſſe aboord to heare each mans opinion, and ſpecially of Iames Beare, Maſter of the Anne Francis, who was knowen to be a ſufficient and ſkilful Mariner, and hauing bene there the yere before, had wel obſerued the place, and drawen out Cardes of the coaſt. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtfull, for that Chriſtopher Hall chiefe Pilot of the voyage, deliuered a plaine and publique opinion in the hearing of the whole Fleete, that hee had neuer ſeene the foreſayd coaſt before, and that he could not make it for any place of Frobiſhers Streits, as ſome of the Fleete ſuppoſed, and yet the landes doe lie and trend ſo like, that the beſt Mariners therein may bee deceiued.

The tenth of Iuly, the weather ſtill continuing thicke and darke, ſome of the ſhips in the fogge loſt ſight of the Admirall and the reſt of the fleete, and wandring to and fro, with doubtfull opinion whether it were beſt to ſeeke backe againe to ſeaward through great ſtore of yce, or to follow on a doubtfull courſe in a Sea, Bay, or Streites they knew not, or along a coaſt, whereof by reaſon of the darke miſtes they could not diſcerne the dangers, if by chance any rocke or broken ground ſhould lie off the place, as commonly in theſe parts it doth.

The Viceadmirall Captaine Yorke conſidering the foreſayd opinion of the Pylot Hall, who was with him in the Thomas Allen, hauing loſt ſight of the Fleete, turned backe to ſea againe, hauing two other ſhips in company with him.

Alſo the Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing likewiſe loſt company of the Fleete, and being all alone, held it for beſt to turne it out to ſea againe, vntill they might haue cleere weather to take the Sunnes altitude, and with incredible paine and perill got out of the doubtfull place, into the open Sea againe, being ſo narrowly diſtreſſed by the way, by meanes of continuall fogge and yce, that they were many times ready to leape vpon an Iland of yce to auoide the preſent danger, and ſo hoping to prolong life awhile meant rather to die a pining death.

Hard ſhifts to ſaue mens liues.

Some hoped to ſaue themſelues on cheſtes, and ſome determined to tie the Hatches of the ſhips togither, and to binde themſelues with their furniture faſt thereunto, and ſo to be towed with the ſhip-bote aſhore, which otherwiſe could not receiue halfe of the companie, by which meanes if happily they had arriued, they ſhould eyther haue periſhed for lacke of foode to eate, or elſe ſhould themſelues haue beene eaten of thoſe rauenous, bloodie, and Men-eating people.

The coaſt along yͤ Southſide of Gronland 60 leagues

The reſt of the Fleete following the courſe of the Generall which led them the way, paſſed vp aboue ſixtie leagues within the ſaide doubtfull and ſuppoſed ſtraights, hauing alwayes a faire continent vpon their ſtarreboord ſide, and a continuance ſtill of an open Sea before them.

Miſtaken ſtraights which in deede are no ſtraights.

Frobiſher could haue paſſed to Cataia.

The Generall albeit with the firſt perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the olde ſtraights, yet he perſwaded the Fleete alwayes that they were in their right courſe, and knowen ſtraights. Howbeit I ſuppoſe he rather diſſembled his opinion therein then otherwiſe, meaning by that policie (being himſelfe led with an honourable deſire of further diſcouerie) to induce the Fleete to follow him, to ſee a further proofe of that place. And as ſome of the companie reported, he hath ſince confeſſed that if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleete and fraughted ſhips, he both would and could haue gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and diſſolued the long doubt of the paſſage which we ſeeke to find to the rich countrey of Cataya.

Faire open way.

Reaſons to proue a paſſage here.

1 Of which miſtaken ſtraights, conſidering the circumſtance, we haue great cauſe to confirme our opinion, to like and hope well of the paſſage in this place. For the foreſaid Bay or Sea, the further we ſayled therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endleſſe continuance. And where in other places we were much troubled with yce, as in the entrance of the ſame, ſo after we had ſayled fiftie or ſixtie leagues therein we had no let of yce, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

2 Alſo this place ſeemeth to haue a maruellous great indraft, and draweth vnto it moſt of the

drift yce, and other things which doe fleete in the Sea, either to the North or Eaſtwards of the ſame, as by good experience we haue found.

3 For here alſo we met with boordes, lathes, and diuers other things driuing in the Sea, which was of the wracke of the ſhip called the Barke Dennis, which periſhed amongſt the yce as beforeſaid, being loſt at the firſt attempt of the entrance ouerthwart the Queenes forelande in the mouth of Frobiſhers ſtraights, which could by no meanes haue bene ſo brought thither, neither by winde nor tyde, being loſt ſo many leagues off, if by force of the ſaid current the ſame had not bene violently brought. For if the ſame had bene brought thither by tide of flood, looke how farre the ſaid flood had carried it, the ebbe would haue recarried it as farre backe againe, and by the winde it could not ſo come to paſſe, becauſe it was then ſometime calme, and moſt times contrarie.

Great indraftes.

A current to the Weſt.

And ſome Mariners doe affirme that they haue diligently obſerued, that there runneth in this place nine houres flood to three ebbe, which may thus come to paſſe by force of the ſayd current: for whereas the Sea in moſt places of the world, doth more or leſſe ordinarily ebbe and flow once euery twelue houres with ſixe houres ebbe, and ſixe houres flood, ſo alſo would it doe there, were it not for the violence of this haſtning current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to beginne before his ordinary time one houre and a halfe, and alſo to continue longer than his naturall courſe by an other houre and a halfe, vntill the force of the ebbe be ſo great that it will no longer be reſiſted: according to the ſaying, Naturam expellas furca licet, vſque recurrit. Although nature and naturall courſes be forced and reſiſted neuer ſo much, yet at laſt they will haue their owne ſway againe.

Nine houres flood to three houres ebbe.

Moreouer it is not poſſible that ſo great courſe of floods and current, ſo high ſwelling tides with continuance of ſo deepe waters, can be digeſted here without vnburdening themſelues into ſome open Sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the paſſage to be hereabouts. Alſo we ſuppoſe theſe great indrafts doe growe and are made by the reuerberation and reflection of that ſame current, which at our comming by Ireland, met and croſſed vs, of which in the firſt part of this diſcourſe I ſpake, which comming from the bay of Mexico, paſſing by and waſhing the Southweſt parts of Ireland, reboundeth ouer to the Northeaſt parts of the world, as Norway, Iſland, &c. where not finding any paſſage to an open Sea, but rather being there encreaſed by a new acceſſe, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian Sea, paſſing the bay of Saint Nicholas Weſtward, it doth once againe rebound backe, by the coaſtes of Groenland, and from thence vpon Frobiſhers ſtraights being to the Southweſtwardes of the ſame.

5 And if that principle of Philoſophie be true, that Inferiora corpora reguntur à ſuperioribus, that is, if inferiour bodies be gouerned, ruled, and caried after the maner and courſe of the ſuperiors, then the water being an inferior Element, muſt needes be gouerned after the ſuperior heauen, and ſo follow the courſe of Primum mobile from Eaſt to Weſt.

The ſea moueth from Eaſt to Weſt continually.

6 But euery man that hath written or conſidered any thing of this paſſage, hath more doubted the returne by the ſame way by reaſon of a great downefall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we alſo by experience partly find) than any miſtruſt they haue of the ſame paſſage at all. For we find (as it were) a great downefall in this place, but yet not ſuch but that we may returne, although with much a doe. For we were eaſlier carried in one houre then we could get forth againe in three. Alſo by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceiue vs in this ſort: That wheras we ſuppoſed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the ſhore contrarie to all expectation.

Authoritie.

Hard but yet poſſible turning backe againe.

Our men that ſayled furtheſt in the ſame miſtaken ſtraights (hauing the maine land vpon their ſtarboord ſide) affirme that they met with the outlet or paſſage of water which commeth thorow Frobiſhers ſtraights, and followeth as all one into this paſſage.

Some of our companie alſo affirme that they had ſight of a continent vpon their larboord ſide being 60 leagues within the ſuppoſed ſtraights: howbeit except certaine Ilands in the entrance hereof we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foreſaid tract of land ſeemeth to be more fruitfull and better ſtored of Graſſe, Deere, Wilde foule, as Partridges, Larkes, Seamewes, Guls, Wilmots, Falcons and Taſſel gentils, Rauens, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and other things, than any other part we haue yet diſcouered, and is more populous. And here Luke Ward, a Gentleman of the companie, traded marchandiſe, and did exchange kniues, bels, looking glaſſes, &c. with thoſe countrey people, who brought him foule, fiſh, beares ſkinnes, and ſuch like, as their countrey yeeldeth for the ſame. Here alſo they ſaw of thoſe greater boats of the countrey, with twentie perſons in a peece.

Traffique.

Now

Returne out of the miſtaken ſtraights.

Great dangers.

Now after the Generall had beſtowed theſe many dayes here, not without many dangers, he returned backe againe. And by the way ſayling alongſt this coaſt (being the backeſide of the ſuppoſed continent of America) and the Queenes Foreland, he perceiued a great ſound to goe thorow into Frobiſhers ſtraights. Whereupon he ſent the Gabriel the one and twentieth of Iuly, to prooue whether they might goe thorow and meete againe with him in the ſtraights, which they did: and as wee imagined before, ſo the Queenes foreland prooued an Iland, as I thinke moſt of theſe ſuppoſed continents will. And ſo he departed towardes the ſtraights, thinking it were high time now to recouer his Port, and to prouide the Fleete of their lading, whereof he was not a little carefull, as ſhall by the proceſſe and his reſolute attempts appeare. And in his returne with the reſt of the fleete he was ſo intangled by reaſon of the darke fogge amongſt a number of Ilands and broken ground that lye off this coaſt, that many of the ſhippes came ouer the top of rockes, which preſently after they might perceiue to lie dry, hauing not halfe a foote water more then ſome of their ſhips did draw. And by reaſon they could not with a ſmal gale of wind ſtemme the force of the flood, whereby to goe cleere off the rockes, they were faine to let an anker fall with two bent of Cable togither, at an hundred and odde fadome depth, where otherwiſe they had bene by the force of the tydes caried vpon the rockes againe, and periſhed: ſo that if God in theſe fortunes (as a mercifull guide, beyond the expectation of man) had not carried vs thorow, we had ſurely periſhed amidſt theſe dangers. For being many times driuen hard aboord the ſhore without any ſight of land, vntill we were ready to make ſhipwracke thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to ſound before our ſhips, leaſt we might light thereon before we could diſcerne the ſame; it pleaſed God to giue vs a cleare of Sunne and light for a ſhort time to ſee and auoyde thereby the danger, hauing bene continually darke before, and preſently after. Manie times alſo by meanes of fogge and currents being driuen neere vpon the coaſt, God lent vs euen at the very pinch one proſperous breath of winde or other, whereby to double the land, and auoid the perill, and when that we were all without hope of helpe, euery man recommending himſelfe to death, and crying out, Lord now helpe or neuer, now Lord looke downe from heauen and ſaue vs ſinners, or elſe our ſafetie commeth too late: euen then the mightie maker of heauen, and our mercifull God did deliuer vs: ſo that they who haue bene partakers of theſe dangers doe euen in their ſoules confeſſe, that God euen by miracle hath ſought to ſaue them, whoſe name be prayſed euermore.

Anne Francis met with ſome of the fleete.

Long time now the Anne Francis had layne beating off and on all alone before the Queenes foreland, not being able to recouer their Port for yce, albeit many times they dangerouſly attempted it, for yet the yce choaked vp the paſſage, and would not ſuffer them to enter. And hauing neuer ſeene any of the fleete ſince twenty dayes paſt, when by reaſon of the thicke miſtes they were ſeuered in the miſtaken ſtraights, they did now this preſent 23 of Iuly ouerthwart a place in the ſtraights called Hattons Hedland, where they met with ſeuen ſhips of ye Fleete againe, which good hap did not onely reioyce them for themſelues, in reſpect of the comfort which they receiued by ſuch good companie, but eſpecially that by this meanes they were put out of doubt of their deare friends, whoſe ſafeties long time they did not a little ſuſpect and feare.

At their meeting they haled the Admirall after the maner of the Sea, and with great ioy welcommed one another with a thundring volly of ſhot. And now euery man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had paſſed.

Francis of Foy.

Bridgewater ſhip.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much adoe ſought way backe againe through the yce from out of the miſtaken ſtraights, where (to their great perill) they prooued to recouer their Port. They brought the firſt newes of the Vizadmirall Captaine Yorke, who many dayes with themſelues, and the Buſſe of Bridgewater was miſſing. They reported that they left the Vizeadmirall reaſonably cleare of the yce, but the other ſhip they greatly feared, whom they could not come to helpe, being themſelues ſo hardly diſtreſſed as neuer men more. Alſo they told vs of the Gabriel, who hauing got thorow from the backſide, and Weſtern point of the Queenes foreland, into Frobiſhers ſtraights, fell into their company about the cape of Good hope.

And vpon the ſeuen and twentieth of Iuly, the ſhip of Bridgewater got out of the yce and met with the Fleete which lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland. They reported of their maruellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ſhip to be ſo leake that they muſt of neceſſitie ſeeke harborow, hauing their ſtem ſo beaten within their huddings, that they had much adoe to keepe themſelues aboue water. They had (as they ſay) fiue hundreth ſtrokes at the pump in leſſe then halfe a watch, being ſcarce two houres; their men being ſo ouer-wearied therewith, and with the former dangers that they deſired helpe of men from the other ſhips. Moreouer they declared that there was nothing but yce and danger where they had bene, and that the ſtraightes within were frozen vp, and that it was the moſt impoſſible thing of the world, to paſſe vp vnto the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, which was the place of our Port.

The ſtreits frozen ouer.

The report of theſe dangers by theſe ſhips thus publiſhed amongſt the fleete, with the remembrance of the perils paſt, and thoſe preſent before their face, brought no ſmall feare and terror into the hearts of many conſiderate men. So that ſome beganne priuily to murmure againſt the Generall for this wilfull maner of proceeding. Some deſired to diſcouer ſome harborow thereabouts to refreſh themſelues and reforme their broken veſſels for a while, vntill the North and Northweſt windes might diſperſe the yce, and make the place more free to paſſe. Other ſome forgetting themſelues, ſpake more vndutifully in this behalfe, ſaying: that they had as leeue be hanged when they came home, as without hope of ſafetie to ſeeke to paſſe, and ſo to periſh amongſt the yce.

The Generall not opening his eares to the peeuiſh paſſion of any priuate perſon, but chiefly reſpecting the accompliſhment of the cauſe he had vndertaken (wherein the chiefe reputation and fame of a Generall and Captaine conſiſteth) and calling to his remembrance the ſhort time he had in hand to prouide ſo great number of ſhips their loading, determined with this reſolution to paſſe and recouer his Port, or elſe there to burie himſelfe with his attempt.

A valiant minde of M. Frobiſher.

Notwithſtanding ſomewhat to appeaſe the feeble paſſions of the fearefuller ſort, and the better to entertaine time for a ſeaſon, whileſt the yce might the better be diſſolued, he haled on the Fleete with beleefe that he would put them into harborow: thereupon whileſt the ſhippes lay off and on vnder Hattons Hedland, he ſought to goe in with his Pinneſſes amongſt the Ilandes there, as though hee meant to ſearch for harborowe, where indeede he meant nothing leſſe, but rather ſought if any Ore might be found in that place, as by the ſequele appeared.

In the meane time whileſt the Fleete lay thus doubtfull without any certaine reſolution what to do, being hard aboord the lee-ſhore, there aroſe a ſodaine and terrible tempeſt at the Southſoutheaſt, whereby the yce began maruellouſly to gather about vs.

Whereupon euery man, as in ſuch caſe of extremitie he thought beſt, ſought the wiſeſt way for his owne ſafety. The moſt part of the Fleete which were further ſhot vp within the ſtraightes, and ſo farre to the leeward, as that they could not double the land, following the courſe of the Generall, who led them the way, tooke in their Sayles, and layde it a hull amongſt the yce, and ſo paſſed ouer the ſtorme, and had no extremitie at all, but for a ſhort time in the ſame place.

Howbeit the other ſhips which plyed out to Seaward, had an extreme ſtorme for a longer ſeaſon. And the nature of the place is ſuch, that it is ſubiect diuerſly to diuers windes, according to the ſundry ſituation of the great Alps and mountaines there, euery mountaine cauſing a ſeuerall blaſt, and pirrie, after the maner of a Leuant.

In this ſtorme being the ſixe and twentieth of Iuly, there fell ſo much ſnow, with ſuch bitter cold aire, that we could not ſcarce ſee one another for the ſame, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and ſayles, the ſnow being aboue halfe a foote deepe vpon the hatches of our ſhip, which did ſo wet thorow our poore Mariners clothes, that hee that had fiue or ſixe ſhifts of apparell had ſcarce one drie threed to his backe, which kind of wet and coldneſſe, togither with the ouerlabouring of the poore men amiddeſt the yce, bred no ſmall ſickneſſe amongſt the fleete, which ſomewhat diſcouraged ſome of the poore men, who had not experience of the like before, euery man perſwading himſelfe that the winter there muſt needes be extreme, where they found ſo vnſeaſonable a Sommer.

Snow in Iuly

Extreme winter.

And yet notwithſtanding this cold aire, the Sunne many times hath a maruellous force of heate amongſt thoſe mountaines, inſomuch that when there is no breth of winde to bring the colde aire from the diſperſed yce vpon vs, we ſhall be wearie of the blowing heate and then ſodainely with a perry of winde which commeth downe from the hollowneſſe of the hilles, we ſhall haue ſuch a breth of heate brought vpon our faces as though we were entred within ſome bathſtoue or hote-houſe, and when the firſt of the pirry and blaſt is paſt, we ſhall haue the winde ſodainely a new blow cold againe.

Great heat in Meta Incognita.

Vnconſtant weather.

In this ſtorme the Anne Francis, the Moone, and the Thomas of Ipſwich, who found themſelues able to hold it vp with a ſaile, and could double about the Cape of the Queenes foreland, plyed out to the Seaward, holding it for better policie and ſafetie to ſeeke Searoome, then to hazard the continuance of the ſtorme, the danger of the yce, and the lee-ſhoare.

And being vncertaine at this time of the Generals priuate determinations, the weather being ſo darke that they could not diſcerne one another, nor perceiue which way he wrought, betooke themſelues to this courſe for beſt and ſafeſt.

The Generall recouereth his port.

The General, notwithſtanding the great ſtorme, following his own former reſolution, ſought by all meanes poſſible, by a ſhorter way to recouer his Port, and where he ſaw the yce neuer ſo little open, he gate in at one gappe and out at another, and ſo himſelfe valiantly led the way thorow before to induce the Fleete to follow after, and with incredible paine and perill at length gat through the yce, and vpon the one and thirtieth of Iuly recouered his long wiſhed Port after many attempts and ſundry times being put backe, and came to anker in the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all perill paſt, he encountred a great Iland of yce which gaue the Ayde ſuch a blow, hauing a little before wayed her anker a cocke bill, that it ſtroke the anker flouke through the ſhips bowes vnder the water, which cauſed ſo great a leake, that with much adoe they preſerued the ſhip from ſinking.

At their arriuall here they perceiued two ſhips at anker within the harborough, whereat they began much to maruell and greatly to reioyce, for thoſe they knew to be the Michael, wherein was the Lieutenant generall Captaine Fenton, and the ſmall Barke called the Gabriel, who ſo long time were miſſing, and neuer heard of before, whom euery man made the laſt reckoning, neuer to heare of againe.

Maſter Wolfall Preacher.

Here euery man greatly reioyced of their happie meeting, and welcommed one another after the Sea manner with their great Ordinance, and when each partie had ripped vp their ſundry fortunes and perils paſt, they highly prayſed God, and altogither vpon their knees gaue him due, humble and hearty thankes, and Maiſter Wolfall a learned man, appointed by her Maieſties Councell to be their Miniſter and Preacher made vnto them a godly ſermon, exhorting them eſpecially to be thankefull to God for their ſtrange and miraculous deliuerance in thoſe ſo dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the vncertainetie of mans life, willed them to make themſelues alwayes readie as reſolute men to enioy and accept thankefully whatſoeuer aduenture his diuine Prouidence ſhould appoint. This maiſter Wolfall being well ſeated and ſetled at home in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honeſt woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the beſt, refuſed not to take in hand this painefull voyage, for the onely care he had to ſaue ſoules, and to reforme thoſe Infidels if it were poſſible to Chriſtianitie: and alſo partly for the great deſire he had that this notable voyage ſo well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to ſtay there the whole yeare if occaſion had ſerued, being in euery neceſſary action as forward as the reſoluteſt men of all. Wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true Paſtor and miniſter of Gods word, which for the profite of his flocke ſpared not to venture his owne life.

The aduentures of Captaine Fenton and his companie.

Extremitie cauſeth men to deuiſe new arts and remedies.

Hard ſhifts.

But to returne againe to Captaine Fentons company, and to ſpeake ſomewhat of their dangers (albeit they be more then by writing can be expreſſed) they reported that from the night of the firſt ſtorme which was about the firſt day of Iuly vntill ſeuen dayes before the Generals arriuall, which was the ſixe and twentith of the ſame, they neuer ſaw any one day or houre, wherein they were not troubled with continuall danger and feare of death, and were twentie dayes almoſt togither faſt amongſt the yce. They had their ſhip ſtricken through and through on both ſides, their falſe ſtemme borne quite away, and could goe from their ſhips in ſome places vpon the yce very many miles, and might eaſily haue paſſed from one Iland of yce to another euen to the ſhore, and if God had not wonderfully prouided for them and their neceſſitie, and time had not made them more cunning and wiſe to ſeeke ſtrange remedies for ſtrange kindes of dangers, it had bene impoſſible for them euer to haue eſcaped: for among other deuiſes, whereſoeuer they found any Iland of yce of greater bigneſſe then the reſt (as there be ſome of more then halfe a mile compaſſe about, and almoſt forty fadome high) they commonly coueted to recouer the ſame, and thereof to make a bulwarke for their defence, whereon hauing mored anker, they road vnder the lee therof for a time, being therby garded from the danger of the leſſer driuing yce. But when they muſt needes forgoe this new found fort by meanes of other yce, which at length would vndermine and compaſſe them round about, and when that by heauing of the billowe they were therewith like to be bruſed in peeces, they vſed to make faſt the ſhippe vnto the moſt firme and broad peece of yce they could find, and binding her noſe faſt thereunto, would fill all their ſayles whereon the winde hauing great power, would force forward the ſhip, and ſo the ſhippe bearing before her the yce, & ſo one yce driuing forward another, ſhould at length get ſcope & ſearoome. And hauing by this meanes at length put their enemies to flight, they occupyed the cleare place for a prettie ſeaſon among ſundry mountaines and Alpes of yce. One there was found by meaſure to be 65 fadome aboue water, which for a kind of ſimilitude, was called Salomons porch.

Some thinke thoſe Ilands eight times ſo much vnder water as they are aboue, becauſe of their monſtrous weight. But now I remember I ſaw very ſtrange wonders, men walking, running, leaping and ſhooting vpon the mayne ſeas 40.myles from any land, without any Shippe or other veſſell vnder them. Alſo I ſaw freſh Riuers running amidſt the ſalt Sea a hundred myle from land, which if any man will not beleeue, let him knowe that many of our company leapt out of their Shippe vpon Ilandes of yce, and running there vp and downe, did ſhoote at Buts vpon the yce, and with their Caliuers did kill great Seales, which vſe to lye and ſleepe vpon the yce, and this yce melting aboue at the toppe by reflection of the Sunne, came downe in ſundry ſtreames,which vniting together,made a pretie Brooke able to driue a Mill.

Strange wonders.

The ſayde Captaine Fenton recouered his Port tenne dayes before any man, and ſpent good tyme in ſearching for Mine, and hee found good ſtore thereof. He alſo diſcouered about tenne Miles vp into the Countrey, where he perceiued neither Towne,Village,nor likelihoode of habitation, but it ſeemeth (as he ſayth) barren, as the other parts which as yet we haue entred vpon: but their victuals and prouiſion went ſo ſcant with them, that they had determined to returne homeward within ſeuen dayes after,if the Fleete had not then arriued.

The Generall after his arriuall in the Counteſſes ſound, ſpent no time in vaine, but immediatly at his firſt landing called the chiefe Captaines of his Councell together, and conſulted with them for the ſpeedier execution of ſuch things as then they had in hand. As firſt, for ſearching and finding out good Minerall for the Miners to be occupyed on. Then to giue good Orders to bee obſerued of the whole company on ſhore. And laſtly, to conſider for the erecting vp of the Fort and Houſe for the vſe of them which were to abide there the whole yeere. For the better handling of theſe,and all other like important cauſes in this ſeruice,it was ordeined from her Maieſtie and the Councell, that the Generall ſhould call vnto him certaine of the chiefe Captaines and Gentlemen in Councell, to conferre, conſult and determine of all occurrents in this ſeruice, whoſe names are as here they follow.

Captaine Fenton.
Captaine Yorke.
Captaine Beſt.
Captaine Carew.
Captaine Philpot.

And in Sea cauſes to haue as aſſiſtants, Chriſtopher Hall and Charles Iackman, being both very good Pilots,and ſufficient Mariners,whereof the one was chiefe Pilot of the Voyage, and the other for the diſcouerie. From the place of our habitation Weſtward, Maſter Selman was appointed Notarie,to regiſter the whole maner of proceeding in theſe affaires, that true relation thereof might be made,if it pleaſed her Maieſtie to require it.

The firſt of Auguſt euery Captaine by order, from the Generall and his councell, was commanded to bring aſhoare vnto the Counteſſes Iland all ſuch Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and Myners, as were vnder their charge,with ſuch prouiſion as they had of victuals,tents,and things neceſſary for the ſpeedy getting together of Mine,and fraight for the ſhippes.

The Muſter of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and conſidered,euery man was ſet to his charge,as his place and office required. The Myners were appointed where to worke, and the Mariners diſcharged their ſhippes.

Vpon the ſecond of Auguſt were publiſhed and proclaymed vpon the Counteſſe of Warwicks Iland with ſound of Trumpet, certaine Orders by the Generall and his councell, appoynted to be obſerued of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the meane time, whileſt the Mariners plyed their worke, the Captaines ſought out new Mynes, the Goldfiners made tryall of the Ore, the Mariners diſcharged their ſhippes, the Gentlemen for example ſake laboured heartily, and honeſtly encouraged the inferiour ſort to worke. So that the ſmall tyme of that little leaſure that was left to tarrie, was ſpent in vaine.

The ſecond of Auguſt the Gabriel arriued, who came from the Vizeadmirall, and beeing diſtreſſed ſore with Yce, put into Harborough neere vnto Mount Oxford. And now was the whole Fleete arriued ſafely at their Port, excepting foure, beſides the Shippe that was loſt: that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipſwich, and the Moone, whoſe abſence was ſome lette vnto the workes and other proceedings, aſwell for that theſe Shippes were furniſhed with the better ſorte of Myners, as with other prouiſion for the habitation.

The ninth of Auguſt the Generall with the Captaynes of his counſell aſſembled together, and began to conſider and take order for the erecting vp of the houſe or Fort for them that were

Conſultation for inhabiting Meta incognita.

An hundred men appointed to inhabite.

No habitation this yeere.

to inhabite there the whole yeere, and that preſently the Maſons and Carpenters might goe in hande therewith. Firſt therefore they peruſed the Bils of lading, what euery man receiued into his Shippe, and found that there was arriued onely the Eaſtſide, and the Southſide of the houſe, and yet not that perfect and entier: for many pieces thereof were vſed for fenders in many Shippes, and ſo broken in pieces whileſt they were diſtreſſed in the yce. Alſo after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drinke and fuel to ſerue one hundreth men, which was the number appoynted firſt to inhabite there, becauſe their greateſt ſtore was in the Shippes which were not yet arriued. Then Captaine Fenton ſeeing the ſcarcitie of the neceſſary things aforeſayd, was contented, and offred himſelfe to inhabite there with ſixtie men. Whereupon they cauſed the Carpenters and Maſons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take vpon them to erect vp a leſſe houſe for ſixtie men. They required eight or nine weekes, if there were Tymber ſufficient, wheras now they had but ſixe and twentie dayes in all to remayne in that Countrey. Wherefore it was fully agreed vpon, and reſolued by the Generall and his counſell, that no habitation ſhould be there this yeere. And therefore they willed Maſter Selman the Regiſter to ſet downe this decree with all their conſents, for the better ſatiſfying of her Maieſtie, the Lords of the Counſell, and the Aduenturers.

The Anne Francis, ſince ſhee was parted from the Fleete, in the laſt ſtorme before ſpoken of, could neuer recouer aboue fiue leagues within the ſtreights, the winde being ſometime contrary, and moſt times the Yce compaſſing them round about. And from that time, being about the ſeuen and twentieth of Iuly, they could neither heare nor haue ſight of any of the Fleete, vntil the 3. of Auguſt, when they deſcryed a ſayle neere vnto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had ſpoken, they could vnderſtand no newes of any of the Fleete at all. And this was the Thomas of Ipſwich, who had layne beating off and on at Sea with very fowle weather, and contrary windes, euer ſince that foreſayd ſtorme, without ſight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to looſe one another againe, the Moone being conſort alwayes with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company plyed vp together into the ſtreights, with great deſire to recouer their long wiſhed Port: and they attempted as often, and paſſed as farre as poſſible the winde, weather, & yce gaue them leaue, which commonly they found very contrary. For when the weather was cleare and without fogge, then commonly the winde was contrary. And when it was eyther Eaſterly or Southerly, which would ſerue their turnes, then had they ſo great a fogge and darke miſte therewith, that eyther they could not diſcerne way thorow the yce, or els the yce lay ſo thicke together, that it was impoſſible for them to paſſe. And on the other ſide, when it was calme, the Tydes had force to bring the yce ſo ſuddenly about them, that commonly then they were moſt therewith diſtreſſed, hauing no Winde to cary them from the danger thereof.

And by the ſixt of Auguſt being with much adoe got vp as high as Leiceſter point, they had good hope to finde the Souther ſhore cleare, and ſo to paſſe vp towardes their Port. But being there becalmed and lying a hull openly vpon the great Bay which commeth out of the miſtaken ſtreights before ſpoken of, they were ſo ſuddenly compaſſed with yce round about by meanes of the ſwift Tydes which run in that place, that they were neuer afore ſo hardly beſet as now. And in ſeeking to auoyde theſe dangers in the darke weather, the Anne Francis loſt ſight of the other two Ships, who being likewiſe hardly diſtreſſed, ſignified their danger, as they ſince reported, by ſhooting off their ordinance, which the other could not heare, nor if they had heard, could haue giuen them any remedie, being ſo buſily occupied to winde themſelues out of their owne troubles.

The Moone.

The Fleeboate called the Moone, was here heaued aboue the water with the force of the yce, and receiued a great leake thereby. Likewiſe the Thomas of Ipſwich, and the Anne Francis were ſore bruſed at that inſtant, hauing their falſe ſtemmes borne away, and their ſhip ſides ſtroken quite through.

Now conſidering the continuall dangers and contraries, and the little leaſure that they had left to tarie in theſe partes, beſides that euery night the ropes of their Shippes were ſo frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his handes, together with the great doubt they had of the Fleetes ſafety, thinking it an impoſſibilitie for them to paſſe vnto their Port, as well for that they ſaw themſelues, as for that they heard by the former report of the Shippes which had prooued before, who affirmed that the ſtreights were all frozen ouer within: They thought it now very hie time to conſider of their eſtates and ſafeties that were yet left together. And hereupon the Captaines and maſters of theſe Shippes, deſired the Captaine of the Anne Francis to enter into conſideration with them of theſe matters. Wherefore Captaine Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipſwich, with his Pilot Richard Cox, and Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, with

The Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipſwich and the Moone conſult.

his maſter Iohn Lakes came aboorde the Anne Francis the eight of Auguſt to conſult of theſe cauſes. And being aſſembled together in the Captaines Cabin, ſundry doubts were there alledged. For the fearefuller ſort of Mariners being ouertyred with the continuall labour of the former dangers, coueted to returne homeward, ſaying that they would not againe tempt God ſo much, who had giuen them ſo many warnings, and deliuered them from ſo wonderfull dangers: that they rather deſired to loſe wages, fraight, and all, then to continue and follow ſuch deſperate fortunes. Againe, their Ships were ſo leake, and the men ſo wearie, that to amend the one, and refreſh the other, they muſt of neceſſitie ſeeke into harborough.

But on the other ſide it was argued againe to the contrary, that to ſeeke into harborough thereabouts, was but to ſubiect themſelues to double dangers: if happily they eſcaped the dangers of Rockes in their entring, yet being in, they were neuertheleſſe ſubiect there to the danger of the Ice, which with the ſwift tydes and currents is caryed in and out in moſt harboroughs thereabouts, and may thereby gaule their Cables aſunder, driue them vpon the ſhoare, and bring them to much trouble. Alſo the coaſt is ſo much ſubiect to broken ground and rockes, eſpecially in the mouth and entrance of euery Harborough, that albeit the Channell be ſounded ouer and ouer againe, yet are you neuer the neerer to diſcerne the dangers. For the bottome of the Sea holding like ſhape and forme as the Land, being full of hils, dales, and ragged Rocks, ſuffreth you not by your ſoundings to knowe and keepe a true geſſe of the depth. For you ſhall ſound vpon the ſide or hollowneſſe of one Hill or Rocke vnder water, and haue a hundreth, fiftie, or fourtie fadome depth: and before the next caſt, yer you ſhall be able to heaue your lead againe, you ſhall be vpon the toppe thereof, and come aground to your vtter confuſion.

Another reaſon againſt going to harborough was, that the colde ayre did threaten a ſudden freezing vp of the ſounds, ſeeing that euery night there was new congealed yce, euen of that water which remayned within their ſhippes. And therefore it ſhould ſeeme to be more ſafe to lye off and on at Sea, then for lacke of winde to bring them foorth of harborough, to hazard by ſudden froſts to be ſhut vp the whole yeere.

After many ſuch dangers and reaſons alledged, and large debating of theſe cauſes on both ſides, the Captaine of the Anne Francis deliuered his opinion vnto the company to this effect. Firſt concerning the queſtion of returning home, hee thought it ſo much diſhonorable, as not to grow in any farther queſtion: and againe to returne home at length (as at length they muſt needes) and not to be able to bring a certaine report of the Fleete, whether they were liuing or loſt, or whether any of them had recouered their Port or not, in the Counteſſes ſound, (as it was to bee thought the moſt part would if they were liuing) hee ſayde that it would be ſo great an argument eyther of want of courage or diſcretion in them, as hee reſolued rather to fall into any danger, then ſo ſhamefully to conſent to returne home, proteſting that it ſhould neuer bee ſpoken of him, that hee would euer returne without doing his endeuour to finde the Fleete, and knowe the certaintie of the Generals ſafetie. Hee put his company in remembrance of a Pinniſſe of fiue tunne burthen, which hee had within his Shippe, which was caryed in pieces, and vnmade vp for the vſe of thoſe which ſhould inhabite there the whole yeere, the which, if they could finde meanes to ioyne together, hee offered himſelfe to prooue before therewith, whether it were poſſible for any Boate to paſſe for yce, whereby the Shippe might bee brought in after, and might alſo thereby giue true notice, if any of the Fleete were arriued at their Port or not.

Captaine Beſts reſolution.

A Pinniſſe for the inhabiters.

But notwithſtanding, for that he well perceiued that the moſt part of his company were addicted to put into harborough, hee was willing the rather for theſe cauſes ſomewhat to encline thereunto. As firſt, to ſearch alongſt the ſame coaſt, and the ſoundes thereabouts, hee thought it to be to good purpoſe, for that it was likely to finde ſome of the Fleete there, which being leake, and ſore bruſed with the yce, were the rather thought likely to be put into an yll harborough, being diſtreſſed with foule weather in the laſt ſtorme, then to hazard their vncertaine ſafeties amongſt the yce: for about this place they loſt them, and left the Fleete then doubtfully queſtioning of harborough.

It was likely alſo, that they might finde ſome fitte harborough thereabouts, which might bee behoouefull for them againſt another time. It was not likewiſe impoſſible to finde ſome Ore or Mine thereabouts wherewithall to fraight their Shippes, which would bee more commodious in this place, for the neereneſſe to Seaward, and for a better outlet, then farther within the ſtreights, being likely heere alwayes to loade in a ſhorter time, howſoeuer the ſtreight ſhould be peſtered with yce within, ſo that if it might come to paſſe that thereby they might eyther finde the Fleete, Mine, or conuenient harborough, any of theſe three would ſerue their preſent turnes, and giue ſome hope and comfort vnto their companies, which now were altogether comfortleſſe. But if that all fortune ſhould fall out ſo contrary, that they could neyther recouer their Port, nor any of theſe aforeſayde helpes, that yet they would not depart the Coaſt, as long as it was poſſible for them to tary there, but would lye off and on at Sea athwart the place. Therefore his finall concluſion was ſet downe thus, Firſt, that the Thomas of Ipſwich and the Moone ſhould conſort and keepe company together carefully with the Anne Francis, as neere as they could, and as true Engliſhmen and faithfull friends, ſhould ſupply one anothers want in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, euery Shippe to ſend off his Boate with a ſufficient Pylot, to ſearch out and ſound the harboroughs for the ſafe bringing in of their Shippes. And beeing arriued in harborough, where they might finde conuenient place for the purpoſe, they reſolued foorthwith to ioyne and ſette together the Pinneſſe, wherewithall the Captaine of the Anne Francis might, according to his former determination, diſcouer vp into the ſtreights.

After theſe determinations thus ſet downe, the Thomas of Ipſwich the night following loſt company of the other Shippes, and afterward ſhaped a contrary courſe homeward, which fell out as it manifeſtly appeared, very much againſt their Captaine Maſter Tanfieldes minde, as by due examination before the Lordes of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſell it hath ſince bene prooued, to the great diſcredite of the Pilot Cox, who ſpecially perſuaded his company againſt the opinion of his ſayd Captaine, to returne home.

And as the Captaine of the Anne Francis doeth witneſſe, euen at their conference togither, Captaine Tanfield tolde him, that he did not a little ſuſpect the ſayd Pilot Cox, ſaying that he had opinion in the man neither of honeſt duetie, manhoode, nor conſtancie. Notwithſtanding the ſayde Shippes departure, the Captaine of the Anne Francis being deſirous to put in execution his former reſolutions, went with his Shippeboate (being accompanied alſo with the Moones Skiffe) to prooue amongſt the Ilands which lye vnder Hattons Hedland, if any conuenient harborough, or any knowledge of the Fleete, or any good Ore were there to be found. The Shippes lying off and on at Sea the while vnder Sayle, ſearching through many ſounds, they ſawe them all full of many dangers and broken ground: yet one there was, which ſeemed an indifferent place to harborough in, and which they did very diligently ſound ouer, and ſearched againe.

Here the ſayde Captaine found a great blacke Iland, whereunto hee had good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were ſomewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his wordes rowed cheerefully vnto the place: where when they arriued, they found ſuch plentie of blacke Ore of the ſame ſort which was brought into England this laſt yeere, that if the goodneſſe might anſwere the great plentie thereof, it was to be thought that it might reaſonably ſuffice all the golde-gluttons of the world. This Iland the Captaine for cauſe of his good hap, called after his owne name, Beſtes bleſſing, and with theſe good tydings returning aboord his Ship the ninth of Auguſt about tenne of the clocke at night, hee was ioyfully welcommed of his company, who before were diſcomforted, and greatly expected ſome better fortune at his handes.

Beſtes bleſſing.

The next day being the tenth of Auguſt, the weather reaſonably fayre, they put into the foreſayde Harborough, hauing their Boate for their better ſecuritie ſounding before their Shippe. But for all the care and diligence that could bee taken in ſounding the Channell ouer and ouer againe, the Anne Francis came aground vpon a ſuncken Rocke within the Harborough, and lay thereon more then halfe drye vntill the next flood, when by Gods Almightey prouidence, contrary almoſt to all expectation, they came afloat againe, being forced all that time to vnderſette their Shippe with their mayne Yarde, which otherwiſe was likely to ouerſet and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had aboue two thouſand ſtrokes together at the Pumpe, before they could make their Shippe free of the water againe, ſo ſore ſhee was bruſed by lying vpon the Rockes. The Moone came ſafely, and roade at anchor by the Anne Francis, whoſe helpe in their neceſſitie they could not well haue miſſed.

Anne Francis in danger.

The Moone in harborough.

Now whileſt the Mariners were romaging their Shippes, and mending that which was amiſſe, the Miners followed their labour for getting together of ſufficient quantitie of Ore, and the Carpenters indeuoured to doe their beſt for the making vp of the Boate or Pinneſſe: which to bring to paſſe, they wanted two ſpeciall and moſt neceſſarie things, that is, certaine principall tymbers that are called Knees, which are the chiefeſt ſtrength of any Boate, and alſo nayles, wherewithall to ioyne the plancks together. Whereupon hauing by chance a Smyth amongſt them, (and yet vnfurniſhed of his neceſſary tooles to worke and make nayles withall) they were faine of a gunne chamber to make an Anuile to worke vpon, and to vſe a pickaxe in ſtead of a ſledge to beate withall, and alſo to occupy two ſmall bellowes in ſteade of one payre of greater Smiths bellowes. And for lacke of ſmall Iron for the eaſier making of the nayles, they were forced to breake their tongs, grydiron, and fireſhouell in pieces.

The eleuenth of Auguſt the Captaine of the Anne Francis taking the Maſter of his Shippe with him, went vp to the toppe of Hattons Hedland, which is the higheſt land of all the Streights, to the ende to deſcry the ſituation of the Countrey vnderneath, and to take a true plotte of the place, whereby alſo to ſee what ſtore of Yce was yet left in the Streights, as alſo to ſearch what Mineral matter or fruite that ſoyle might yeeld: And the rather for the honour the ſaid Captaine doeth owe to that Honourable name which himſelfe gaue thereunto the laſt yeere, in the higheſt part of this Hedland he cauſed his company to make a Columne or Croſſe of ſtone, in token of Chriſtian poſſeſſion. In this place there is plentie of blacke Ore, and diuers prettie ſtones.

Hattons Hedland.

Prettie ſtones.

The ſeuenteenth of Auguſt the Captaines with their companies chaced and killed a great white Beare, which aduentured and gaue a fierce aſſault vpon twentie men being weaponed. And he ſerued them for good meate many dayes.

A mightie white Beare.

The eighteenth of Auguſt the Pinneſſe with much adoe being ſet together, the ſayde Captaine Beſt determined to depart vp the Streights, to prooue and make tryall, as before was pretended, ſome of his company greatly perſwading him to the contrary, and ſpecially the Carpenter that ſet the ſame together, who ſayde that hee would not aduenture himſelfe therein for fiue hundreth pounds, for that the boate hung together but onely by the ſtrength of the nayles, and lacked ſome of her principall knees and tymbers.

A Pinneſſe there built.

Theſe wordes ſomewhat diſcouraged ſome of the company which ſhould haue gone therein. Whereupon the Captaine, as one not altogether addicted to his owne ſelfe-will, but ſomewhat foreſeeing how it might be afterwards ſpoken, if contrary fortune ſhould happen him (Lo he hath followed his owne opinion and deſperate reſolutions, and ſo thereafter it is befallen him) calling the Maſter and Mariners of beſt iudgement together, declared vnto them how much the cauſe imported him in his credite to ſeeke out the Generall, as well to conferre with him of ſome cauſes of weight, as otherwiſe to make due examination and tryall of the goodneſſe of the Ore, whereof they had no aſſurance but by geſſe of the eye, and it was well like the other: which ſo to cary home, not knowing the goodneſſe thereof, might be as much as if they ſhould bring ſo many ſtones. And therefore hee deſired them to deliuer their plaine and honeſt opinion, whether the Pinneſſe were ſufficient for him ſo to aduenture in or no. It was anſwered, that by carefull heede taking thereunto amongſt the yce, and the foule weather, the Pinneſſe might ſuffice. And hereupon the Maſters mate of the Anne Francis called Iohn Gray, manfully and honeſtly offering himſelfe vnto his Captaine in this aduenture and ſeruice, gaue cauſe to others of his Mariners to follow the attempt.

And vpon the nineteenth of Auguſt the ſayd Captaine being accompanied with Captaine Vpcote of the Moone, and eighteene perſons in the ſmall Pinneſſe, hauing conuenient portion of victuals and things neceſſary, departed vpon the ſayd pretended Voyage, leauing their ſhippe at anchor in a good readineſſe for the taking in of their fraight. And hauing little winde to ſayle withall, they plyed alongſt the Souther ſhore, and paſſed aboue 30. leagues, hauing the onely helpe of mans labour with Oares, and ſo intending to keepe that ſhore aboord vntil they were got vp to the fartheſt and narroweſt of the Streights, minded there to croſſe ouer, and to ſearch likewiſe alongſt the Northerland vnto the Counteſſes ſound, and from thence to paſſe all that coaſt along, whereby if any of the Fleete had bene diſtreſſed by wrecke of rocke or yce, by that meanes they might be perceiued of them, and ſo they thereby to giue them ſuch helpe and reliefe as they could. They did greatly feare, and euer ſuſpect that ſome of the Fleete were ſurely caſt away, and driuen to ſeeke ſowre ſallets amongſt the colde cliffes.

They aduenture vp the Streight in a weake Pinneſſe.

And being ſhotte vp about fortie leagues within the Streights, they put ouer towardes the Norther ſhore, which was not a little dangerous for their ſmall boates. And by meanes of a ſudden flawe were dryuen, and faine to ſeeke harborough in the night amongſt all the rockes and broken ground of Gabriels Ilands, a place ſo named within the Streights aboue the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound: And by the way where they landed, they did finde certaine great ſtones ſet vp by the Countrey people as it ſeemed, for markes, where they alſo made many Croſſes of ſtone, in token that Chriſtians had bene there. The 22. of Auguſt they had ſight of the Counteſſes ſound, and made the place perfect from the toppe of a hill, and keeping along the Norther ſhore, perceiued the ſmoke of a fire vnder a hils ſide: whereof they diuerſly deemed. When they came

40. leagues within the Streights.

Gabriels Ilands.

neerer the place, they perceiued people which wafted vnto them, as it ſeemed, with a flagge or enſigne. And becauſe the Country people had vſed to doe the like, when they perceiued any of our boats to paſſe by, they ſuſpected them to be the ſame. And comming ſomewhat neerer, they might perceiue certaine tents, and diſcerne this enſigne to be of mingled colours, blacke and white, after the Engliſh faſhion. But becauſe they could ſee no Shippe, nor likelihood of harborough within fiue or ſixe leagues about, and knewe that none of our men were woont to frequent thoſe partes, they could not tell what to iudge thereof, but imagined that ſome of the ſhips being carried ſo high with the ſtorme and miſtes, had made ſhipwracke amongſt the yce or the broken Iſlands there, and were ſpoyled by the countrey people, who might vſe the ſundry coloured flagge for a policie, to bring them likewiſe within their danger. Whereupon the ſayd Captaine with his companies, reſolued to recouer the ſame enſigne, if it were ſo, from thoſe baſe people, or els to loſe their liues, and all together. In the ende they diſcerned them to be their countreymen, and then they deemed them to haue loſt their Ships, and ſo to be gathered together for their better ſtrength. On the other ſide, the company aſhoare feared that the Captaine hauing loſt his Shippe, came to ſeeke forth the Fleete for his reliefe in his poore Pinniſſe, ſo that their extremities cauſed eche part to ſuſpect the worſt.

Proximus ſum egomet mihi.

The Captaine now with his Pinniſſe being come neere the ſhoare, commanded his Boate carefully to be kept aflote, leſt in their neceſſitie they might winne the ſame from him, and ſeeke firſt to ſaue themſelues: for euery man in that caſe is next himſelfe. They haled one another according to the manner of the Sea, and demaunded what cheere? and either partie anſwered the other, that all was well: whereupon there was a ſudden and ioyfull outſhoote, with great flinging vp of caps, and a braue voly of ſhotte to welcome one another. And truely it was a moſt ſtrange caſe to ſee how ioyfull and gladde euery partie was to ſee themſelues meete in ſafetie againe, after ſo ſtrange and incredible dangers: Yet to be ſhort, as their dangers were great, ſo their God was greater.

Captain Yorke arriued.

And here the company were working vpon new Mines, which Captaine Yorke being here arriued nat long before, had found out in this place, and it is named the Counteſſe of Suſſex Mine.

After ſome conference with our friends here, the Captaine of the Anne Francis departed towards the Counteſſe of Warwicks ſound, to ſpeake with the Generall, and to haue tryall made of ſuch mettall as he had brought thither, by the Goldfiners. And ſo he determined to diſpatch againe towards his ſhip. And hauing ſpoken with the General, he receiued order for all cauſes, and direction as well for the bringing vp of his Shippe to the Counteſſes ſound, as alſo to fraight his Ship with the ſame Oare which he himſelfe had found, which vpon triall made, was ſuppoſed to be very good.

The 23. of Auguſt, the ſayd Captaine mette together with the other Captaines (Commiſſioners in counſell with the Generall) aboorde the Ayde, where they conſidered and conſulted of ſundry cauſes, which being particularly regiſtred by the Notarie, were appoynted where and how to be done againſt another yeere.

None of the people will be taken.

The 24. of Auguſt, the Generall with two Pinniſſes and good numbers of men went to Beares ſound, commanding the ſayde Captaine with his Pinneſſe to attend the ſeruice, to ſee if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people: for ſundry times they ſhewed themſelues buſie thereabouts, ſometimes with ſeuen or eyght Boates in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company which were working there at the Mines, in no great numbers. But when they perceiued any of our Shippes to ryde in that roade (being belike more amazed at the countenance of a Shippe, and a more number of men) they did neuer ſhewe themſelues againe there at all. Wherefore our men ſought with their Pinniſſes to compaſſe about the Iland where they did vſe, ſuppoſing there ſuddenly to intercept ſome of them. But before our men could come neere, hauing belike ſome watch in the toppe of the mountaines, they conueyed themſelues priuily away, and left (as it ſhould ſeeme) one of their great dartes behinde them for haſte, which we found neere to a place of their caues and houſing. Therefore, though our Generall were very deſirous to haue taken ſome of them to haue brought into England, they being now growen more wary by their former loſſes, would not at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the ſame day, the captaine of the Anne Francis departed thence and ſet his courſe ouer the ſtreights towards Hattons Hedland, being about 15. leagues ouer, and returned aboord his Shippe the 25. of Auguſt, to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his comming, where hee found his Shippes ready rigged and loden. Wherefore he departed from thence againe the next morning towards the Counteſſes ſound, where he arriued the 28. of the ſame. By the way he ſet his Miners aſhore at Beares ſound, for the better diſpatch and gathering the Ore togither, for that ſome of the ſhips were behind hand with their fraight, the time of the yeere paſſing ſuddenly away.

The thirtith of Auguſt the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had 8. great leakes mended which ſhe had receiued by meanes of the rocks and yce. This day the Maſons finiſhed a houſe which Captaine Fenton cauſed to be made of lyme and ſtone vpon the Counteſſe of Warwickes Iſland, to the ende we might proue againſt the next yeere, whither the ſnow could ouerwhelme it, the froſt breake it vp, or the people diſmember the ſame. And the better to allure thoſe brutiſh and vnciuill people to courteſie againſt other times of our comming, we left therein diuers of our Countrey toyes, as belles, and kniues, wherein they ſpecially delight, one for the neceſſary vſe, and the other for the great pleaſure thereof. Alſo pictures of men and women in lead, men on horſebacke, looking glaſſes, whiſtles, and pipes. Alſo in the houſe was made an Ouen, and bread left baked therein for them to ſee and taſte.

A houſe builded and left there.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort. Alſo here we ſowed peaſe, corne, and other graine, to proue the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoyle againſt the next yeere.

Maſter Wolfall on Winters Fornace preached a godly ſermon, which being ended, he celebrated alſo a Communion vpon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the diuine myſtery was the firſt ſigne, ſeale, and confirmation of Chriſts name, death, and paſſion euer knowen in theſe quarters. The ſaid M. Wolfall made ſermons, and celebrated the Communion at ſundry other times, in ſeuerall and ſundry ſhips, becauſe the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place. The Fleet now being in ſome good readineſſe for their lading, the Generall calling together the Gentlemen and Captaines to conſult, told them that he was very deſirous that ſome further diſcouery ſhould be attempted, and that he would not onely by Gods helpe bring home his Ships laden with Ore, but alſo meant to bring ſome certificate of a further diſcouery of the Countrey, which thing to bring to paſſe (hauing ſometime therein conſulted) they found very hard, and almoſt inuincible. And conſidering that already they had ſpent ſometime in ſearching out the trending and faſhion of the miſtaken ſtraites, therefore it could not be ſayd, but that by this voyage they haue notice of a further diſcouery, and that the hope of the paſſage thereby is much furthered and encreaſed, as appeared before in the diſcourſe thereof. Yet notwithſtanding if any meanes might be further deuiſed, the Captaines were contented and willing, as the Generall ſhoulde appoynt and commaund, to take any enterpriſe in hand. Which after long debating was found a thing very impoſſible, and that rather conſultation was to be had of returning homeward, eſpecially for theſe cauſes following. Firſt the darke foggy miſts, the continuall falling ſnowe and ſtormy weather which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily euer more and more increaſed, haue no ſmall argument of the Winters drawing neere. And alſo the froſt euery night was ſo hard congealed within the ſound, that if by euill hap they ſhould bee long kept in with contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared, that they ſhould be ſhut vp there faſt the whole yeere, which being vtterly vnprouided, would be their vtter deſtruction. Againe, drinke was ſo ſcant throughout all the Fleet by meanes of the great leakage, that not onely the prouiſion which was layd in for the habitation was wanting and waſted, but alſo each ſhippes ſeuerall prouiſion ſpent and loſt, which many of our company to their great griefe found in their returne ſince, for all the way homewards they dranke nothing but water. And the great cauſe of this leakage and waſting was, for that the great timber and ſeacole, which lay ſo waighty vpon the barrels, brake, bruiſed, and rotted the hoopes inſunder. Yet notwithſtanding theſe reaſons alleaged the Generall himſelfe (willing the reſt of the Gentlemen and Captaines euery man to looke to his ſeuerall charge and lading, that againſt a day appointed, they ſhould be all in a readineſſe to ſet homeward) went in a Pinneſſe, and diſcouered further Northward in the ſtraights, and found that by Beares ſound and Halles Iſland, the land was not firme, as it was firſt ſuppoſed, but all broken Iſlands in maner of an Archipelagus, and ſo with other ſecret intelligence to himſelfe, he returned to the Fleet. Where preſently vpon his arriuall at the Counteſſes ſound, he began to take order for their returning homeward, and firſt cauſed certaine Articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of orders and courſes in their returne, which Articles were deliuered to euery Captaine.

M. Wolfall a godly Preacher.

Conſultation for a further diſcouery.

Broken Iſlands in maner of an Archipelagus.

The Fleetes returning homeward.

Hauing now receiued Articles and directions for our returne homewards, all other things being in forwardneſſe and in good order, the laſt day of Auguſt the whole Fleete departed

from

Returne homeward.

from the Counteſſes ſound, excepting the Iudith, and the Anne Francis, who ſtayed for the taking in of freſh water, and came the next day and mette the Fleete lying off and on, athwart Beares ſound, who ſtayed for the Generall, which then was gone aſhore to diſpatch the two Barkes and the Buſſe of Bridgewater, for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboord. The Captaine of the Anne Francis hauing moſt part of his company aſhore, the firſt of September went alſo to Beares ſound in his Pinneſſe to fetch his men aboord, but the wind grewe ſo great immediatly vpon their landing, that the ſhippes at Sea were in great danger, and ſome of them forcibly put from their ankers, and greatly feared to be vtterly loſt, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captaine Carew and others, who could not tell on which ſide their danger was moſt: for hauing mightie rockes threatning on the one ſide, and driuing Iſlands of cutting yce on the other ſide, they greatly feared to make ſhipwracke, the yce driuing ſo neere them that it touched their bolt-ſprit. And by meanes of the Sea that was growne ſo hie, they were not able to put to ſea with their ſmall Pinneſſes to recouer their ſhippes. And againe, the ſhippes were not able to tarrie or lie athwart for them, by meanes of the outragious windes and ſwelling ſeas. The Generall willed the Captaine of the Anne Francis with his company, for that night to lodge aboord the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and went himſelfe with the reſt of his men aboord the Barkes. But their numbers were ſo great, and the prouiſion of the Barkes ſo ſcant, that they peſtered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be faire, whereby they might recouer their ſhippes. But in the morning following it was much worſe, for the ſtorme continued greater, the Sea being more ſwollen, and the Fleete gone quite out of ſight. So that now their doubts began to grow great: for the ſhip of Bridgewater which was of greateſt receit, and whereof they had beſt hope and made moſt account, roade ſo farre to leeward of the harborowes mouth, that they were not able for the rockes (that lay betweene the wind and them) to lead it out to Sea with a ſaile. And the Barks were already ſo peſtered with men, and ſo ſlenderly furniſhed with prouiſion, that they had ſcarce meat for ſixe dayes for ſuch numbers.

The Generall in the morning departed to Sea in the Gabriel to ſeeke the Fleete, leauing the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and the Michael behind in Beares ſound. The Buſſe ſet ſayle, and thought by turning in the narrow channell within the harborow to get to windward: but being put to leeward more, by that meanes was faine to come to anker for her better ſafetie, amongſt a number of rockes, and there left in great danger of euer getting forth againe. The Michael ſet ſayle to follow the Generall, and could giue the Buſſe no reliefe, although they earneſtly deſired the ſame. And the Captaine of the Anne Francis was left in hard election of two euils: eyther to abide his fortune with the Buſſe of Bridgewater, which was doubtfull of euer getting forth, or elſe to bee towed in his ſmall Pinneſſe at the ſterne of the Michael thorow the raging Seas, for that the Barke was not able to receiue or relieue halfe his company, wherein his danger was not a little perillous.

So after hee reſolued to commit himſelfe with all his company vnto that fortune of God and Sea, and was dangerouſly towed at the ſterne of the Barke for many miles, vntill at length they eſpyed the Anne Francis vnder ſayle, hard vnder their Lee, which was no ſmall comfort vnto them. For no doubt, both theſe and a great number more had periſhed for lacke of victuals, and [illegible]uenient roome in the Barks without the helpe of the ſayd Ship. But the honeſt care that the [illegible]er of the Anne Francis had of his Captaine, and the good regarde of duetie towardes his Generall, ſuffered him not to depart, but honeſtly abode to hazard a dangerous roade all the night long, notwithſtanding all the ſtormy weather, when all the Fleete beſides departed. And the Pinneſſe came no ſooner aboord the ſhippe, and the men entred, but ſhee preſently ſhiuered and fell in pieces and ſunke at the ſhips ſterne, with all the poore mens furniture: ſo weake was the boat with towing, and ſo forcible was the ſea to bruiſe her in pieces. But (as God would) the men were all ſaued.

An vnknowen channell into the Northeaſt, diſcouered by the Buſſe of Bridgewater.

At this preſent in this ſtorme many of the Fleete were dangerouſly diſtreſſed, and were ſeuered almoſt all aſunder. Yet, thanks be to God, all the Fleete arriued ſafely in England about the firſt of October, ſome in one place and ſome in another. But amongſt other, it was moſt marueilous how the Buſſe of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the Fleete in great danger of neuer getting forth, was forced to ſeeke a way Northward thorow an vnknowen channell full of rocks, vpon the backe ſide of Beares ſound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North ſea, a very dangerous attempt: ſaue that neceſſitie, which hath no law, forced them to trie maſteries. This aforeſayd North ſea is the ſame which lyeth vpon the backe ſide of Frobiſhers ſtraits, where firſt the Generall himſelfe in his Pinneſſes, and after ſome other of our company haue diſcouered (as they affirme) a great forland, where they would haue alſo a great likelihood of the greateſt paſſage towards the South ſea, or Mar del Sur.

The Buſſe of Bridgewater, as ſhe came homeward, to the Southeaſtward of Friſeland, diſcouered a great Iſland in the latitude of 57 degrees and an halfe, which was neuer yet found before, and ſailed three dayes alongſt the coaſt, the land ſeeming to be fruitfull, full of woods, and a champion Countrey.

A fruitful new Iſland diſcouered.

There died in the whole Fleet in all this voyage not aboue forty perſons, which number is not great, conſidering how many ſhips were in the Fleet, and how ſtrange fortunes we paſſed.

A generall and briefe deſcription of the Countrey, and condition of the people, which are found in *Meta Incognita*.

Hauing now ſufficiently and truly ſet forth the whole circumſtance, and particuler handling of euery occurrent in the 3. voyages of our worthy Generall, Captaine Frobiſher, it ſhal not be from the purpoſe to ſpeake ſomewhat in generall of the nature of this Countrey called Meta Incognita, and the condition of the ſauages there inhabiting.

Firſt therefore touching the Topographicall deſcription of the place. It is now found in the laſt voyage, that Queene Elizabeths Cape being ſituate in latitude at 61. degrees and a halfe, which before was ſuppoſed to be part of the firme land of America, and alſo al the reſt of the South ſide of Frobiſhers ſtraites, are all ſeuerall Iſlands and broken land, and likewiſe ſo will all the North ſide of the ſaid ſtraites fall out to be as I thinke. And ſome of our company being entred aboue 60. leagues within the miſtaken ſtraites in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainely that they had diſcryed the firme land of America towards the South, which I thinke will fall out ſo to be.

A Topographicall deſcription of Meta Incognita.

These broken lands and Iſlands being very many in number, do ſeeme to make there an Archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatneſſe, forme, and faſhion one from another, ſo are they in goodneſſe, colour, and ſoyle much vnlike. They all are very high lands, mountaines, and in moſt parts couered with ſnow euen all the Sommer long. The Norther lands haue leſſe ſtore of ſnow, more graſſe, and are more plaine Countreys: the cauſe whereof may be, for that the Souther Ilands receiue all the ſnow, that the cold winds and percing ayre bring out of the North. And contrarily, the North parts receiue more warme blaſts of milder ayre from the South, whereupon may grow the cauſe why the people couet to inhabit more vpon the North parts then the South, as farre as we can yet by our experience perceiue they doe. Theſe people I iudge to be a kind of Tartar, or rather a kind of Samoed, of the ſame ſort and condition of life that the Samoeds bee to the Northeaſtwards beyond Moſcouy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to ſay in the Moſcouy tongue, as eaters of themſelues, and ſo the Ruſſians their borderers doe name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did ſometime trauell in the parts of Moſcouy) who hath great experience of thoſe Samoeds and people of the Northeaſt, I find that in all their maner of liuing, thoſe people of the Northeaſt, and theſe of the Northweſt are like. They are of the colour of a ripe Oliue, which how it may come to paſſe, being borne in ſo cold a climate, I referre to the iudgement of others, for they are naturally borne children of the ſame colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell vnder the Equinoctiall line.

The people of Meta Incognita like vnto Samoeds.

Their natiue colour.

They are men very actiue and nimble. They are a ſtrong people and very warlike, for in our ſight vpon the toppes of the hilles they would often muſter themſelues, and after the maner of a ſkirmiſh trace their ground very nimbly, and mannage their bowes and dartes with great dexteritie. They go clad in coates made of the ſkinnes of beaſts, as of Seales, Deere, Beares, Foxes, and Hares. They haue alſo ſome garments of feathers, being made of the caſes of foules, finely ſowed and compact togither. Of all which ſorts wee brought home ſome with vs into England, which we found in their tents. In Sommer they vſe to weare the hairie ſide of their coates outward, and ſometime goe naked for too much heate. And in Winter (as by ſignes they haue declared) they weare foure or fiue folde vpon their bodies with the haire (for warmth) turned inward. Hereby it appeareth, that the ayre there is not indifferent, but either it is feruent hote, or els extreme cold, & farre more exceſſiue in both qualities, then the reaſon of the climate ſhould yeeld. For there it is colder, being vnder 62. degrees in latitude, then it is at Wardhouſe in the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Moſcouie, being at aboue 72. degrees in latitude. The reaſon hereof perhaps may be, that this Meta Incognita is much frequented and vexed with Eaſterne and Northeaſtern winds, which from the ſea and yce bringeth often an intollerable cold ayre, which was alſo the cauſe that this yeere our ſtraits were ſo long ſhut vp with ſo great ſtore of yce. But there is

Their apparell.

The accidentall cauſe of the cold ayre at Meta Incognita.

great hope and likelihood, that further within the Straights it will bee more conſtant and temperate weather.

The Sauages delight in Muſicke.

Hard kind of liuing.

These people are in nature very ſubtill and ſharpe witted, ready to conceiue our meaning by ſignes, and to make anſwere well to be vnderſtood againe. And if they haue not ſeene the thing whereof you aſke them, they will wincke, or couer their eyes with their hands, as who would ſay, it hath bene hid from their ſight. If they vnderſtand you not whereof you aſke them, they wil ſtop their eares. They will teach vs the names of each thing in their language which wee deſire to learne, and are apt to learne any thing of vs. They delight in Muſicke aboue meaſure, and will keepe time and ſtroke to any tune which you ſhall ſing, both with their voyce, head, hand and feete, and will ſing the ſame tune aptly after you. They will row with our Ores in our boates, and keepe a true ſtroke with our Mariners, and ſeeme to take great delight therein. They liue in Caues of the earth, and hunt for their dinners or praye, euen as the beare or other wild beaſtes do. They eat raw fleſh and fiſh, and refuſe no meat howſoeuer it be ſtinking. They are deſperate in their fight, ſullen of nature, and rauenous in their maner of feeding.

Their ſullen & deſperate nature doth herein manifeſtly appeare, that a company of them being enuironed by our men on the top of a hie cliffe, ſo that they could by no meanes eſcape our hands, finding themſelues in this caſe diſtreſſed, choſe rather to caſt themſelues headlong down the rocks into the ſea, and ſo be bruiſed and drowned, rather then to yeeld themſelues to our mens mercies.

Their weapons.

Their chaſtity.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withall, they haue darts, ſlings, bowes, and arrowes headed with ſharpe ſtones, bones, and ſome with yron. They are exceeding friendly and kind hearted one to the other, and mourne greatly at the loſſe or harme of their fellowes, and expreſſe their griefe of mind, when they part one from another with a mournefull ſong, and Dirges. They are very ſhamefaſt in bewraying the ſecrets of nature, and very chaſte in the maner of their liuing: for when the man, which wee brought from thence into England the laſt voyage, ſhould put off his coat or diſcouer his whole body for change, hee would not ſuffer the woman to bee preſent, but put her forth of his Cabin. And in all the ſpace of two or three moneths, while the man liued in company of the woman, there was neuer any thing ſeene or perceiued betweene them, more then might haue paſſed betweene brother and ſiſter: but the woman was in all things very ſeruiceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was ſicke, and he likewiſe in all the meates which they did eate together, woulde carue vnto her of the ſweeteſt, fatteſt, and beſt morſels they had. They wondred much at all our things, and were afraid of our horſes and other beaſts out of meaſure. They began to grow more ciuill, familiar, pleaſant, and docible amongſt vs in very ſhort time.

Their boates.

They haue boates made of leather, and couered cleane ouer ſauing one place in the middle to ſit in, planked within with timber, and they vſe to row therein with one Ore, more ſwiftly a great deale, then we in our boates can doe with twentie. They haue one ſort of greater boates wherein they can carrie aboue twentie perſons, and haue a Maſt with a ſaile thereon, which ſaile is made of thinne ſkinnes or bladders, ſowed togither with the ſinewes of fiſhes.

They are good Fiſhermen, and in their ſmall Boates being diſguiſed with their coates of Seales ſkinnes, they deceiue the fiſh, who take them rather for their fellow Seales, then for deceiuing men.

They are good marke-men. With their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a Ducke, or any other foule in the head, and commonly in the eye.

When they ſhoote at a great fiſh with any of their darts, they vſe to tye a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them againe, and the fiſh not able to cary it ſo eaſily away (for that the bladder doth boy the dart) will at length be wearie, and dye therewith.

Traffique with ſome other nation vnknowen.

They vſe to traffike and exchange their commodities with ſome other people, of whom they haue ſuch things as their miſerable Countrey, and ignorance of Art to make, denieth them to haue, as barres of yron, heads of yron for their darts, needles made foure ſquare, certaine buttons of copper, which they vſe to weare vpon their foreheads for ornament, as our Ladies in the Court of England doe vſe great pearle.

Gold.

Alſo they haue made ſignes vnto vs, that they haue ſeene gold, and ſuch bright plates of metals, which are vſed for ornaments amongſt ſome people with whom they haue conference.

We found alſo in their tents a Guiny Beane of redde colour, the which doth vſually grow in the hote Countreys: whereby it appeareth they trade with other nations which dwell farre off, or elſe themſelues are great trauellers.

The Fewell.

They haue nothing in vſe among them to make fire withall, ſauing a kinde of Heath and Moſſe which groweth there.

And

How they make fire.

And they kindle their fire with continuall rubbing and fretting one ſticke againſt another, as we doe with flints. They drawe with dogges in ſleads vpon the yce, and remooue their tents therewithall wherein they dwell in Sommer, when they goe a hunting for their praye and prouiſion againſt Winter. They doe ſometime parboyle their meat a little and ſeeth the ſame in kettles made of beaſts ſkins: they haue alſo pannes cut and made of ſtone very artificially: they vſe prety ginnes wherewith they take foule. The women carry their ſucking children at their backes, and doe feede them with raw fleſh, which firſt they doe a little chaw in their owne mouths. The women haue their faces marked or painted ouer with ſmall blewe ſpots: they haue blacke and long haire on their heads, and trimme the ſame in a decent order. The men haue but little haire on their faces, and very thinne beards. For their common drinke, they eate yce to quench their thirſt withall. Their earth yeeldeth no graine or fruit of ſuſtenance for man, or almoſt for beaſt to liue vpon: and the people will eate graſſe and ſhrubs of the ground, euen as our kine doe. They haue no wood growing in their Countrey thereabouts, and yet wee find they haue ſome timber among them, which we thinke doth grow farre off to the Southwards of this place, about Canada, or ſome other part of New found land: for there belike, the trees ſtanding on the cliffes of the ſea ſide, by the waight of yce and ſnow in Winter ouercharging them with waight, when the Sommers thaw commeth aboue, and alſo the Sea vnderfretting them beneath, which winneth dayly of the land, they are vndermined and fall downe from thoſe cliffes into the Sea, and with the tydes and currents are driuen to and fro vpon the coaſtes further off, and by coniecture are taken vp here by theſe Countrey people, to ſerue them to planke and ſtrengthen their boates withall, and to make dartes, bowes, and arrowes, and ſuch other things neceſſarie for their vſe. And of this kind of drift wood we find all the Seas ouer great ſtore, which being cut or ſawed aſunder, by reaſon of long driuing in the Sea is eaten of wormes, and full of holes, of which ſort theirs is found to be.

Their kettles and pannes.

The people eate graſſe and ſhrubs.

We haue not yet found any venemous Serpent or other hurtful thing in theſe parts, but there is a kind of ſmall flie or gnat that ſtingeth and offendeth ſorely, leauing many red ſpots in the face, and other places where ſhe ſtingeth. They haue ſnow and haile in the beſt time of their Sommer, and the ground froſen three fadome deepe.

A ſtrange kind of gnat.

Theſe people are great inchanters, and vſe many charmes of witchcraft: for when their heads doe ake, they tye a great ſtone with a ſtring vnto a ſticke, and with certaine prayers and wordes done to the ſticke, they lift vp the ſtone from ground, which ſometimes with all a mans force they cannot ſtirre, and ſometime againe they lift as eaſily as a fether, and hope thereby with certaine ceremonious wordes to haue eaſe and helpe. And they made vs by ſignes to vnderſtand, lying groueling with their faces vpon the ground, and making a noiſe downeward, that they worſhip the deuill vnder them.

Inchanters.

They haue great ſtore of Deere, Beares, Hares, Foxes, and innumerable numbers of ſundry ſorts of wild foule, as Seamewes, Gulles, Wilmotes, Ducks, &c. whereof our men killed in one day fifteene hundred.

The beaſts and foules of the Countrey.

They haue alſo ſtore of haukes, as Falkons, Taſſels, &c. whereof two alighted vpon one of our ſhips at their returne, and were brought into England, which ſome thinke wil proue very good.

There are alſo great ſtore of rauens, larkes, and partridges, whereof the Countrey people feed.

All theſe foules are farre thicker clothed with downe and fethers, and haue thicker ſkinnes then any in England haue: for as that countrey is colder, ſo nature hath prouided a remedie thereunto.

Our men haue eaten of their Beares, Hares, Partridges, Larkes, and of their wild foule, and find them reaſonable good meat, but not ſo delectable as ours.

Their wild foule muſt be all fleine, their ſkins are ſo thicke: and they taſt beſt fryed in pannes.

The Countrey ſeemeth to be much ſubiect to Earthquakes.

The ayre is very ſubtile, piercing and ſearching, ſo that if any corrupted or infected body, eſpecially with the diſeaſe called Morbus Gallicus come there, it will preſently breake forth and ſhew it ſelfe, and cannot there by any kind of ſalue or medicine be cured.

Their longeſt Sommers day is of great length, without any darke night, ſo that in July al the night long, we might perfitly and eaſily write and reade whatſoeuer had pleaſed vs, which lightſome nights were very beneficiall vnto vs, being ſo diſtreſſed with abundance of yce as we were.

The Sunne ſetteth to them in the Euening at a quarter of an houre after tenne of the clocke, and riſeth againe in the morning at three quarters of an houre after one of the clocke, ſo that in Sommer their Sunne ſhineth to them twenty houres and a halfe, and in the night is abſent three houres and a halfe. And although the Sunne bee abſent theſe 3. houres and a halfe, yet it is not

The length of their day.

darke that time, for that the Sunne is neuer aboue three or foure degrees vnder the edge of their Horizon: the cauſe is, that the Tropicke of Cancer doth cut their Horizon at very vneuen and oblique Angles. But the Moone at any time of the yeere being in Cancer, hauing North latitude, doth make a full reuolution aboue their Horizon, ſo that ſometime they ſee the Moone aboue 24. houres togither. Some of our company of the more ignorant ſort, thought we might continually haue ſeene the Sunne and the Moone, had it not bene for two or three high mountaines.

A full reuolution of the Moone about their Horizon.

The people are now become ſo warie, and ſo circumſpect, by reaſon of their former loſſes, that by no meanes we can apprehend any of them, although wee attempted often in this laſt voyage. But to ſay trueth, wee could not beſtow any great time in purſuing them, becauſe of our great buſineſſe in lading, and other things.

The Letters patents of the Queenes Maieſtie, granted to Maſter *Adrian Gylbert* and others, for the ſearch and diſcouery of the Northweſt Paſſage to *China*.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all, to whome theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting: Foraſmuch as our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiect Adrian Gylbert of Sandridge in the Countie of Deuon, Gentleman, to his great coſtes and charges, hath greatly and earneſtly trauelled and ſought, and yet doth trauell and ſeeke, and by diuers meanes indeuoureth and laboureth, that the Paſſage vnto China and the Iles of the Moluccas, by the Northweſtward, Northeaſtward, or Northward, vnto which part or partes of the world, none of our loyall Subiects haue hitherto had any traffique or trade, may be diſcouered, knowen, and frequented by the Subiects of this our Realme: Knowe yee therefore that for the conſiderations aforeſayd and for diuers other good conſiderations vs thereunto ſpecially mouing, We of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe giue and grant free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and to any other perſon by him or his heires to be aſſigned, and to thoſe his aſſociates and aſſiſtants, whoſe names are written in a Scedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one aſſignee of each of them, and each of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of theſe preſents, vnder our Banners and Enſignes freely, without let, interruption, or reſtraint, of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, any law, ſtatute, proclamation, patent, charter, or prouiſo to the contrary notwithſtanding, to ſaile, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to paſſe and to depart out of this our Realme of England, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Iſles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Hauens, and all maner of other places whatſoeuer, that by the ſayde Northweſtward, Northeaſtward, or Northward, is to be by him, his aſſociates or aſſignes diſcouered, and for and in the ſayde ſayling, voyage, and paſſage, to haue and vſe ſo many ſhippes, Barkes, Pinneſſes, or other veſſels of any quantitie or burthen, with all the furniture of men, victuals, and all maner of neceſſary prouiſion, armour, weapons, ordinance, targets, and appurtinances whatſoeuer, as to ſuch a voyage ſhall or may be requiſite, conuenient or commodious, any lawe, ſtatute, ordinance or prouiſo to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding. And alſo we doe giue and grant to the ſayde Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayde aſſociates, and to ſuch aſſignee of him, and his heires, and to the heires and one aſſignee of euery of his ſayde aſſociates for euer, full power and abſolute authoritie to trade and make their reſiance in any of the ſayde Iſles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, and all maner of other places whatſoeuer with all commodities, profites, and emoluments in the ſayde places or any of them, growing and ariſing, with all maner of priuiledges, prerogatiues, iuriſdictions and royalties both by ſea and land whatſoeuer, yeelding and paying therefore vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, the tenth part of all ſuch golde and ſiluer oare, pearles, iewels, and precious ſtones, or the value thereof, as the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his ſayd aſſociates, their heires and aſſignes, ſeruants, factors, or workemen, and euery or any of them ſhall finde, the ſayd tenth to bee deliuered duely to our Cuſtomer, or other officers by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors thereunto aſſigned, in the Portes of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, at which three places onely the ſayde Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayde aſſociates, their ſayde heires and aſſignes, ſhall lade, charge, arriue, and diſcharge all maner of wares, goods, and merchandizes whatſoeuer to the ſayde voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And moreouer, wee haue giuen, granted, and authorized, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, doe giue, graunt, and authorize the ſayd Adrian Gilbert, and his ſayd aſſociats for euer, their heires and their ſaid aſſignes & euery of them, that if the aforeſayd Iles, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes or Hauens, or any other of the premiſſes by the ſayd Adrian Gylbert or his aſſociats, their heires and their ſaid aſſignes or any of them, to be found by them, diſcouered and traffiqued vnto by any trade as aforeſayd, ſhall be by any other our ſubiects viſited, frequented, haunted, traded vnto or inhabited by the wayes aforeſayd, without the ſpecial licence in writing of the ſaid Adrian Gylbert and his aſſociats, and their heires and aſſignes for euer, or by the moſt part of them, ſo that the ſayd Adrian Gilbert, his heires or aſſignes be one of them, that then aſwell their ſhip, or ſhips in any ſuch voyage or voyages vſed, as all and ſinguler their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatſoeuer, from or to any of the places aforeſayd tranſported, that ſo ſhall preſume to viſit, frequent, haunt, trade vnto, or inhabite, ſhall be forfaited and confiſcated, ipſo facto, the onehalfe of the ſame goods and marchandizes, or other things whatſoeuer, or the value thereof to be to the vſe of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, and the other moytie thereof to be to the vſe of the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his ſayd aſſociats, their heires and aſſignes for euer: and vnto the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his ſayd aſſociats, their heires and aſſignes wee impoſe, giue, aſſigne, create and confirme this name peculiar to be named by, to ſue and to be ſued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, and them for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours by that name doe incorporate, and doe erect and create as one body corporate to haue continuance for euer. Moreouer vnto the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his ſaid aſſociats, and vnto their heires and their ſayd aſſignes for euer, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowſhip, for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, we haue giuen, graunted, and confirmed, and doe by theſe preſents giue, grant, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree and enact, conſtitute and ordeine, and appoynt all ſuch ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and actes, as the ſayd new corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, ſhall thinke meete, neceſſary, and conuenient, ſo that they or any of them be not contrary to the lawes of this realme, and of this our preſent graunt.

The colleagues of the fellowſhip for the diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage.

And we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulneſſe of our authoritie, of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, do eſtabliſh, confirme & ratifie all ſuch ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and acts to be in ſo full and great power and authoritie, as we, our heires or ſucceſſours may or can in any ſuch caſe graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our louing ſubiects in this diſcouerie, we by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulneſſe of authoritie for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, doe giue, graunt, eſtabliſh, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allow by theſe preſents, to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and to his aſſociates, and to the heires and aſſignes of them and euery of them for euer, and to all other perſon or perſons of our louing ſubiects whatſoeuer that ſhall hereafter trauaile, ſayle, diſcouer, or make voyage as aforeſayd to any the Iles, Mainelands, Countreys or Territories whatſoeuer, by vertue of this our graunt to be diſcouered, that the heires and aſſignes of them and euery of them being borne within any of the Iles, Mainelands and Countreys, or Territories whatſoeuer before mentioned, ſhall haue and inioy all the priuileges of free Denizens, as perſons natiue borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for euer, in ſuch like ample maner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and perſonally reſiant within our ſayd Realme, any law, ſtatute, proclamation, cuſtome or vſage to the contrary hereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Free Denization graunted.

Moreouer, for the conſideration aforeſayd by vertue hereof, we giue and graunt vnto the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires and aſſignes for euer, free libertie, licence and priuilege, that during the ſpace of fiue yeeres next and immediatly enſuing the date hereof, it ſhall not be lawfull for any perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, to viſit, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage to any Iles, Mainlands, Countreys, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Ports, Bayes, and Hauens, nor to any other Hauens or places whatſoeuer hitherto not yet diſcouered by any of our ſubiects by vertue of this graunt to be traded vnto, without the ſpecial conſent and good liking of the ſaid Adrian Gylbert, his heires or aſſignes firſt had in writing. And if any perſon or perſons of the aſſociats of the ſayd Adrian, his heires or aſſignes, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, free of this diſcouery, ſhall do any act or acts contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof during the ſpace of the ſayd fiue yeeres, that then the partie and parties ſo offending, they and their heires for euer ſhall loſe (ipſo facto) the benefite and priuilege of this our graunt, and ſhall ſtand and remaine to all intents and purpoſes as perſons exempted out of this graunt.

This Patent remained in force fiue yeeres.

And further by vertue hereof we giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours at all times during the ſpace of fiue yeers next enſuing the date hereof, libertie and licence, and full authoritie to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and aſſignes, that if it ſhall happen any one or moe in any ſhip or ſhips ſayling on their ſayd voyage, to become mutinous, ſeditious, diſordered, or any way vnruly to the preiudice or hinderance of the hope for the ſucceſſe in the attempt or proſecuting of this diſcouerie or trade intended, to vſe or execute vpon him or them ſo offending, ſuch puniſhment, correction, or execution, as the cauſe ſhall be found in iuſtice to require by the verdict of twelue of the companie ſworne thereunto, as in ſuch a caſe appertaineth: That expreſſe mention of the certaintie of the premiſſes, or of other gifts or graunts by vs to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his aſſociats before this time made is not mentioned in theſe preſents, or any other lawe, act, ſtatute, prouiſo, graunt, or proclamation heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witneſſe whereof we haue made theſe our Letters to bee made patents: Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter, the ſixt day of Februarie, in the ſixe and twentie yeere of our reigne. 1583.

Authoritie to proceede at Sea againſt mutiners.

The firſt voyage of M. Iohn Dauis, vndertaken in Iune 1585. for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, Written by M. Iohn Ianes Marchant, ſometimes ſeruant to the worſhipfull Maſter William Sanderſon.

Certaine Honourable perſonages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court & Countrey, with diuers worſhipfull Marchants of London and of the Weſt Countrey, mooued with deſire to aduance Gods glory and to ſeeke the good of their natiue Countrey, conſulting together of the likelyhood of the Diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but vnhappily giuen ouer by accidents vnlooked for, which turned the enterpriſers from their principall purpoſe, reſolued after good deliberation, to put downe their aduentures to prouide for neceſſarie ſhipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductour of this ſo hard an enterpriſe. The ſetting foorth of this Action was committed by the aduenturers, eſpecially to the care of M. William Sanderſon Marchant of London, who was ſo forward therein, that beſides his trauaile which was not ſmall, hee became the greateſt aduenturer with his purſe, and commended vnto the reſt of the companie one M. Iohn Dauis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the Arte of Nauigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exployt.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readineſſe, wee departed from Dartmouth the ſeuenth of Iune, towards the diſcouerie of the aforeſayd Northweſt paſſage, with two Barkes, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunneſhine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Mooneſhine of Dartmouth. In the Sunneſhine we had 23. perſons, whoſe names are theſe following, M. Iohn Dauis Captaine, William Eſton Maſter, Richard Pope Maſters mate, Iohn Iane Marchant, Henry Dauie gunner, William Croſſe boatſwayne, Iohn Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, Iohn Ellis, Iohn Kelley, Edward Helman, William Dicke, Andrew Maddocke, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Ruſſell, Chriſtopher Gorney boy: Iames Cole, Francis Ridley, Iohn Ruſſell, Robert Corniſh Muſicians.

Muſitians.

The Mooneſhine had 19. perſons, William Bruton Captaine, Iohn Ellis Maſter, the reſt Mariners.

The 7. of Iune the Captaine and the Maſter drew out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the wind being at Southweſt and Weſt ſouthweſt, we put in for Falmouth, where we remained vntil the 13.

The 13. the wind blew at North, and being faire weather we departed.

The 14. with contrary wind we were forced to put into Silley.

The 15. wee departed thence, hauing the wind North and by Eaſt moderate and faire weather.

The 16. wee were driuen backe againe, and were conſtrained to arriue at new Grymſby in Silley: here the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that ſpace the Captaine, the Maſter and I went about all the Ilands, and the Captaine did plat out and deſcribe the ſituation of all the Ilands, rocks and harboroughs to the exact vſe of Nauigation, with lines and ſcale thereunto conuenient.

They depart from Silley.

The 28. in Gods name we departed the wind being Eaſterly, but calme.

July.

The firſt of Iuly wee ſawe great ſtore of Porpoſes: The Maſter called for an harping iron, and ſhot twiſe or thriſe: ſometimes he miſſed, and at laſt ſhot one and ſtrooke him in the ſide, and wound him into the ſhip: when we had him aboord, the Maſter ſayd it was a Darlie head.

The 2. we had ſome of the fiſh ſodden, and it did eat as ſweete as any mutton.

The 3. wee had more in ſight, and the Maſter went to ſhoote at them, but they were ſo great, that they burſt our yrons, and we loſt both fiſh, yrons, paſtime and all: yet neuertheleſſe the Maſter ſhot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was ſo ſtrong that he burſt off the barres of the pike and went away: then he tooke the boat-hooke, and hit one with that, but all would not preuaile; ſo at length we let them alone.

The 6. we ſaw a very great Whale, and euery day we ſaw whales continually.

The 16. 17. and 18. we ſaw great ſtore of Whales.

Great ſtore of whales.

The 19. of July we fell into a great whirling and bruſtling of a tyde, ſetting to the Northwards: and ſayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the Southſouthweſt. Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea, as if it had bene the breach of ſome ſhoare, the ayre being ſo foggie and full of thicke miſt, that we could not ſee the one ſhip from the other, being a very ſmall diſtance aſunder: ſo the Captaine and the Maſter being in diſtruſt how the tyde might ſet them, cauſed the Mooneſhine to hoyſe out her boate and to ſound, but they could not finde ground in 300. fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Maſter, and I went towards the breach, to ſee what it ſhould be, giuing charge to our gunners that at euery glaſſe they ſhould ſhoote off a musket-ſhot, to the intent we might keepe our ſelues from looſing them. Then comming nere to the breach, we met many Ilands of yce floting, which had quickly compaſſed vs about: then we went vpon ſome of them, and did perceiue that all the roaring which we heard, was cauſed onely by the rowling of this yce together: Our companie ſeeing vs not to returne according to our appointment, left off ſhooting muſkets, and began to ſhoote falkonets, for they feared ſome miſhap had befallen vs, but before night we came aboord againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good freſh water. Then wee bent our courſe toward the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

The rowling of the yce together made a great roaring.

Yce turned into water.

The 20. as we ſayled along the coaſt the fogge brake vp, and we diſcouered the land, which was the moſt deformed rockie and mountainous land that euer we ſaw: The firſt ſight whereof did ſhew as if it had bene in forme of a ſugar-loafe, ſtanding to our ſight aboue the cloudes, for that it did ſhew ouer the fogge like a white liſte in the ſkie, the tops altogether couered with ſnow, and the ſhoare beſet with yce a league off into the Sea, making ſuch yrkeſome noyſe as that it ſeemed to be the true patterne of deſolation, and after the ſame our Captaine named it, The land of Deſolation.

The land of Deſolation.

The 21. the winde came Northerly and ouerblew, ſo that we were conſtrained to bend our courſe South againe, for we perceiued that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almoſt compaſſed with yce, for we ſaw very much toward the Northnortheaſt, Weſt, and Southweſt: and this day and this night wee cleared our ſelues of the yce, running Southſouthweſt along the ſhoare.

Upon Thurſday being the 22. of this moneth, about three of the clocke in the morning, wee hoyſed out our boate, and the Captaine with ſixe ſaylers went towards the ſhoare, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceiue the coaſt to be voyde of yce to our iudgement, and the ſame night wee were all perſwaded that we had ſeene a Canoa rowing along the ſhoare, but afterwards we fell in ſome doubt of it, but we had no great reaſon ſo to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the ſhoare, willed the Maſter to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the ſhoare by the ſpace of a league, or about two miles, hee found ſo much yce, that hee could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to ſee if they could get any fiſh, becauſe there were ſo many ſeales vpon the coaſt, and the birds did beate vpon the water, but all was in vaine: The water about this place was very blacke and thicke like to a filthy ſtanding poole, we ſounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. While the Captaine was rowing to the ſhoare, our men ſawe woods vpon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not diſcerne them, yet it might be ſo very well: for we had wood floting vpon the coaſt euery day, and the Mooneſhine tooke vp a tree at Sea not farre from the coaſt being ſixtie foote of length and fourteene handfuls about, hauing the roote vpon it: After this the Captaine came aboord, the weather being very calme and faire we bent our courſe toward the South, with intent to double the land.

Very blacke water.

Floting wood.

The 23. we coaſted the land which did lie Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt.

The 24. the winde being very faire at Eaſt, we coaſted the land which did lie Eaſt and Weſt, not being able to come neere the ſhoare by reaſon of the great quantitie of yce. At this place, becauſe the weather was ſomewhat colde by reaſon of the yce, and the better to encourage our men, their

Colde by reaſon of yce.

their allowance was increaſed: the captaine and the maſter tooke order that euery meſſe, being fiue perſons, ſhould haue halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere euery morning to breakfaſt. The weather was not very colde, but the aire was moderate like to our April-weather in England: when the winde came from the land, or the ice, it was ſome what colde, but when it came off the ſea it was very hote.

They ſaile Northweſtward aboue foure dayes.

The 25 of this moneth we departed from ſight of this land at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, directing our courſe to the Northweſtward, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our deſired paſſage, and ſo continued aboue foure dayes.

Land in 64 degrees 15 min.

The 29 of July we diſcouered land in 64 degrees 15 minutes of latitude, bearing Northeaſt from vs. The winde being contrary to goe to the Northweſtwards, we bare in with this land to take ſome view of it, being vtterly void of the peſter of yce and very temperate. Comming neere the coaſt, we found many faire ſounds and good roads for ſhipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby we iudged this land to be a great number of Iſlands ſtanding together. Heere hauing mored our barke in good order, we went on ſhoare vpon a ſmall Iſland to ſeeke for water and wood. Vpon this Iſland we did perceiue that there had bene people: for we found a ſmall ſhoo and pieces of leather ſowed with ſinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Beuer. Then we went vpon another Iſland on the other ſide of our ſhippes: and the Captaine, the Maſter, and I, being got vp to the top of an high rocke, the people of the countrey hauing eſpied vs, made a lamentable noiſe, as we thought, with great outcries and ſkreechings: we hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues. At laſt I hallowed againe, and they likewiſe cried. Then we perceiuing where they ſtood, ſome on the ſhoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a ſmall Iſland faſt by them, we made a great noiſe, partly to allure them to vs, and partly to warne our company of them. Whereupon M. Bruton and the Maſter of his ſhippe, with others of their company, made great haſte towards vs, and brought our Muſicians with them from our ſhippe, purpoſing either by force to reſcue vs, if need ſhould ſo require, or with courteſie to allure the people. When they came vnto vs, we cauſed our Muſicians to play, our ſelues dancing, and making many ſignes of friendſhip. At length there came tenne Canoas from the other Iſlands, and two of them came ſo neere the ſhoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a pretty way off. Their pronunciation was very hollow thorow the throat, and their ſpeech ſuch as we could not vnderſtand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and ſignes of curteſie. At length one of them pointing vp to the Sunne with his hand, would preſently ſtrike his breaſt ſo hard that we might heare the blow. This hee did many times before he would any way truſt vs. Then Iohn Ellis the Maſter of the Mooneſhine was appointed to vſe his beſt policie to gaine their friendſhip; who ſtrooke his breaſt, and pointed to the Sunne after their order: which when he had diuers times done, they beganne to truſt him, and one of them came on ſhoare, to whom we threw our cappes, ſtockings and gloues, and ſuch other things as then we had about vs, playing with our muſicke, and making ſignes of ioy, and dauncing. So the night comming, we bade them farewell, and went aboord our barks.

The ſound where our ſhips did ride was called Gilberts ſound.

Muſicians.

The people of the countrey came and conferred with our men.

Thirty ſeuen Canoas.

Their muſike.

Great familiaritie with the Sauages.

The next morning being the 30 of July there came 37 Canoas rowing by our ſhips, calling to vs to come on ſhoare: we not making any great haſte vnto them, one of them went vp to the toppe of the rocke, and leapt and daunced as they had done the day before, ſhewing vs a ſeales ſkinne, and another thing made like a timbrell, which he did beat vpon with a ſticke, making a noiſe like a ſmall drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all ſtaying in their Canoas; we came to the water ſide where they were: and after we had ſworne by the Sunne after their faſhion, they did truſt vs. So I ſhooke hands with one of them, and he kiſſed my hand, and we were very familiar with them. We were in ſo great credit with them vpon this ſingle acquaintance, that we could haue any thing they had. We bought fiue Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of ſeales ſkinnes & birds ſkinnes; their buſkins, their hoſe, their gloues, all being commonly ſowed and well dreſſed: ſo that we were fully perſwaded that they haue diuers artificers among them. We had a paire of buſkins of them full of fine wooll like beuer. Their apparell for heat was made of birds ſkinnes with their feathers on them. We ſaw among them leather dreſſed like Glouers leather, and thicke thongs like white leather of a good length. We had of their darts and oares, and found in them that they would by no meanes diſpleaſe vs, but would giue vs whatſoeuer we aſked of them, and would be ſatiſfied with whatſoeuer we gaue them. They tooke great care one of another: for when we had bought their boats, then two other would come and cary him away betweene them that had ſolde vs his. They are very tractable people, void of craft or double dealing, and eaſie to be brought to any ciuility or good order: but we iudge them to be idolaters and to worſhip the Sunne.

During the time of our abode among theſe Iſlands we found reaſonable quantity of wood, both firre, ſpruſe and iuniper; which whether it came floting any great diſtance to theſe places where we found it, or whether it grew in ſome great Iſlands neere the ſame place by vs not yet diſcouered, we know not; but we iudge that it groweth there further into the land then we were, becauſe the people had great ſtore of darts and oares which they made none account of, but gaue them to vs for ſmall trifles, as points and pieces of paper. We ſaw about this coaſt maruelous great abundance of ſeales ſkulling together like ſkuls of ſmall fiſh. We found no freſh water among theſe Iſlands, but onely ſnow water, whereof we found great pooles. The cliffes were all of ſuch oare as M. Frobiſher brought from Meta incognita. We had diuers ſhewes of Study or Muſcouy glaſſe ſhining not altogether vnlike to Chriſtall. We found an herbe growing vpon the rocks, whoſe fruit was ſweet, full of red iuice, and the ripe ones were like corinths. We found alſo birch and willow growing like ſhrubbes low to the ground. Theſe people haue great ſtore of furres as we iudge. They made ſhewes vnto vs the 30 of this preſent, which was the ſecond time of our being with them, after they perceiued we would haue ſkinnes and furres, that they would go into the countrey and come againe the next day with ſuch things as they had: but this night the winde comming faire, the captaine and the maſter would by no meanes detract the purpoſe of our diſcouery. And ſo the laſt of this moneth about foure of the clocke in the morning in Gods name we ſet ſaile, and were all that day becalmed vpon the coaſt.

Diuers ſorts of wood.

They may make much traine, if they had meanes how to vſe it.

Moſcouie glaſſe.

A fruit like corinths.

The firſt of Auguſt we had a faire winde, and ſo proceeded towards the Northweſt for our diſcouery.

Auguſt.

The ſixt of Auguſt we diſcouered land in 66 degrees 40 minuts of latitude, altogether void from the peſter of ice: we ankered in a very faire rode vnder a braue mount, the cliffes whereof were as orient as golde. This mount was named Mount Raleigh. The rode where our ſhips lay at anker was called Totnes rode. The ſound which did compaſſe the mount was named Exeter ſound. The foreland towards the North was called Diers cape. The foreland towards the South was named Cape Walſingham. So ſoone as we were come to an anker in Totnes rode vnder Mount Raleigh, we eſpied foure white beares at the foot of the mount: we ſuppoſing them to be goats or wolues, manned our boats and went towards them: but when we came neere the ſhore, we found them to be white beares of a monſtrous bigneſſe: we being deſirous of freſh victuall and the ſport, began to aſſault them, and I being on land, one of them came downe the hill right againſt me: my piece was charged with hailſhot & a bullet: I diſcharged my piece and ſhot him in the necke; he roared a litle, and tooke the water ſtraight, making ſmall account of his hurt. Then we followed him with our boat, and killed him with boare-ſpeares, & two more that night. We found nothing in their mawes; but we iudged by their dung that they fed vpon graſſe, becauſe it appeared in all reſpects like the dung of an horſe, wherein we might very plainly ſee the very ſtrawes.

Land in 66 degrees 40 min.

Foure white beares.

The 7 we went on ſhore to another beare which lay all night vpon the top of an Iſland vnder Mount Raleigh, and when we came vp to him he lay faſt aſleep. I leuelled at his head, and the ſtone of my piece gaue no fire: with that he looked vp, and layed downe his head againe: then I ſhot being charged with two bullets, and ſtrooke him in the head: he being but amazed fell backwards: whereupon we ran all vpon him with boare-ſpeares, and thruſt him in the body: yet for all that he gript away our boare-ſpeares, and went towards the water; and as he was going downe, he came backe againe. Then our Maſter ſhot his boare-ſpeare, and ſtrooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and ſwimme into a coue faſt by, where we killed him, and brought him aboord. The breadth of his forefoot from one ſide to the other was foureteene inches ouer. They were very fat, ſo as we were conſtrained to caſt the fat away. We ſaw a rauen vpon Mount Raleigh. We found withies alſo growing like low ſhrubs & flowers like Primroſes in the ſayd place. The coaſt is very mountainous, altogether without wood, graſſe, or earth, and is onely huge mountaines of ſtone; but the braueſt ſtone that euer we ſaw. The aire was very moderate in this countrey.

A huge white beare.

The 8 we departed from Mount Raleigh, coaſting along the ſhoare, which lieth Southſouthweſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt.

The 9 our men fell in diſlike of their allowance, becauſe it was too ſmall as they thought: whereupon we made a new proportion; euery meſſe being fiue to a meſſe ſhould haue foure pound of bread a day, twelue wine quarts of beere, ſix Newland fiſhes; and the fleſh dayes a gill of peaſe more: ſo we reſtrained them from their butter and cheeſe.

The 11 we came to the moſt Southerly cape of this land, which we named The Cape of Gods mercy, as being the place of our firſt entrance for the diſcouery. The weather being very foggy we coaſted this North land; at length when it brake vp, we perceiued that we were ſhot into a very faire entrance or paſſage, being in ſome places twenty leagues broad, and in ſome thirty, altogether void of any peſter of ice, the weather very tolerable, and the water of the very colour, nature and quality of the maine ocean, which gaue vs the greater hope of our paſſage. Hauing ſailed Northweſt ſixty leagues in this entrance we diſcouered certaine Iſlands ſtanding in the midſt thereof, hauing open paſſage on both ſides. Wherupon our ſhips diuided themſelues, the one ſailing on the North ſide, the other on the South ſide of the ſayd Iſles, where we ſtayed fiue dayes, hauing the winde at Southeaſt, very foggy and foule weather.

The 14 we went on ſhoare and found ſignes of people, for we found ſtones layed vp together like a wall, and ſaw the ſkull of a man or a woman.

The 15 we heard dogs houle on the ſhoare, which we thought had bene wolues, and therefore we went on ſhoare to kill them. When we came on land the dogges came preſently to our boat very gently, yet we thought they came to pray vpon vs, and therefore we ſhot at them, and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a leatherne coller, wherupon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twenty dogs like maſtiues with prickt eares and long buſh tailes: we found a bone in the pizels of their dogs. Then we went farther, and found two ſleads made like ours in England: the one was made of firre, ſpruſe and oken boords ſawen like inch boords: the other was made all of whale bone, & there hung on the tops of the ſleads three heads of beaſts which they had killed. We ſaw here larks, rauens, and partridges.

Timber ſawen.

Fowle.

An image.

The 17 we went on ſhoare, and in a little thing made like an ouen with ſtones I found many ſmall trifles, as a ſmall canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads hauing ſmall holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, & other ſmall things. The coaſt was very barren without wood or graſſe: the rocks were very faire like marble, full of vaines of diuers colours. We found a ſeale which was killed not long before, being fleane, and hid vnder ſtones.

Probabilities for the paſſage.

Our Captaine and Maſter ſearched ſtill for probabilities of the paſſage, and firſt found, that this place was all Iſlands, with great ſounds paſſing betweene them.

Wee neuer came into any bay before or after, but the waters colour was altered very blackiſh.

Secondly, the water remained of one colour with the maine ocean without altering.

Thirdly, we ſaw to the Weſt of thoſe Iſles three or foure whales in a ſkull, which they iudged to come from a Weſterly ſea, becauſe to the Eaſtward we ſaw not any whale.

Alſo as we were rowing into a very great ſound lying Southweſt, frō whence theſe whales came, vpon the ſudden there came a violent counter-checke of a tide from the Southweſt againſt the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was mainteined.

Fiftly, in ſailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had ſounding in 90 fadoms, faire gray oſie ſand, and the further we ran into the Weſtwards the deeper was the water; ſo that hard aboord the ſhoare among theſe Iſles we could not haue ground in 330 fadoms.

Laſtly, it did ebbe and flow ſixe or ſeuen fadome vp and downe, the flood comming from diuers parts, ſo as we could not perceiue the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18 and 19 our Captaine and Maſter determined what was beſt to doe, both for the ſafegard of their credits, and ſatiſfying of the aduenturers, and reſolued, if the weather brake vp, to make further ſearch.

The 20 the winde came directly againſt vs: ſo they altered their purpoſe, and reaſoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21 the winde being Northweſt, we departed from theſe Iſlands; and as we coaſted the South ſhoare we ſaw many faire ſounds, whereby we were perſwaded that it was no firme land but Iſlands.

The 23 of this moneth the wind came Southeaſt, with very ſtormy and foule weather: ſo we were conſtrained to ſeeke harborow vpon the South coaſt of this entrance, where we fell into a very faire ſound, & ankered in 25 fadoms greene oſie ſand. Here we went on ſhore, where we had manifeſt ſignes of people where they had made their fire, and layed ſtones like a wall. In this place we ſaw foure very faire faulcons; and M. Bruton tooke from one of them his prey, which we iudged by the wings and legs to be a ſnite, for the head was eaten off.

Faulcons.

The 24 in the afternoone, the winde comming ſomewhat faire, we departed from this road, purpoſing by Gods grace to returne for England.

Their returne.

The 26 we departed from ſight of the North land of this entrance, directing our courſe homewards vntill the tenth of the next moneth.

The 10. of September wee fell with The land of deſolation, thinking to goe on ſhoare, but we could get neuer a good harborough. That night wee put to ſea againe thinking to ſearch it the next day: but this night aroſe a very great ſtorme, and ſeparated our ſhips, ſo that we loſt the ſight of the Mooneſhine.

September.

The 13. about noone (hauing tried all the night before with a gooſe wing) we ſet ſaile, & within two houres after we had ſight of the Mooneſhine againe: this day we departed from this land.

The 27. of this moneth we fell with ſight of England. This night we had a maruellous ſtorme and loſt the Mooneſhine.

They ſaile from The land of deſolation to England in 14. dayes.

The 30. of September wee came into Dartmouth, where wee found the Mooneſhine being come in not two houres before.

The ſecond voyage attempted by M. *Iohn Dauis* with others, for the diſcouery of the *Northweſt paſſage*, in Anno 1586.

The 7. day of May, I departed from the port of Dartmouth for the diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage, with a ſhip of an hundred and twentie tunnes named the Mermayd, a barke of 60. tunnes named the Sunneſhine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the Mooneſhine, and a pinneſſe of tenne tunnes named the North ſtarre.

And the 15. of Iune I diſcouered land in the latitude of 60. degrees, and in longitude from the Meridian of London Weſtward 47. degrees, mightily peſtered with yce and ſnow, ſo that there was no hope of landing: the yce lay in ſome places tenne leagues, in ſome 20. and in ſome 50. leagues off the ſhore, ſo that wee were conſtrained to beare into 57. degrees to double the ſame, and to recouer a free Sea, which through Gods fauourable mercy we at length obtained.

Land diſcouered in 60. degrees.

The 29. of Iune after many tempeſtuous ſtorms we againe diſcouered land, in longitude from the Meridian of London 58. degr. 30. min. and in latitude 64. being Eaſt from vs: into which courſe ſith it pleaſed God by contrary winds to force vs, I thought it very neceſſary to beare in with it, & there to ſet vp our pinneſſe, prouided in the Mermayd to be our ſcout for this diſcouery, and ſo much the rather becauſe the yere before I had bene in the ſame place, and found it very conuenient for ſuch a purpoſe, wel ſtored with flote wood, & poſſeſſed by a people of tractable conuerſation: ſo that the 29. of this moneth we arriued within the Iſles which lay before this land, lying North northweſt, and South ſoutheaſt, we know not how farre. This land is very high & mountainous, hauing before it on the Weſt ſide a mighty company of Iſles full of faire ſounds, and harboroughs. This land was very litle troubled with ſnow, and the ſea altogether voyd of yce.

The ſhips being within the ſounds wee ſent our boates to ſearch for ſhole water, where wee might anker, which in this place is very hard to finde: and as the boat went ſounding and ſearching, the people of the countrey hauing eſpied them, came in their Canoas towards them with many ſhoutes and cries: but after they had eſpied in the boat ſome of our company that were the yeere before here with vs, they preſently rowed to the boate, and tooke hold on the oare, and hung about the boate with ſuch comfortable ioy, as would require a long diſcourſe to be vttered: they came with the boates to our ſhips, making ſignes that they knewe all thoſe that the yeere before had bene with them. After I perceiued their ioy and ſmall feare of vs, my ſelfe with the Merchants & others of the company went a ſhoare, bearing with me twentie kniues: I had no ſooner landed, but they lept out of their Canoas and came running to mee and the reſt, and embraced vs with many ſignes of heartie welcome: at this preſent there were eighteene of them, and to eche of them I gaue a knife: they offred ſkinnes to me for reward, but I made ſignes that they were not ſolde, but giuen them of courteſie: and ſo diſmiſſed them for that time, with ſignes that they ſhould returne againe after certaine houres.

Gentle and louing Sauages.

The next day with all poſſible ſpeede the pinneſſe was landed vpon an Iſle there to be finiſhed to ſerue our purpoſe for the diſcouerie, which Iſle was ſo conuenient for that purpoſe, as that we were very wel able to defend our ſelues againſt many enemies. During the time that the pinneſſe was there ſetting vp, the people came cōtinually vnto vs ſometime an hundred Canoas at a time, ſometime fourtie, fiftie, more and leſſe, as occaſion ſerued. They brought with them ſeale ſkinnes, ſtagge ſkinnes, white hares, Seale fiſh, ſamon peale, ſmal cod, dry caplin, with other fiſh, and birds ſuch as the countrey did yeeld.

An 100 Canoas with diuers commodities.

My ſelfe ſtill deſirous to haue a further ſearch of this place, ſent one of the ſhipboates to one part of the lande, and my ſelfe went to another part to ſearch for the habitation of this people, with ſtraight commandement that there ſhould be no iniurie offered to any of the people, neither any gunne ſhot.

Images, trane oyle, and Seale ſkins in tan tubs.

The boates that went from me found the tents of the people made with ſeale ſkinnes ſet vp vpon timber, wherein they found great ſtore of dried Caplin, being a litle fiſh no bigger then a pilchard: they found bags of Trane oyle, many litle images cut in wood, Seale ſkinnes in tan-tubs, with many other ſuch trifles, whereof they diminiſhed nothing.

A plaine champion countrey.
A goodly riuer.

They alſo found tenne miles within the ſnowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, with earth and graſſe, ſuch as our moory and waſte grounds of England are: they went vp into a riuer (which in the narroweſt place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it ſtill to continue they knewe not howe farre: but I with my company tooke another riuer, which although at the firſt it offered a large inlet, yet it proued but a deepe bay, the ende whereof in foure houres I attained, and there leauing the boat well manned, went with the reſt of my company three or foure miles into the countrey, but found nothing, nor ſaw any thing, ſaue onely gripes, rauens, and ſmall birds, as larkes and linnets.

The third of Iuly I manned my boat, and went with fifty Canoas attending vpon me vp into another ſound where the people by ſignes willed mee to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made ſignes that I ſhould goe into a warme place to ſleepe, at which place I went on ſhore, and aſcended the toppe of an high hill to ſee into the countrey, but perceiuing my labor vaine, I returned againe to my boat, the people ſtill following me, and my company very diligent to attend vs, and to helpe vs vp the rockes, and likewiſe downe: at length I was deſirous to haue our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did ouerleape them: from leaping they went to wreſtling, we found them ſtrong and nimble, and to haue ſkil in wreſtling, for they caſt ſome of our men that were good wreſtlers.

A graue with a croſſe layd ouer.
The Tartars and people of Iapon are alſo ſmal eyed.

The fourth of Iuly we lanched our pinneſſe, and had fortie of the people to helpe vs, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wreſtled with them, and found them as before, ſtrong and ſkilfull. This fourth of Iuly the Maſter of the Mermayd went to certaine Ilands to ſtore himſelfe with wood, where he found a graue with diuers buried in it, only couered with ſeale ſkinnes, hauing a croſſe laid ouer them. The people are of good ſtature, wel in body proportioned, with ſmall ſlender hands and feet, with broad viſages, and ſmal eyes, wide mouthes, the moſt part vnbearded, great lips, and cloſe toothed. Their cuſtome is as often as they go from vs, ſtill at their returne to make a new truce, in this ſort, holding his hand vp to the Sun with a lowd voice he crieth Ylyaoute, and ſtriketh his breſt with like ſignes, being promiſed ſafety, he giueth credit. Theſe people are much giuen to bleed, and therefore ſtop their noſes with deeres haire, or the haire of an elan. They are idolaters and haue images geeat ſtore, which they weare about them, and in their boats, which we ſuppoſe they worſhip. They are witches, and haue many kinds of inchantments, which they often vſed, but to ſmall purpoſe, thankes be to God.

Their maner of kindling fire like to theirs in America.
A fire made of turfes.
Great theeues

Being among them at ſhore the fourth of Iuly, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire in this maner: he tooke a piece of a board wherein was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round ſtick like vnto a bedſtaffe, wetting the end thereof in Trane, and in faſhion of a turner with a piece of lether, by his violent motion doeth very ſpeedily produce fire: which done, with turfes he made a fire, into which with many words and ſtrange geſtures, he put diuers things, which wee ſuppoſed to be a ſacrifice: my ſelfe and diuers of my company ſtanding by, they were deſirous to haue me go into the ſmoke, I willed them likewiſe to ſtand in the ſmoke, which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thruſt him into the ſmoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, & to ſpurne it into the ſea, which was done to ſhew them that we did contemne their ſorcery. Theſe people are very ſimple in all their conuerſation, but marueilous theeuiſh, eſpecially for iron, which they haue in great accoũt. They began through our lenitie to ſhew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonelights boat from her ſterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to aire, though we did carefully looke vnto it, they ſtele our oares, a caliuer, a boare ſpeare, a ſword, with diuers other things, wherat the company and Maſters being grieued, for our better ſecuritie, deſired me to diſſolue this new friendſhip, and to leaue the company of theſe theeuiſh miſcreants: whereupon there was a caliuer ſhot among them, and immediatly vpon the ſame a faulcon, which ſtrange noice did ſore amaze them, ſo that with ſpeed they departed: notwithſtanding their ſimplicitie is ſuch, that within ten houres after they came againe to vs to intreat peace: which being promiſed, we againe fell into a great league. They brought vs Seale ſkinnes, & ſammon peale, but ſeeing iron, they could in no wiſe forbeare ſtealing: which when I perceiued, it did but miniſter vnto mee an occaſion of laughter, to ſee their ſimplicitie, and I willed that in no caſe they ſhould bee any more hardly vſed, but that our owne company ſhould be the more vigilant to keepe their things, ſuppoſing it to be very hard in ſo ſhort time to make them know their euils. They eate all their meat raw, they liue moſt vpon fiſh, they drinke ſalt water, and eate graſſe and ice with delight: they are neuer out of the water, but liue in the nature of fiſhes, ſaue only when dead ſleepe taketh them, and then vnder a warme rocke laying his boat vpon the land, hee lyeth downe to ſleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but ſome of them haue bow and arrowes and ſlings. They make nets to take their fiſh of the finne of a whale: they do all their things very artificially: and it ſhould ſeeme that theſe ſimple theeuiſh Iſlanders haue warre with thoſe of the maine, for many of them are ſore wounded, which wounds they receiued vpon the maine land, as by ſignes they gaue vs to vnderſtand. We had among them copper oare, blacke copper, and red copper: they pronounce their language very hollow, and deepe in the throat: theſe words following we learned from them.

Their rude diet.

Their weapons.

Strange nets.

Theſe Iſlanders warre with the people of the maine.

Copper oare.

Their language.

Keſinyoh, Eate ſome.
Madlycoyte, Muſicke.
Aginyoh, Go fetch.
Yliacute, I meane no harme.
Ponameg, A boat.
Paaotyck, An oare.
Aſanock, A dart.
Sawygmeg, A knife.
Vderah, A noſe.
Aoh, Iron.
Blete, An eye.
Vnuicke, Giue it.
Tuckloak, A ſtagge or ellan.
Panygmah, A needle.
Aob, The Sea.
Myſacoah, Waſh it.
Lethickſaneg, A ſeale ſkinne.
Canyglow, Kiſſe me.
Vgnera, My ſonne.
Acu, Shot.

Conah, Leape.
Maatuke, Fiſh.
Sambah, Below.
Maconmeg, Will you haue this.
Cocah, Go to him.
Aba, Fallen downe.
Icune, Come hither.
Awennye, Yonder.
Nugo, No.
Tucktodo, A fogge.
Lechikſah, A ſkinne.
Maccoah, A dart.
Sugnacoon, A coat.
Gounah, Come downe.
Saſobneg, A bracelet.
Vgnake, A tongue.
Ataneg, A ſeale.
Macuah, A beard.
Pignagogah, A threed.
Quoyſah, Giue it to me.

The 7. of July being very deſirous to ſearch the habitation of this countrey, I went my ſelfe with our new pinneſſe into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, and paſſing vp a very large riuer, a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby wee were conſtrained to ſeeke ſuccour for that night, which being had, I landed with the moſt part of my company, and went to the top of a high mountaine, hoping from thence to ſee into the countrey: but the mountaines were ſo many and ſo mighty as that my purpoſe preuailed not: whereupon I againe returned to my pinneſſe, and willing diuers of my company to gather muſcles for my ſupper, whereof in this place there was great ſtore, my ſelfe hauing eſpied a very ſtrange ſight, eſpecially to me that neuer before ſaw the like, which was a mighty whirlewinde taking vp the water in very great quantitie, furiouſly mounting it into the aire, which whirlewinde, was not for a puffe or blaſt, but continual, for the ſpace of three houres, with very little intermiſſion, which ſith it was in the courſe that I ſhould paſſe, we were conſtrained that night to take vp our lodging vnder the rocks.

Muſcles.

A ſtrange whirlewinde.

The next morning the ſtorme being broken vp, we went forward in our attempt, and ſailed into a mighty great riuer directly into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no firme land, but huge, waſte, and deſert Iſles with mighty ſounds, and inlets paſſing betweene Sea and Sea. Whereupon we returned towards our ſhippes, and landing to ſtoppe a floud, wee found the burial of theſe miſcreants; we found of their fiſh in bagges, plaices, and caplin dried, of which wee tooke onely one bagge and departed. The ninth of this moneth we came to our ſhips, where wee found the people deſirous in their faſhion, of friendſhip and barter: our Mariners complained heauily againſt the people, and ſaid that my lenitie and friendly vſing of them gaue them ſtomacke to miſchiefe: for they haue ſtollen an anker from vs, they haue cut our cable very dangerouſly, they haue cut our boats from our ſterne, and nowe ſince your departure, with ſlings they ſpare vs not with ſtones of halfe a pound weight: and wil you ſtil indure theſe iniuries? It is a ſhame to beare them. I deſired them to be content, and ſaid, I doubted not but al ſhould be wel. The 10. of this moneth I went to the ſhore, the people following mee in their Canoas: I tolled them on ſhore, and vſed them with much courteſie, and then departed aboord, they following me, and my company. I gaue ſome of them bracelets, & cauſed ſeuen or eight of them to come aboord, which they did willingly,

Great Iſlands.

Slings.

and ſome of them went to the top of the ſhip: and thus curteouſly vſing them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no ſooner downe, but they began to practiſe their deuiliſh nature, and with ſlings threw ſtones very fiercely into the Moonelight, and ſtrake one of her men then boatſwaine, that he ouerthrew withall: whereat being moued, I changed my curteſie, and grew to hatred, my ſelf in my owne boate well manned with ſhot, and the barks boat likewiſe purſued them, and gaue them diuers ſhot, but to ſmall purpoſe, by reaſon of their ſwift rowing: ſo ſmally content we returned.

The 11. of this moneth there came fiue of them to make a new truce: the maſter of the Admirall came to me to ſhew me of their comming, and deſired to haue them taken and kept as priſoners vntill we had his anker againe: but when he ſawe that the chiefe ringleader and maſter of miſchiefe was one of the fiue, he then was vehement to execute his purpoſe, ſo it was determined to take him: he came crying Iliaout, and ſtriking his breſt offered a paire of gloues to ſell, the maſter offered him a knife for them: ſo two of thẽ came to vs, the one was not touched, but the other was ſoone captiue among vs: then we pointed to him and his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made ſignes that he ſhould be ſet at libertie: within one houre after he came aboord the winde came faire, whereupon we weyed and ſet ſaile, and ſo brought the fellow with vs: one of his fellowes ſtill following our ſhip cloſe aboord, talked with him and made a kinde of lamentation, we ſtill vſing him wel with Yliaout, which was the common courſe of curteſie. At length this fellow aboord vs ſpake foure or fiue words vnto the other and clapped his two hands vpon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed as we ſuppoſe with heauie chere. We iudged the couering of his face with his hands and bowing of his body downe, ſignified his death. At length he became a pleaſant companion among vs. I gaue him a new ſute of frize after the Engliſh faſhion, becauſe I ſaw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very ioyfull, he trimmed vp his darts, and all his fiſhing tooles, and would make okam, and ſet his hand to a ropes end vpon occaſion. He liued with the dry Caplin that I tooke when I was ſearching in the pinnis, and did eate dry Newland fiſh.

One of the people taken which after dyed.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at ſea the fourteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth, according to the order of the ſea, with praiſe giuen to God by ſeruice, was caſt ouerboord.

A huge quantitie of yce in 63. degrees of latitude.

The 17 of this moneth being in the latitude of 63. degrees 8. minuts, we fell vpon a moſt mighty and ſtrange quantitie of yce in one intire maſſe, ſo bigge as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall ſo very high in forme of a land, with bayes and capes and like high cliffe land, as that we ſuppoſed it to be land, and therefore ſent our pinneſſe off to diſcouer it: but at her returne we were certainely informed that it was onely yce, which bred great admiration to vs all conſidering the huge quantitie thereof, incredible to be reported in trueth as it was, and therefore I omit to ſpeake any further thereof. This onely I thinke, that the like before was neuer ſeene: and in this place we had very ſtickle and ſtrong currents.

We coaſted this mightie maſſe of yce vntill the 30 of Iuly, finding it a mighty barre to our purpoſe: the ayre in this time was ſo contagious and the ſea ſo peſtered with yce, as that all hope was baniſhed of proceeding: for the 24 of Iuly all our ſhrowds, ropes and ſailes were ſo froſen, and compaſſed with yce, onely by a groſſe fogge, as ſeemed to me more then ſtrange, ſith the laſt yeere I found this ſea free and nauigable, without impediments.

The nature of fogges.

Our men through this extremity began to grow ſicke and feeble, and withall hopeleſſe of good ſucceſſe: whereupon very orderly, with good diſcretion they intreated me to regard the ſtate of this buſines, and withall aduiſed me, that in conſcience I ought to regard the ſaftie of mine owne life with the preſeruation of theirs, and that I ſhould not through my ouerboldnes leaue their widowes and fatherleſſe children to giue me bitter curſes. This matter in conſcience did greatly moue me to regard their eſtates: yet conſidering the excellencie of the buſineſſe if it might be attained, the great hope of certaintie by the laſt yeeres diſcouery, and that there was yet a third way not put in practiſe, I thought it would growe to my great diſgrace, if this action by my negligence ſhould grow into diſcredite: whereupon ſeeking helpe from God, the fountaine of all mercies, it pleaſed his diuine maieſtie to moue my heart to proſecute that which I hope ſhal be to his glory, and to the contentation of euery Chriſtian minde. Whereupon falling into conſideration that the Mermaid, albeit a very ſtrong & ſufficient ſhip, yet by reaſon of her burthen was not ſo conuenient and nimble as a ſmaller bark, eſpecially in ſuch deſperate hazzards: further hauing in account her great charge to the aduenturers being at 100.li. the moneth, and that in doubtfull ſeruice: all the premiſſes conſidered with diuers other things, I determined to furniſh the Moonelight with reuictualling and ſufficient men, and to proceede in this action as God ſhould direct me. Whereupon I altered our courſe from the yce, and bare Eaſtſoutheaſt to recouer the next ſhore where this thing might be performed: ſo with fauourable winde it pleaſed God that the firſt of Auguſt we diſcouered the land in Latitude 66. degrees, 33. min. and in longitude from the Meridian of London 70. degrees voyd of trouble without ſnow or ice.

The ſecond of Auguſt wee harboured our ſelues in a very excellent good road, where with all ſpeed we graued the Moonelight, and rebremed her: wee ſearched this countrey with our pinneſſe while the barke was trimming, which William Eſton did: he found all this land to be onely Ilands, with a Sea on the Eaſt, a Sea on the Weſt, and a Sea on the North. In this place wee found it very hot, and wee were very much troubled with a flie which is called Muskyto, for they did ſting grieuouſly. The people of this place at our firſt comming in caught a Seale, and with bladders faſt tied to him ſent him vnto vs with the floud, ſo as hee came right with our ſhippes, which we tooke as a friendly preſent from them.

Great heat.

The fift of Auguſt I went with the two Maſters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William Eſton eſpied three Canoas lying vnder a rocke, and went vnto them: there were in them ſkinnes, darts, with diuers ſuperſtitious toyes, whereof wee diminiſhed nothing, but left vpon euery boat a ſilke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the ſixt of Auguſt, the people came vnto vs without feare, and did barter with vs for ſkinnes, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their Canoas nor apparel, yet is their pronuntiation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our Sauage aboord vs kept himſelfe cloſe, and made ſhew that he would faine haue another companion. Thus being prouided, I departed from this lande the twelfe of Auguſt at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, where I left the Mermayd at an anker: the fourteenth ſailing Weſt about fiftie leagues, we diſcouered land, being in latitude 66. degrees 19. minuts: this land is 70. leagues from the other from whence we came. This fourteenth day from nine a clocke at night till three a clocke in the morning, wee ankered by an Iland of yce, twelue leagues off the ſhore, being mored to the yce.

66. degrees 19. minutes.

The fifteenth day at three a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of Auguſt we diſcouered land Northweſt from vs in the morning, being a very faire promontory, in latitude 65. degrees, hauing no land on the South. Here wee had great hope of a through paſſage.

Great hope of a paſſage.

This day at three a clocke in the afternoone wee againe diſcouered lands Southweſt and by South from vs, where at night wee were becalmed. The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by obſeruation, we were in 64. degrees 20. minuts. From the eighteenth day at noone vnto the nineteenth at noone, by preciſe ordinary care, wee had ſailed 15. leagues South and by Weſt, yet by art and more exact obſeruation, we found our courſe to be Southweſt, ſo that we plainely perceiued a great current ſtriking to the Weſt.

64. degr. 20. min.

A great current to the Weſt.

This land is nothing in ſight but Iſles, which increaſeth our hope. This nineteenth of Auguſt at ſixe a clocke in the afternoone, it began to ſnow, and ſo continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, ſo that we were conſtrained to lie at hull all night fiue leagues off the ſhore: In the morning being the twentieth of Auguſt, the fogge and ſtorme breaking vp, we bare in with the lande, and at nine a clocke in the morning wee ankered in a very faire and ſafe road and locked for all weathers. At tenne of the clocke I went on ſhore to the toppe of a very high hill, where I perceiued that this land was Ilands: at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee weyed anker, hauing a faire Northnortheaſt winde, with very faire weather: at ſixe of the clocke we were cleare without the land, and ſo ſhaped our courſe to the South, to diſcouer the coaſt, whereby the paſſage may be through Gods mercy found.

Ilands.

We coaſted this land till the eight and twentieth of Auguſt, finding it ſtill to continue towards the South, from the latitude of 67. to 57. degrees: we found marueilous great ſtore of birds, guls and mewes, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calme weather, we lay one glaſſe vpon the lee, to proue for fiſh, in which ſpace we caught 100. of cod, although we were but badly prouided for fiſhing, not being our purpoſe. This eight and twentieth hauing great diſtruſt of the weather, we arriued in a very faire harbour in the latitude of 56. degrees, and ſailed 10. leagues into the ſame, being two leagues broad, with very faire woods on both ſides: in this place wee continued vntil the firſt of September, in which time we had two very great ſtormes. I landed, & went ſixe miles by gheſſe into the countrey, and found that the woods were firre, pineapple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here wee ſaw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great ſtore of birds, as fezant, partridge, Barbary hennes or the like, wilde geeſe, ducks, black birdes, ieyes, thruſhes, with other kinds of ſmall birds. Of the partridge and fezant we killed great ſtore with bow and arrowes: in this place at the harborough mouth we found great ſtore of cod.

They runne 8. dayes Southward from 67 to 57. degrees vpon the coaſt.

A harborough in 56. degrees.

Faire woods.

Store of cod.

The firſt of September at tenne a clocke wee ſet ſaile, and coaſted the ſhore with very faire weather. The thirde day being calme, at noone we ſtrooke ſaile, and let fall a cadge anker, to proue whether we could take any fiſh, being in latitude 54. degrees 30. minutes, in which place we found great abundance of cod, ſo that the hooke was no ſooner ouerboord, but preſently a fiſh was taken. It was the largeſt and the beſt fed fiſh that euer I ſawe, and diuers fiſher men that were with me ſayd that they neuer ſaw a more ſuaule or better ſkull of fiſh in their liues: yet had they ſeene great abundance.

A perfect hope of the paſſage about 54. degrees and an halfe.

The fourth of September at fiue a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great ſtore of Iſles, the countrey low land, pleaſant and very full of fayre woods. To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the paſſage, finding a mightie great ſea paſſing betweene two lands Weſt. The South land to our iudgement being nothing but Iſles: we greatly deſired to goe into this ſea, but the winde was directly againſt vs. We ankered in foure fathome fine ſand. In this place is foule and fiſh mightie ſtore.

Two of our men ſlaine by the Sauages.

The ſixt of September hauing a faire Northnorthweſt winde, hauing trimmed our Barke we purpoſed to depart, and ſent fiue of our ſailers yong men a ſhore to an Iſland, to fetch certaine fiſh which we purpoſed to weather, and therefore left it al night couered vpon the Iſle: the brutiſh people of this countrey lay ſecretly lurking in the wood, and vpon the ſudden aſſaulted our men: which when we perceiued, we preſently let ſlip our cables vpon the halſe, and vnder our foreſaile bare into the ſhoare, and with all expedition diſcharged a double musket vpon them twiſe, at the noyſe whereof they fled: notwithſtanding to our very great griefe, two of our men were ſlaine with their arrowes, and two grieuouſly wounded, of whom at this preſent we ſtand in very great doubt, onely one eſcaped by ſwimming, with an arrow ſhot thorow his arme. Theſe wicked miſcreants neuer offered parly or ſpeech, but preſently executed their curſed fury.

This preſent euening it pleaſed God further to increaſe our ſorrowes with a mighty tempeſtuous ſtorme, the winde being Northnortheaſt, which laſted vnto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We vnrigged our ſhip, and purpoſed to cut downe our maſts, the cable of our ſhut-anker brake, ſo that we onely expected to be driuen on ſhoare among theſe Canibals for their pray. Yet in this deepe diſtreſſe the mightie mercie of God, when hope was paſt, gaue vs ſuccour, and ſent vs a faire lee, ſo as we recouered our anker againe and newe mored our ſhip: where we ſaw that God manifeſtly deliuered vs: for the ſtraines of one of our cables were broken, and we only rode by an olde iunke. Thus being freſhly mored a new ſtorme aroſe, the winde being Weſtnorthweſt, very forcible, which laſted vnto the tenth day at night.

The eleuenth day with a faire Weſtnorthweſt winde we departed with truſt in Gods mercie, ſhaping our courſe for England, and arriued in the Weſt countrey in the beginning of October.

Maſter *Dauis* being arriued, wrote his letter to M. *William Sanderſon* of *London*, concerning his voyage, as followeth.

SIr, the Sunneſhine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: ſhe hath bene at Iſland, and from thence to Groenland, and ſo to Eſtotiland, from thence to Deſolation, and to our Marchants, where ſhe made trade with the people, ſtaying in the countrey twentie dayes. They haue brought home fiue hundred ſeale ſkinnes, and an hundred and fortie halfe ſkinnes and pieces of ſkinnes. I ſtand in great doubt of the pinneſſe, God be mercifull vnto the poore men, and preſerue them, if it be his bleſſed will.

I haue now experience of much of the Northweſt part of the world, & haue brought the paſſage to that likelihood, as that I am aſſured it muſt bee in one of foure places, or els not at all. And further I can aſſure you vpon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profite to the aduenturers, if I may haue but your fauour in the action. I hope I ſhall finde fauour with you to ſee your Card. I pray God it be ſo true as the Card ſhal be which I will bring you: and I hope in God, that your ſkill in Nauigation ſhall be gainefull vnto you, although at the firſt it hath not prooued ſo. And thus with my humble commendations I commit you to God, deſiring no longer to liue, then I ſhall be yours moſt faithfully to command. Exon this fourteenth of October. 1586.

Yours to command

IOHN DAVIS.

The relation of the courſe which the *Sunſhine* a barke of fiftie tunnes, and the *Northſtarre* a ſmall pinneſſe, being two veſſels of the fleete of M.*Iohn Dauis*, helde after hee had ſent them from him to diſcouer the paſſage betweene *Groneland* and *Iſland*, written by *Henry Morgan* ſeruant to M.*William Sanderſon* of *London*.

The ſeuenth day of May 1586. wee departed out of Dartmouth hauen foure ſailes, to wit, the Mermaid, the Sunſhine, the Mooneſhine, & the Northſtarre. In the Sunſhine were ſixteene men, whoſe names were theſe: Richard Pope Maſter, Marke Carter Maſters mate, Henry Morgan Purſer, George Draward, Iohn Mandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Iane, Hugh Hempſon, Richard Borden, Iohn Philpe, Andrew Madock, William Wolcome, Robert Wag carpenter, Iohn Bruſkome, William Aſhe, Simon Ellis.

May.

Our courſe was Weſtnorthweſt the ſeuenth and eight dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Tarroſe of Silley. Thus coaſting along the South part of Ireland the 11. day, we were on head of the Dorſes: and our courſe was Southſouthweſt vntill ſixe of the clocke the 12. day. The 13. day our courſe was Northweſt. We remained in the company of the Mermaid and the Mooneſhine vntil we came to the latitude yf 60. degrees: and there it ſeemed beſt to our Generall M. Dauis to diuide his fleete, himſelfe ſayling to the Northweſt, and to direct the Sunſhine, wherein I was, and the pinneſſe called the Northſtarre, to ſeeke a paſſage Northward betweene Groenland and Iſland to the latitude of 80. degrees, if land did not let vs. So the ſeuenth day of Iune wee departed from them: and the ninth of the ſame we came to a firme land of yce, which we coaſted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleuenth dayes of Iune: and the eleuenth day at ſixe of the clocke at night we ſaw land which was very high, which afterward we knew to be Iſland: and the twelft day we harboured there, and found many people: the land lyeth Eaſt and by North in 66. degrees.

M. Dauis in the latitude of 60. deg. diuideth his fleete into 2. parts.

The 7. of Iune

Iſland deſcryed.

66. degrees.

Their commodities were greene fiſh, and Iſland lings, and ſtockfiſh, and a fiſh which is called Scatefiſh: of all which they had great ſtore. They had alſo kine, ſheep, and horſes, and hay for their cattell, and for their horſes. Wee ſaw alſo of their dogs. Their dwelling houſes were made on both ſides with ſtones, and wood layd croſſe ouer them, which was couered ouer with turfes of earth, and they are flat on the tops, and many of theſe ſtood hard by the ſhore. Their boates were made with wood and yron all along the keele like our Engliſh boates: and they had nayles for to naile them withall, and fiſh-hookes and other things for to catch fiſh as we haue here in England. They had alſo braſen kettles, and girdles and purſes made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets, and other ſmall tooles as neceſſary as we haue. They drie their fiſh in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them vp in the top of their houſes. If we would goe thither to fiſhing more then we doe, we ſhould make it a very good voyage: for wee got an hundreth greene fiſh in one morning. Wee found heere two Engliſh men with a ſhippe, which came out of England about Eaſter day of this preſent yeere 1586, and one of them came aboord of vs, and brought vs two lambs. The Engliſh mans name was M. Iohn Roydon of Ipſwich marchant: hee was bound for London with his ſhip. And this is the ſumme of that which I obſerued in Iſland. We departed from Iſland the ſixteenth day of Iune in the morning, and our courſe was Northweſt, and we ſaw on the coaſt two ſmall barkes going to an harborough: we went not to them, but ſaw them a farre off. Thus we continued our courſe vnto the end of this moneth.

Their commodities.

Their dwellings.

Their boates.

M. Iohn Roydon of Ipſwich.

They departed from Iſland Northweſt.

The third day of Iuly we were in betweene two firme lands of yce, and paſſed in betweene them all that day vntill it was night: and then the Maſter turned backe againe, and ſo away we went towards Groenland. And the ſeuenth day of Iuly we did ſee Groenland, and it was very high, and it looked very blew: we could not come to harborough into the land, because we were hindered by a firme land as it were of yce, which was along the ſhoares ſide: but we were within three leagues of the land, coaſting the ſame diuers dayes together. The ſeuenteenth day of Iuly wee ſaw the place which our Captaine M. Iohn Dauis the yeere before had named The land of Deſolation, where we could not goe on ſhore for yce. The eighteenth day we were likewiſe troubled with yce, and went in amongſt it at three of the clocke in the morning. After wee had cleared our ſelues thereof, wee ranged all along the coaſt of Deſolation vntill the ende of the aforeſayd moneth.

Iuly.

Groneland diſcouered.

The land of Deſolation.

[illegible]land [illegible]led from the 7. till the laſt of Iuly.

The third of day Auguſt we came in ſight of Gilberts ſound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min. which was the place where wee were appoynted to meete our Generall and the reſt of our Fleete. Here we came to an harborough at 6. of the clocke at night.

Auguſt.

The 4.day in the morning the Maſter went on ſhore with 10. of his men, and they brought vs foure of the people rowing in their boats aboord of the ſhip. And in the afternoone I went on ſhore with 6.of our men, and there came to vs ſeuen of them when we were on land. We found on ſhore three dead people, and two of them had their ſtaues lying by them, and their olde ſkinnes wrapped about them and the other had nothing lying by, wherefore we thought it was a woman. We alſo ſaw their houſes neere the Sea ſide, which were made with pieces of wood on both ſides, and croſſed ouer with poles and then couered ouer with earth: we found Foxes running vpon the hilles: as for the place it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Iſlands.

The houſes of Gronland.

The 21.of Auguſt the Maſter ſent the boate on ſhore for wood with ſixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on ſhore to them, & they went about to kill them as we thought, for they ſhot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboord the ſhip did ſee them goe on ſhore to our men: whereupon the Maſter ſent the pinneſſe after them, and when they ſaw the pinneſſe comming towards them, they turned backe, and the Maſter of the pinneſſe did ſhoote off a caliuer to them the ſame time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. Diuers times they did waue vs on ſhore to play with them at the football, and ſome of our company went on ſhore to play with them, and our men did caſt them downe as ſoone as they did come to ſtrike the ball. And thus much of that which we did ſee and do in that harborough where we arriued firſt.

Our men play at football with the Sauages.

The 23.day wee departed from the Merchants Iſle, where wee had beene firſt, and our courſe from thence was South & by Weſt, and the wind was Northeaſt, and we ran that day and night about 5.or 6.leagues, vntill we came to another harborough.

The 24.about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone wee entred into the aforeſayd new harborow, and as wee came in, we did ſee dogs running vpon the Iſlands. When we were come in, there came to vs foure of the people which were with vs before in the other harborough, and where we rode, we had ſandie ground. We ſaw no wood growing, but found ſmall pieces of wood vpon the Iſlands, & ſome ſmall pieces of ſweete wood among the ſame. We found great Harts hornes, but could ſee none of the Stagges where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we receiued of the Sauages I cannot tell of what beaſts they be.

Sweete wood found.

The ſtones that we found in the countrey were black, and ſome white, as I thinke they be of no value, neuertheleſſe I haue brought examples of them to you.

The 30.of Auguſt we departed from this harborough towards England, & the wind tooke vs contrary, ſo that we were faine to go to another harborough the ſame day at 11.of the clocke. And there came to vs 39.of the people, and brought vs 13.Seale ſkins, and after we receiued theſe ſkins of them, the Maſter ſent the carpenter to change one of our boates which wee had bought of them before, and they would haue taken the boate from him perforce, and when they ſawe they could not take it from vs, they ſhot with their dartes at vs, and ſtroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and Iohn Filpe ſhot one of them into the breſt with an arrow. And they came to vs againe, and foure of our men went into the ſhipboate, and they ſhot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the ſhipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the breſts, and he that was aboord our boat, was ſhot in with an arrow, and hurt with a ſword, and beaten with ſtaues, whome our men caſt ouerboord, but the people caught him and carried him on ſhore vpon their boates, and the other two alſo, and ſo departed from vs. And three of them went on ſhore hard by vs, where they had their dogs, and thoſe three came away from their dogs, and preſently one of their dogs came ſwimming towards vs hard aboord the ſhip, whereupon our Maſter cauſed the Gunner to ſhoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and ſo the dog turned backe to land, and within an houre after there came of the people hard aboord the ſhip, but they would not come to vs as they did come before.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the Sauages and our men.

The 31.of Auguſt we departed from Gylberts ſound for England, and when we came out of the harborough there came after vs 17.of the people looking which way we went.

The 2.of September we loſt ſight of the land at 12.of the clocke at noone.

September.

The third day at night we loſt ſight of the Northſtarre our pinneſſe in a very great ſtorme, and lay a hull tarying for them the 4.day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we ſhaped our courſe the 5.day Southſoutheaſt, and ſayling vntill the 27.of the ſayd moneth, we came in ſight of Cape Clere in Ireland.

The pinneſſe neuer returned home.

The 30.day we entred into our owne chanell.

The 2.of October we had ſight of the Iſle of Wight.

The 3.we coaſted all along the ſhore, and the 4.and 5.

The 6. of the ſayd moneth of October wee came into the riuer of Thames as [illegible] Ratcliffe in ſafetie God be thanked.

The third voyage Northweſtward, made by M. *Iohn Dauis* Gentleman, as chiefe Captaine & Pilot generall, for the diſcouery of a paſſage to the Iſles of the *Moluccas*, or the coaſt of China, in the yeere 1587. Written by *M. Iohn Ianes*.

May.

The 19. of this preſent moneth about midnight wee weyed our ankers, ſet ſayle, and departed from Dartmouth with two Barkes and a Clincher, the one named the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the other the Sunneſhine of London, and the Clincher called the Helene of Londō: thus in Gods name we ſet forwards with the wind at Northeaſt a good freſh gale. About 3. houres after our departure, the night being ſomewhat thicke with darkneſſe, we had loſt the pinneſſe: the Captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the Maſter of the Sunneſhine to ſtand to Seawards, and ſee if we could deſcry them, we bearing in with the ſhore for Plimmouth. At length we deſcried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cauſe was: they anſwered that the tiller of their helme was burſt. So ſhaping our courſe Weſtſouthweſt, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet ſome of vs were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that ſhe was a Clincher; neuertheleſſe we put our truſt in God.

The 21 we met with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coaſt of Spaine, which was afrayd that we had bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a little conference, we deſired the Maſter to carie our letters for London directed to my vncle Sanderſon, who promiſed vs a ſafe deliuerie. And after wee had heaued them a lead and a line, whereunto wee had made faſt our letters, before they could get them into the ſhip, they fell into the Sea, and ſo all our labour and theirs alſo was loſt; notwithſtanding they promiſed to certifie our departure at London, and ſo we departed, and the ſame day we had ſight of Silley. The 22. the wind was at Northeaſt by Eaſt with faire weather, and ſo the 23. and 24. the like. The 25. we layd our ſhips on the Lee for the Sunneſhine, who was a romaging for a leake, they had 500. ſtrokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northweſt.

The 26. and 27. wee had faire weather, but this 27. the pinneſſes foremaſt was blowen ouerboord. The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinneſſe, which was ſo much bragged of by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea ſhe was like a cart drawen with oxen. Sometimes we towed her becauſe ſhe could not ſaile for ſcant wind.

The 31. day our Captaine aſked if the pinneſſe were ſtanch, Peerſon anſwered that ſhe was as ſound and ſtanch as a cup. This made vs ſomething glad, when we ſawe ſhe would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

Iune.

The firſt 6. dayes wee had faire weather: after that for 5. dayes wee had fogge and raine, the winde being South. The 12. wee had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunneſhine and the Maſter could not agree: the Mariners would goe on their voyage a fiſhing, becauſe the yeere began to waſte: the Maſter would not depart till hee had the companie of the Elizabeth, whereupon the Maſter told our Captaine that hee was afrayd his men would ſhape ſome contrary courſe while he was aſleepe, and ſo he ſhould loſe vs. At length after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring vs to the land which we looked for daily.

The 14. day we diſcouered land at fiue of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being couered with ſnow. Here the wind was variable, ſometimes Northeaſt, Eaſtnortheaſt, and Eaſt by North: but we imagined our ſelues to be 16. or 17. leagues off from the ſhore.

Land deſcried.

The 16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke after noone, the people came preſently to vs after the old maner, with crying Ilyaoute, and ſhewing vs Seales ſkinnes. The 17. we began to ſet vp the pinneſſe that Peerſon framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from *London*.

The 18. Peerſon and the Carpenters of the ſhips began to ſet on the plankes. The 19. as we went about an Iſland, were found blacke Pumiſe ſtones, and ſalt kerned on the rockes very white and gliſtering. This day alſo the Maſter of the Sunneſhine tooke of the people a very ſtrong luſty yoong fellow.

Salt kerned on the rockes.

The 20. about two of the clocke in the morning, the Sauages came to the Iſland where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and tore the two vpper ſtrakes, and carried them away onely for the loue of the yron in the boords. While they were about this practiſe, we manned the Elizabeths boate to goe a ſhore to them: our men being either afrayd or amazed, were ſo long before they came to ſhore, that our Captaine willed them to ſtay, and made the Gunner giue fire to a Saker, and layd the piece leuell with the boate which the Sauages had turned on the one ſide becauſe wee ſhould not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke againſt the arrowes which we ſhot at them. Our Gunner hauing made all things readie, gaue fire to the piece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding the owners profite, thought belike hee would ſaue a Sakers ſhot, doubting wee ſhould haue occaſion to fight with men of warre, and ſo ſhot off the Saker without a bullet: we looking ſtil when the Sauages that were hurt ſhould run away without legs, at length wee could perceiue neuer a man hurt, but all hauing their legges could carrie away their bodies: wee had no ſooner ſhot off the piece, but the Maſter of the Sunneſhine manned his boate, and came rowing toward the Iſland, the very ſight of whom made each of them take that hee had gotten, and flee away as faſt as they could to another Iſland about two miles off, where they tooke the nayles out of the timber, and left the wood on the Iſle. when we came on ſhore, and ſaw how they had ſpoiledthe boat, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the Elizabeth ſhould haue her to fiſh withall: whereupon ſhe was preſently caryed aboord, and ſtowed.

Now after this trouble, being reſolued to depart with the firſt wind, there fell out another matter worſe then all the reſt, and that was in this maner. Iohn Churchyard one whom our Captaine had appoynted as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and maſter Bruton, and told them that the good ſhip which we muſt all hazard our liues in, had three hundred ſtrokes at one time as ſhe rode in the harbour: This diſquieted vs all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our Captaine by whom we were all to be gouerned, determined rather to end his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and diſgrace, and ſo being all agreed, wee purpoſed to liue and die together, and committed our ſelues to the ſhip. Now the 21. hauing brought all our things aboord, about 11. or 12. of the clocke at night, we ſet ſaile and departed from thoſe Iſles, which lie in 64. degrees of latitude, our ſhips being all now at Sea, and wee ſhaping our courſe to goe, coaſting the land to the Northwards vpon the Eaſterne ſhore, which we called the ſhore of our Marchants, becauſe there we met with people which traffiqued with vs, but here wee were not without doubt of our ſhip.

Iſles in 64. degrees.

Store of Whales in 67. degrees.

The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, wee had great ſtore of Whales, and a kinde of ſea birds which the Mariners call Cortinous. This day about ſixe of the clocke at night, we eſpied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the firſt they had bene two great Seales, vntill wee ſawe their oares gliſtering with the Sunne: they came rowing towardes vs, as faſt as they could, and when they came within hearing, they held vp their oares, and cryed Ilyaoute, making many ſignes: and at laſt they came to vs, giuing vs birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Unicorns horne, as I did iudge. This dart he made ſtore of, but when he ſaw a knife, he let it go, being more deſirous of the knife then of his dart: theſe people continued rowing after our ſhip the ſpace of 3. howres.

The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we deſcried 30. Sauages rowing after vs, being by iudgement 10. leagues off from the ſhore: they brought vs Salmon Peales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gaue them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, kniues, bels, looking glaſſes, and other ſmall trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call Ponigmah, they would ſell their boate, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the ſhore. Wee had but few ſkinnes of them, about 20. but they made ſignes to vs that if wee would goe to the ſhore, wee ſhould haue more ſtore of Chichſanege: they ſtayed with vs till 11. of the clocke, at which time wee went to prayer, and they departed from vs.

72. deg. 12. min.

The great variation of the compaſſe.

London coaſt.

The 28. and 29. were foggie with clowdes, the 30. day wee tooke the heigth, and found our ſelues in 72. degrees and 12. minutes of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5. degrees aboue the Horizon. At midnight the compaſſe ſet to the variation of 28. degrees to the Weſtward. Now hauing coaſted the land, which wee called London coaſt, from the 21. of this preſent, till the 30. the Sea open all to the Weſtwards and Northwards, the land on ſtarboord ſide Eaſt from vs, the winde ſhifted to the North, whereupon we left that ſhore, naming the ſame Hope Sanderſon, and ſhaped our courſe Weſt, and ranne 40. leagues and better without the ſight of any land.

Betweene Gronland & the North of America about 40. leagues.

Iuly.

The ſecond of Iuly wee fell with a mightie banke of yce Weſt from vs, lying North and South, which banke wee would gladly haue doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not ſuffer vs, ſo that we were faine to coaſt it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out, that wee might haue run ſo farre Weſt till wee had found land, or els to haue beene thorowly reſolued of our pretended purpoſe.

A mightie banke of yce lying North and South.

The 3. wee fell with the yce againe, and putting off from it, we ſought to the Northwards, but the wind croſſed vs.

The 4. was foggie: ſo was the 5. alſo with much wind at the North.

The 6. being very cleare, we put our barke with oares through a gap in the yce, ſeeing the Sea free on the Weſt ſide, as we thought, which falling out otherwiſe, cauſed vs to returne after we had ſtayed there betweene the yce. The 7. and the 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recouered the open Sea, the weather being faire and calme, and ſo was the 9. The 10. we coaſted the yce. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

The 12. we coaſted againe the yce, hauing the wind at Northnorthweſt. The 13. bearing off from the yce, we determined to goe with the ſhoare and come to an anker, and to ſtay 5. or 6. dayes for the diſſoluing of the yce, hoping that the Sea continually beating it, and the Sunne with the extreme force of heat which it had alwayes ſhining vpon it, would make a quicke diſpatch, that we might haue a further ſearch vpon the Weſterne ſhore. Now when we were come to the Eaſterne coaſt, the water ſomething deepe, and ſome of our companie fearefull withall, we durſt not come to an anker, but bare off into the Sea againe. The poore people ſeeing vs goe away againe, came rowing after vs into the Sea, the waues being ſomewhat loftie. We trucke with them for a few ſkinnes and dartes, and gaue them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles and cardes, they poynting to the ſhore, as though they would ſhew vs ſome great friendſhip: but we little regarding their curteſie, gaue them the gentle farewell, and ſo departed.

Extreme heate of the Sunne.

The 14. wee had the wind at South. The 15. there was ſome fault either in the barke, or the ſet of ſome current, for wee were driuen ſixe points beyond our courſe Weſt. The 16. wee fell with the banke of yce Weſt from vs. The 17. and 18. were foggie. The 19. at one a clocke after noone, wee had ſight of the land which we called Mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, we were thwart the ſtreights which we diſcouered the firſt yeere. The 20. wee trauerſed in the mouth of the ſtreight, the wind being at Weſt, with faire and cleare weather. The 21. and 22. wee coaſted the Northerne coaſt of the ſtreights. The 23. hauing ſayled threeſcore leagues Northweſt into the ſtreights, at two a clocke after noone wee ankered among many Iſles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the ſame The Earle of Cumberlands Iſles, where riding at anker, a Whale paſſed by our ſhip and went Weſt in among the Iſles. Heere the compaſſe ſet at thirtie degrees Weſtward variation. The 23. wee departed, ſhaping our courſe Southeaſt to recouer the Sea. The 25. wee were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the ayre being extreme hot. Maſter Bruton and ſome of the Mariners went on ſhoare to courſe dogs, where they found many Graues and Trane ſpilt on the ground, the dogs being ſo fat that they were ſcant able to run.

They were driuen Weſt ſixe points out of their courſe in 67. degrees, 45. minutes.

Mount Raleigh.

The Earle of Cumberlands Iſles.

The variation of the compaſſe 30. deg. Weſtward.

The 26. wee had a prety ſtorme, the winde being at Southeaſt. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the ſtreights, hauing coaſted the South ſhore, and this day at noone we were in 62. degrees of latitude. The 30. in the afternoone wee coaſted a banke of yce, which lay on the ſhore, and paſſed by a great banke or Inlet, which lay betweene 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumlies Inlet. We had oftentimes as, we ſailed alongſt the coaſt, great ruttes, the water as it were whirling and ouerfalling, as if it were the fall of ſome great water through a bridge.

The land trendeth from this place Southweſt and by South.

My lord Lumleys Inlet.

The 31. as we ſayled by a Headland, which we named Warwicks Foreland, we fell into one of thoſe ouerfals with a freſh gale of wind, and bearing all our ſailes, wee looking vpon an Iſland of yce betweene vs and the ſhoarre, had thought that our barke did make no way, which cauſed vs to take markes on the ſhoare: at length wee perceiued our ſelues to goe very faſt, and the Iſland of yce which we ſaw before, was carried very forcibly with the ſet of the current faſter then our ſhip went. This day and night we paſſed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roaring as it were the meetings of tydes.

Warwicks Foreland.

A very forcible current Weſtward.

Auguſt.

Chidleys cape.

The firſt of Auguſt hauing coaſted a banke of ice which was driuen out at the mouth of this gulfe, we fell with the Southermoſt cape of the gulfe, which we named Chidleis cape, which lay in 61 degrees and 10 minutes of latitude. The 2 and 3 were calme and foggie, ſo were the 4, 5, and 6. The 7 was faire and calme: ſo was the 8, with a litle gale in the morning. The 9 was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10 we had a friſking gale at Weſtnorthweſt. The 11 faire. The 12 we ſaw fiue deere on the top of an Iſland, called by vs Darcies Iſland. And we hoiſed out our boat, and went aſhore to them, thinking to haue killed ſome of them. But when we came on ſhore, and had courſed them twiſe about the Iſland, they tooke the ſea and ſwamme towards Iſlands diſtant from that three leagues. When we perceiued that they had taken the ſea we gaue them ouer becauſe our boat was ſo ſmall that it could not carrie vs, and rowe after them, they ſwamme ſo faſt: but one of them was as bigge as a good prety Cow, and very fat, their feet as bigge as Oxe feet. Here vpon this Iſland I killed with my piece a gray hare.

The lord Darcies Iſland.

The 13 in the morning we ſaw three or foure white beares, but durſt not go on ſhore to them for lacke of a good boat. This day we ſtroke a rocke ſeeking for an harborow, and receiued a leake: and this day we were in 54 degrees of latitude.

The 14 we ſtopt our leake in a ſtorme not very outragious, at noone.

The fiſhing place betweene 54 and 55 degrees of latitude.

The 15 being almoſt in 52 degrees of latitude, and not finding our ſhips, nor (according to their promiſe) any kinde of marke, token, or beacon, which we willed them to ſet vp, and they proteſted to do ſo vpon euery head land, Iſland or cape, within twenty leagues euery way off from their fiſhing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54 and 55 degrees: This 15 I ſay we ſhaped our courſe homewards for England, hauing in our ſhip but litle wood, and halfe a hogſhead of freſh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man more forward then Peerſon, for he feared to be put out of his office of ſtewardſhip: but becauſe euery man was ſo willing to depart, we conſented to returne for our owne countrey: and ſo we had the 16 faire weather, with the winde at Southweſt.

Abundance of whales in 52 degrees.

The 17 we met a ſhip at ſea, and as farre as we could iudge it was a Biſkaine: we thought ſhe went a fiſhing for whales; for in 52 degrees or thereabout we ſaw very many.

The 18 was faire, with a good gale at Weſt.

The 19 faire alſo, with much winde at Weſt and by South.

They arriue at Dartmouth the 15 of September.

And thus after much variable weather and change of winds we arriued the 15 of September in Dartmouth anno 1587, giuing thanks to God for our ſafe arriuall.

A letter of the ſayd M. *Iohn Dauis* written to M. *Sanderſon* of *London* concerning his forewritten voyage.

Good M. Sanderſon, with Gods great mercy I haue made my ſafe returne in health, with all my company, and haue ſailed threeſcore leagues further then my determination at my departure. I haue bene in 73 degrees, finding the ſea all open, and forty leagues betweene land and land. The paſſage is moſt probable, the execution eaſie, as at my comming you ſhall fully know.

Yeſterday the 15 of September I landed all weary; therefore I pray you pardon my ſhortneſſe.

Sandridge this 16 of September anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which

by triall you ſhall beſt know,

IOHN DAVIS.

A trauerſe-booke

Moneth. Iune.	Dayes.	Howres.	Courſe.	Leagues.	Eleuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
					Deg	Min.		
Noone the	24	24	N. by E. Northerly	41	67	40	S.S.E.	The true courſe, &c. Here the weather was very hot. This 24 of Iune at 6 of the clocke at night we met two ſauages at ſea in their ſmall canoas, vnto whom we gaue bracelets, and nailes, for ſkins & birds. At 9 of the clocke they departed from vs. The next day at 7 of the clocke in the morning, there came vnto vs 30 ſauages 20 leagues off the ſhore, intreating vs to goe to the ſhore. We had of them fiſh, birds, ſkinnes, darts, and their coats from their backs, for bracelets, nailes, kniues &c. They remained with vs foure houres, and departed.
	25							
Noone the	26	48	N.				S.	
		3	N.W.	2			S.W.	
		7	N.N.E.	10			S.	
		6	N.	8			S.W.	
		8	W.N.W.	5			S.E.	
Noone the	27	72	N. Weſterly.	52	70	4		The true courſe, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	30	72	N.	43	72	12		The true courſe, &c. Since the 21 of this moneth I haue continually coaſted the ſhore of Gronland, hauing the ſea all open towards the Weſt, and the land on ÿ ſtarboord ſide Eaſt from me. For theſe laſt 4 dayes the weather hath bene extreame hot and very calme, the Sun being 5 degrees aboue the horizon at midnight. The compaſſe in this place varieth 28 degrees toward ÿ Weſt.
	30							
Iuly.	1	20	W. by S. Weſterly	44	71	36	N.W. by N.	The true courſe, &c. This day at noone wee coaſted a mighty banke of ice Weſt from vs.
	2	24	S.E.	12	71	9		
Noone the	3	8	N.N.W.	11	71	40	N.	This day we fell againe with the ice, ſeeking to double it out by the North.
Noone the	5	48	S.S.E.	36	70		N.	The true courſe, &c.
	6	24	S.S.W.	22	69		Variable.	The true courſe, &c. This 6 of Iuly we put our barke thorow the ice, ſeeing the ſea free on the Weſt ſide: and hauing ſailed 5 leagues Weſt, we fell with another mighty barre, which we could not paſſe: and therefore returning againe, we freed our ſelues the 8 of this moneth at midnight, and ſo recouered the ſea through Gods fauour, by faire winds, the weather being very calme.
	7							
	8							
Noone the	9	72	E.S.E.	7	68	50	Calme.	The true courſe, &c.
Noone the	10	24	S.E. by S.	8	68	30	E. by N.	The true courſe, &c. This day we coaſted the ice.
Noone the	11	24	E.N.E.	11	68	45	Variable.	The true courſe, &c.
Noone the	12	24	S.S.E.	16	68		N.N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	13	24	E. by S.	20			S.	This day the people came to vs off the ſhore, and bartered with vs. Being within the iſles, & not finding good ankorage, we bare off againe into the ſea.
Noone the	14	24	W. by N.	11	67	50	S.	The true courſe &c.
Noone the	15	24	W.S.W.	5	67	45	E.	The true courſe, &c. This day a great current ſet vs Weſt 6 points from our courſe.
Noone the	16	24	S. w by w weſterly	22	67	10	S.	The true courſe, &c. This day we fell in a mighty banke of ice Weſt of vs.
Noone the	18	48	S. by W.	30	65	33	N. fog.	The true courſe, &c. Collected by diuers experiments.
Noone the	19	24	W. ſoutherly.	13	65	20	S. fog.	The true courſe. &c. This 19 of Iuly at one a clocke in the afternoone we had ſight of the land of Mount Ralegh, and by 12. of the clocke at night wee were thwart the Streights, which (by Gods helpe) I diſcouered the firſt yere.
	20							The 20 day wee trauerſed in the mouth of the ſayd Streights with a contrary winde, being Weſt, and faire weather.
	23							This 23 day at 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, hauing ſailed 60 leagues Northweſt, we ankered among an huge number of iſles lying in the bottome of the ſayd ſuppoſed paſſage, at which place the water riſeth 4 fadome vpright. Here as we rode at anker, a great whale paſſed by vs, and ſwam Weſt in among the iſles. In this place a S.W. by W. moone maketh a full ſea. Here the compaſſe varied 30 degrees.
	24							The 24 day at 5 of the clocke in the morning we ſet ſaile, departing from this place, and ſhaping our courſe S.E. to recouer the maine Ocean againe.
	25							This 25 we were becalmed almoſt in the bottome of the Streights, & had the weather maruellous extreame hot.
	26						S.E.	This day being in the Streights, we had a very quicke ſtorme.
	27						S.	Being ſtill in the Streight, we had this day faire weather.
Noone the	29				64			At this preſent we got cleere of the Streights, hauing coaſted the South ſhore, the land trending from hence S.W. by S.
Noone the	30	24	S.S.W.	22	63			This day we coaſted the ſhore, a banke of ice lying thereupon. Alſo this 30 of Iuly in the afternoone we croſſed ouer the entrance or mouth of a great inlet or paſſage, being 20 leagues broad, and ſituate betweene 62 & 63 degrees. In which place we had 8 or 9 great raſes, currents or ouerfals, lothſomly crying like the rage of the waters vnder London bridge, and bending their courſe into the ſayd gulfe.

Moneth July.	Dayes.	Houres.	Courſe.	Leagues.	Elevation of the pole. Deg	Min.	The winde	THE DISCOVRS
	31	24	S. by W.	27	62		N.W.	This 31 at noone, comming cloſe by a foreland or great cape, we fe mighty raſe, where an iſland of ice was carried by the force of the cur faſt as our barke could ſaile with lum wind, all ſailes bearing. This it was the moſt Southerly limit of the gulfe which we paſſed ouer the of this moneth, ſo was it the North promontory or firſt beginning of very great inlet, whoſe South limit at this preſent wee ſaw not. Wha or gulfe this afternoone, and in the night, we paſſed ouer: where to ou admiration we ſaw the ſea falling down into the gulfe with a mighty and roring, and with diuers circular motions like whirlepooles, in ſuch forcible ſtreames paſſe thorow the arches of bridges.
Auguſt								
Noone the	1	24	S.E. by S.	16	61	10	W.S.W.	The true courſe, &c. This firſt of Auguſt we fell with the prom the ſayd gulfe or ſecond paſſage, hauing coaſted by diuers courſes for gard, a great banke of the ice driuen out of that gulfe.
Noone the	3	48	S.S.E.	16	60	26	Variable.	
Noone the	6	72	S.E. Southerly.	22	59	35	Variable to calme.	The true courſe, &c.
	7	24	S.S.E.	22	58	40	W.S.W.	The true courſe. &c.
	8	24	S.E.	13	58	12	W. fog.	The true courſe, &c.
	9	24	S. by W.	13	57	30	Variable & calme.	The true courſe. &c.
	10	24	S.S.E.	17	56	40	S.W. by W.	The true courſe, &c.
	11	24	S.E. caſterly.	40	55	13	W.N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	12	24	S.E. eaſterly.	20	54	32	W.S.W.	The true courſe. &c.
	13	24	S.S.E.	4	54		N.W.	This day ſeeking for our ſhips that went to fiſh, we ſtrooke on a ro among many iles, and had a great leake.
Noone the	14	24	S.S.E.	28	52	40	N.W.	This day we ſtopped our leake in a ſtorme. The 15 of Auguſt at in the latitude of 52 degrees 12. min. and 16 leagues from the ſho our courſe for England, in Gods name, as followeth *
*Noone ye	15				52	12	S.S.W.	The true latitude.
	16	20	E.ſ.e. halfe point ſ.	50	51		S.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	17	24	E. by S.	30	50	40	S.	The true courſe, &c. This day vpon the Banke we met a Biſ either for the Grand bay or for the paſſage. He chaſed vs.
	18	24	E. by N. northerly.	49	51	18	W.	The true courſe, &c.
	19	24	E. halfe point north.	51	51	35	Variable W. & S.	The true courſe, &c.
	20	24	E.S.E.	31	50	50	S.W.	The true courſe, &c.
Noone the	22	48	E. by N.	68	51	30	S.S.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	23	24	E by N Northerly	23	51	52	S.	The true courſe, &c.
	24	24	E. by N.	31	52	10	Variable.	The true courſe, &c. This 24 of Auguſt obſeruing the variation, the compaſſe to vary towards the Eaſt, from the true Meridian,
Noone the	27	72	E. Northerly.	40	52	23	Variable & calme.	The true courſe, &c. for 72 houres.
Noone the	29	48	E.S.E.	47	51	28	Variable W. & N	The true courſe, &c.
Noone the	31	48	S.e by e. Eaſterly.	14	51	0	Variable.	The true courſe, &c.
September	2	48	E. Southerly	65	51		N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	3	24	E. by S. Eaſterly.	24	50	50	W.N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	4	24	S.E. by E.	20	50	21	N.N.E.	The true courſe, &c.
	5	24	S.E. by E.	18	49	48	N.N.E.	The true courſe, &c. Now we ſuppoſed our ſelues to be 55 leagu
	6	24	E. by S.	15	49	40	N.	The true courſe, &c.
	7	24	E.S.E.	20	49	15	N.N.W.	The true courſe, &c.
	8	24	N.E.	18	49	40		
	9	24	W.S.W.	7	49	42		
	10	24	S.E. by E.	8½	49	28	Variable.	
	11	24	N.E. by E.	10	49	45	Variable.	
	12	24	N.W. by W.	6	50		N.E.	
	13	24	E. by S. ſoutherly.	15	49	47	N.E.	
	15							This 15 of September 1587 we arriued at Dar

Vnder the title of the *houres*, where any number exceedeth 24, it is the ſumme or caſting vp of ſo many other dayes and parts of dayes going next before, as conteine the foreſayd ſumme.

A TRAVERSE-BOOKE MADE BY M. IOHN DAVIS in his third voyage for the diſcouerie of the Northweſt paſſage. *Anno* 1587.

neth.	Dayes.	Houres.	Courſe.	Leagues.	leuation of the pole.		The winde.	THE DISCOVRSE.
					Deg.	Min.		
	19		W.S.W. weſterly.		50	20	N.E.	
	20							This day we departed from Dartmouth at two of the clocke at night.
	21	25	W.S.W. weſterly	50	50		N.E.	
	22	15	W.N.W.	14			N.E.by E.	This day we deſcried Silly N.W. by W. from vs.
	22	6	W.N.W.	6			N.E.by E.	This day at noone we departed from Silly.
	22	2	W.N.W.	2				
	23	15	N.W.by W.	18			N.E.	
	23	29	W.N.W.	26	50	40		The true courſe, diſtance, and latitude.
		3	W.N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
		6	N.W.by W.	5			N.E.by N.	
		2	W.N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
		12	W.N.W.	12			N.E.	
ne the 24	24		W.n.w. Northerly.	25	51	16		The true courſe, diſtance and latitude.
		3	W.N.W.	3			N.N.E.	
		3	W.N.W.	2½			N.by E.	
		6	W.by N.	5			N.	
		6	W.by N.	5			N.	
		2	S.	½			N.	
								Now we lay vpon the lee for the Sunſhine, which had taken a leake of 500 ſtrokes in a watch.
ne the 25	24		W.by N.	20	51	30		The true courſe, diſtance, and latitude.
		2	W.	2			N.N.W.	
		2	W.S.W.	2			N.W.	
		1	S.W.	1			W.N.W.	
		2	W.N.W.	1½			N.	
		2	W.N.W.	1½			N.	
		2					Calme.	
		4	W.N.W.	4			S.S.E.	
		5	W.	6			S.S.E.	
ne the 26	24		W.by N. Weſterly	23	51	40		The true courſe, diſtance, &c.
		11	W.	16			S.S.E.	
		6	W.N.W.	2			S.S.E.	
		7	W.	5			S.E.	We lay at hull, with much winde, raine, and fog.
ne the 27	24		W. northerly.	22				
ne the 28	24		W.	20	52	12	E.S.E.	The common courſe ſuppoſed.
ne the 28	28		W.by n. Northerly.	43	52	13		We towed the pinneſſe 18 houres of this day.
ne the 29	24		N.W.	30			S.by E.	The true courſe, diſtance, &c.
		6	N.W.	10			S.	
		2	N.by W.	2			W.by N.	
		3	W.by N.	3			W.by S.	
		12	N.W.	12			S.S.W.	
ne the 30	48		N.W.by N.	65	54	50		The true courſe, &c.
		9	N.W.	12			S.W.	

Moneth May.	Dayes.	Houres	Courſe.	Leagues	Eleuation of the pole. Deg	Eleuation of the pole. Min	The winde.	THE DISCOVRS
		9	N.W.by W.	12			S.S.W.	
		3	W.N.W.	3			N.N.E.	
		3	W.by N.	4			N.	
	30	24	W.n.w Northerly.	27	55	30		The true courſe, &c.
Iune	1	12	W.	10			N.N.W	
		9	N.W.	8			E.N.E.	
		3	N.W.	2½			E.N.E.	
	1	24	W n.w.Weſterly.	17	55	45		The true courſe,&c.
		12	N.W.	16			E.S.E.	
		6	N.W.	7			S.	
		6	N.W.	8			S.S.W.	
Noone the	2	24	N.W.Northerly.	32	56	55		The true courſe,&c.
Noone the	5	72	W.by S ſoutherly.	45	56	20		The true courſe,&c, drawen from diuers trauer
Noone the	6	24	S.W.	16			W.N.W.	
		7	S.W.by W.	6			W.by N.	
		5					Calme.	
		3	W.N.W.	1			S.	
Noone the	7	9	W.N.W.	12			S.	
		12	W.N.W.	20			S.	
		3	W.N.W.	4			S.	
Noone the	8	9	W.N.W.	7			S.	
		12	W.N.W.	5			S.	
Noone the	9	12	W.N.W.	13			S.E.	
Noone the	9	96	W.by N. northerly	86	57	30		The true courſe,diſtance,& latitude for 96 hour
		3	W.N.W.	4			S.E.	
		3	W.N.W.	2			S.E.	
		6	W.N.W.	1			Calme.	
Noone the	10	12	W.N.W.	16			E.	
		7	W.N.W.	12			E.	
		2	N.W.	2			E.	
Noone the	11	15	N.W.	18			E.N.E.	
		12	N.W.	12			E.N.E.	
		12	N.W.	13			E.by S.	
Noone the	12	72	N.w by w. norther	78	59	50		The true courſe,&c, for 72 houres.
Noone the	13	24	N n w.Weſterly.	26	60	58	E.by N.	
Noone the	14	24	N.N.W.	32	62	20	N.E.	This day in the morning at fiue of the clocke we diſcouered land ſtant from vs at the neereſt place ſixteene leagues. This land in gre Northweſt and to the Weſtwards, being very mountainous. The w this day variable, and the aire ſometime foggie, and ſometime clea foreſeyd land bare from vs (ſo neere as we could iudge) North, N and Southeaſt.
		9	W.N.W.	7			N.	
		3	N.W.	2			N.N.E.	
		3	N.W.by N.	2			N.E.by N.	
	15	9	N.N.W.	8			N.E.	
Noone the	15	24	N W Northerly.	32	62	20		The true courſe,&c.
Noone the	16	24	N N E Eaſterly	14	64			The true courſe,&c. This 16 of Iune at 5 of the clocke in the being in the latitude of 64 degrees, through Gods helpe we came to among many low Iſlands which lay before the high land. The 17 of I ſet by our pinneſſe. The 20 ſhe was ſpoiled by the Sauages. At the 21 of Iune wee departed from this coaſt, our two barks for their voyage, and my ſelfe in the pinneſſe for the diſcouery. From midnigh we ſhaped our courſe as followeth. *
	17							
	20							
* At midnight yͤ	21	8	W.N.W.	7			S.E.	
Noone the	22	4	N.W.	6			S.E.	
		13	N.W.	18			S.E	
		11	N.	13			S.E.	At this time we ſaw great ſtore of whales.
Noone the	23	36	N.W.by N.	42	65	40		The true courſe.&c.

A report of Maſter *Iohn Dauis* of his three Voyages made for the diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage, taken out of a Treatiſe of his, Intituled The worlds Hydrographicall deſcription.

NOw there onely reſteth the Northparts of America, vpon which coaſt my ſelfe haue had moſt experience of any in our age: for thriſe I was that waye imployed for the diſcouery of this notable paſſage, by the honourable care and ſome charge of Syr Francis Walſingham knight, principall ſecretary to her Maieſtie, with whom diuers noble men and worſhipfull marchants of London ioyned in purſe and willingneſſe for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendleſſe, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

The 1. voyage.

In my firſt voyage not experienced of the nature of thoſe climates, and hauing no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that paſſage was to be ſearched, I ſhaped a Northerly courſe and ſo ſought the ſame toward the South, and in that my Northerly courſe I fell vpon the ſhore which in ancient time was called Groenland, fiue hundred leagues diſtant from the Durſeys Weſtnorthweſt Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with ſnow, no viewe of wood, graſſe or earth to be ſeene, and the ſhore two leagues off into the ſea ſo full of yce as that no ſhipping could by any meanes come neere the ſame. The lothſome view of the ſhore, and irkſome noyſe of the yce was ſuch, as that it bred ſtrange conceites among vs, ſo that we ſuppoſed the place to be waſt and voyd of any ſenſible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the ſame Deſolation: ſo coaſting this ſhore towards the South in the latitude of ſixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the Weſt, I ſtill followed the leading therof in the ſame height, and after fifty or ſixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I ſtill followed, and in thirtie leagues ſayling vpon the Weſt ſide of this coaſt by me named Deſolation, we were paſt al the yce and found many greene & pleaſant Iſles bordering vpon the ſhore, but the hils of the maine were ſtill couered with great quantities of ſnow, I brought my ſhip among thoſe Iſles and there mored to refreſh our ſelues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of ſixtie foure degrees or there about. The people of the countery hauing eſpyed our ſhippes came downe vnto vs in their Canoas, & holding vp their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would ſtrike their breaſts: we doing the like the people came aboard our ſhippes, men of good ſtature, vnbearded, ſmall eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as ſignes would permit, we vnderſtood that towards the North and Weſt there was a great ſea, and vſing the people with kindenes in giuing them nayles and kniues which of all things they moſt deſired, we departed, and finding the ſea free from yce ſuppoſing our ſelues to be paſt al daunger we ſhaped our courſe Weſtnorthweſt thinking thereby to paſſe for China, but in the latitude of ſixtie ſixe degrees we fell with another ſhore, and there found another paſſage of twenty leagues broad directly Weſt into the ſame, which we ſuppoſed to be our hoped ſtraight, we entered into the ſame thirty or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor ſtreighten, then conſidering that the yeere was ſpent (for this was the fine of Auguſt) not knowing the length of the ſtraight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our beſt courſe to returne with notice of our good ſucceſſe for this ſmall time of ſearch. And ſo returning in a ſharpe fret of Weſterly windes the 29. of September we arriued at Dartmouth. And acquainting maſter Secretary Walſingham with the reſt of the honourable and worſhipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the ſecond yere to ſearch the bottome of this ſtraight, becauſe by all likelihood it was the place and paſſage by vs laboured for. In this ſecond attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the Weſt became aduenturers in the action, ſo that being ſufficiently furniſhed for ſixe moneths, and hauing direction to ſearch theſe ſtraights, vntill we found the ſame to fall into another ſea vpon the Weſt ſide of this part of America, we ſhould againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but ſhipping with trade might ſafely be conueied to China and the parts of Aſia. We departed from Dartmouth, and ariuing vpon the South part of the coaſt of Deſolation coaſted the ſame vpon his Weſt ſhore to the latitude of ſixtie ſixe degrees, and there ancored among the Iſles bordering vpon the ſame, where we refreſhed our ſelues, the people of this place came likewiſe vnto vs, by whom I vnderſtood through their ſignes that towards the North the ſea was large. At this place the chiefe ſhip whereupon I truſted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occaſions of diſcontentment, and being vnwilling to proceed, ſhee there forſook me. Then conſidering how I had giuen my faith and moſt conſtant promiſe to my worſhipfull good friend maſter William Sanderſon, who of all men was the greateſt aduenturer in that action, and tooke ſuch care for the performance thereof, that he hath to my

The 2. voyage.

knowledge at one time diſburſed as much money as any fiue others whatſoeuer out of his owne purſe, when ſome of the companie haue bene ſlacke in giuing in their aduenture: And alſo knowing that I ſhould looſe the fauor of M. Secretary Walſingham, if I ſhould ſhrink from his direction; in one ſmall barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof M. Sanderſon was owner, alone without farther company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at theſe ſtraights followed the ſame 80 leagues, vntill I came among many Iſlands, where the water did ebbe and flow ſixe fadome vpright, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by ſuch things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Chriſtians of Europe that had vſed that trade: in fine by ſearching with our boat, we found ſmall hope to paſſe any farther that way, and therefore recouered the ſea and coaſted the ſhore towards the South, and in ſo doing (for it was too late to ſearch towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entred in with violent ſwiftneſſe, this we alſo thought might be a paſſage: for no doubt the North partes of America are all Iſlands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but becauſe I was alone in a ſmall barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere ſpent, I entred not into the ſame, for it was now the ſeuenth of September, but coaſting the ſhore towardes the South wee ſaw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fiſhermen aboord our barke they all concluded that there was a great ſkull of fiſh, we being vnprouided of fiſhing furniture with a long ſpike nayle made a hooke, and faſtened the ſame to one of our ſounding lines, before the baite was changed we tooke more then fortie great Cods, the fiſh ſwimming ſo abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a ſmall portion of ſalt that we had, we preſerued ſome thirtie couple, or thereaboutes, and ſo returned for England. And hauing reported to M. Secretarie Walſingham the whole ſucceſſe of this attempt, he commanded me to preſent vnto the moſt honourable Lord high Treaſurour of England, ſome part of that fiſh: which when his Lordſhip ſaw, & heard at large the relation of this ſecond attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduiſing me to proſecute the action, of which his Lordſhip conceiued a very good opinion. The next yere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Weſterne marchants, and moſt of thoſe in London: yet ſome of the aduenturers both honorable & worſhipfull continued their willing fauor and charge, ſo that by this meanes the next yere two ſhippes were appointed for the fiſhing and one pinneſſe for the diſcouerie.

The North parts of America, all Iſlands.

The 3. voyage.

Departing from Darmouth, through Gods mercifull fauour, I arriued at the place of fiſhing, and there according to my direction I left the two ſhips to follow that buſines, taking their faithful promiſe not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which ſhould be in the fine of Auguſt, and ſo in the barke I proceeded for the diſcouerie: but after my departure, in ſixteene dayes the two ſhippes had finiſhed their voyage, and ſo preſently departed for England, without regard of their promiſe: my ſelfe not diſtruſting any ſuch hard meaſure proceeded for the diſcouerie, and followed my courſe in the free and open ſea betweene North and Northweſt to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might ſee America Weſt from me, and Gronland, which I called Deſolation, Eaſt: then when I ſaw the land of both ſides I began to diſtruſt it would prooue but a gulfe: notwithſtanding deſirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the paſſage enlarged, ſo that I could not ſee the Weſterne ſhore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees, in a great ſea, free from yce, coaſting the Weſterne ſhore of Deſolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoas, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fiſhes dryed, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-baſe and ſuch like, beſides diuers kinds of birds, as Partrige, Feſant, Guls, Sea birds and other kindes of fleſh: I ſtill laboured by ſignes to know from them what they knew of any ſea toward the North, they ſtill made ſignes of a great ſea as we vnderſtood them, thē I departed from that coaſt, thinking to diſcouer the North parts of America: & after I had ſailed towards the Weſt 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was conſtrained to coaſt the ſame toward the South, not ſeeing any ſhore Weſt from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great ſea, free, large very ſalt and blew, & of an vnſearcheable depth: So coaſting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ſhips to fiſh, but found them not. Then being forſaken & left in this diſtreſſe referring my ſelf to the mercifull prouidence of God, I ſhaped my courſe for England, & vnhoped for of any, God alone releeuing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this laſt diſcouery it ſeemed moſt manifeſt that the paſſage was free & without impediment toward the North: but by reaſon of the Spaniſh fleet & vnfortunate time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted & neuer ſithens attempted. The cauſe why I vſe this particluar relation of all my proceedings for this diſcouery, is to ſtay this obiection, why hath not Dauis diſcouered this paſſage being thriſe that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded & in what forme this diſcouery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which M. Sanderſon to his very great charge hath publiſhed, for the which he deſerueth great fauor & commendations.

The

The diſcouerie of the Iſles of *Friſland, Iſeland, Engroneland, Eſtotilaud, Drogeo* and *Icaria*: made by two brethren, namely M. *Nicholas Zeno*, and M. *Antonio* his brother: Gathered out of their letters by M. *Franciſco Marcolino*.

IN the yere of our Lord 1200 there was in the Citie of Venice a famous Gentleman, named Meſſer Marino Zeno, who for his great vertue and ſingular wiſedome, was called and elected gouernour in certaine common wealths of Italy: in the adminiſtration whereof he bore himſelfe ſo diſcretly, that he was beloued of all men, and his name greatly reuerenced of thoſe that neuer knew or ſaw his perſon. And amongſt ſundry his worthy workes, this is recorded of him, that he pacified certaine grieuous ciuile diſſentions that aroſe among the citizens of Verona: whereas otherwiſe, if by his graue aduiſe and great diligence they had not bene preuented, the matter was likely to breake out into hot broyles of warre. He was the firſt Podeſta, or Ruler, that the Common wealth of Venice appointed in Conſtantinople in the yeere 1205 when our ſtate had rule thereof with the French Barons. This Gentleman had a ſonne named Meſſer Pietro, who was the father of the Duke Rinieri, which Duke dying without iſſue, made his heire M. Andrea, the ſonne of M. Marco his brother. This M. Andrea was Captaine Generall and Procurator, a man of great reputation for many rare partes, that were in in him. He had a ſonne M. Rinieri, a worthy Senatour and prudent Counſellour: of whom deſcended M. Pietro Captaine Generall of the league of the Chriſtians againſt the Turkes, who was called Dragon, for that in his ſhield, in ſtead of a Manfrone which was his armes at the firſt, he bare a Dragon. He was father to M. Carlo Il grande the famous Procurator and Captaine generall againſt the Genowayes in thoſe cruell warres, when as almoſt all the cheife Princes of Europe did oppugne and ſeeke to ouerthrow our Empire and libertie, wherein by his great valiancie and proweſſe, as Furius Camillus deliuered Rome, ſo he deliuered his country from the preſent perill it was in, being ready to become a pray and ſpoile vnto the enemie: wherefore he was afterward ſurnamed the Lyon, and for an eternall remembrance of his fortitude and valiant exploits he gaue the Lyon in his armes. M. Carlo had two brethren, M. Nicolo, the knight and M. Antonio, the father of M. Dragon, of whom iſſued M. Caterino, the father M. Pietro da i Crocecchieri. This M. Pietro had ſonnes M. Caterino, that died the laſt yere, being brother vnto M. Franciſco, M. Carlo, M. Battiſta, and M. Vincenzo: Which M. Caterino was father to M. Nicolo, that is yet liuing.

Now M. Nicolo, the knight, being a man of great courage, after this aforeſaid Genouan warre of Chioggia that troubled ſo our predeceſſours, entred into a great deſire and fanſie to ſee the faſhions of the worlde and to trauell and acquaint himſelfe with the maners of ſundry nations and learne their languages, whereby afterwards vpon occaſions he might be the better able to doe ſeruice to his countrey, and purchaſe to himſelfe credite and honour. Wherefore he cauſed a ſhip to be made, and hauing furniſhed her at his proper charges (as he was very wealthy) he departed out of our ſeas and paſſing the ſtraites of Gibraltar, he ſailed for certaine dayes vpon the Ocean, keeping his courſe ſtill to the Northwards, with intent to ſee England and Flanders. Where being aſſalted in thoſe Seas by a terrible tempeſt, he was ſo toſſed for the ſpace of many dayes with the ſea and winde, that he knew not where he was, till at length he diſcouered land, and not being able any longer to ſuſteine the violence of the tempeſt the ſhip was caſt away vpon the Iſle of Friſeland. The men were ſaued, and moſt part of the goods that were in the ſhip. And this was in the yere 1380. The inhabitants of the Iſland came running in great multitudes with weapons to ſet vpon M. Nicolo and his men, who being ſore weather-beaten and ouer-laboured at ſea, and not knowing in what part of the world they were, were not able to make any reſiſtance at all, much leſſe to defend themſelues couragiouſly, as it behooued them in ſuch a dangerous caſe. And they ſhould haue bene doubtleſſe very diſcourteouſly intreated and cruelly handled, if by good hap there had not beene hard by the place a prince with armed people. Who vnderſtanding that there was euen at that preſent a great ſhip caſt away vpon the Iſland, came runing at the noyſe and outcryes that they made againſt our poore Mariners, and driuing away the inhabitants, ſpake in Latine and asked them what they were and from whence they came, and perceiuing that they came from Italy and that they were men of the ſaid Countrey, he was ſurpriſed with maruelous great ioy. Wherefore promiſing them all, that they ſhould receiue no diſcourteſie, and that they were come into a place where they ſhould be well vſed and very welcome, he tooke them into his protection vpon his faith. This was a great Lord, and poſſeſſed certaine Iſlands called Porland, lying on the South ſide of Friſland, being the richeſt and moſt populous of all thoſe parts, his name was Zichmni: and beſide the ſaid little Iſlands, he was Duke of Sorani, lying ouer againſt Scotland.

The ſhip of M.N. Zeno caſt away vpon Friſland in Anno 1380.

A certaine prince hapning to be in Friſland with armed men, when M. Zeno ſuffered ſhipwracke there came vnto him and ſpake Latine.

Zichmni prince of Porland or Duke of Zorand.

Of theſe North parts I thought good to draw the copie of a Sea carde, which amongſt other antiquities I haue in my houſe, which although it be rotten through many yeeres, yet it falleth out indifferent well: and to thoſe that are delighted in theſe things, it may ſerue for ſome light to the vnderſtanding of that, which without it cannot ſo eaſily be conceiued. Zichmni being Lord of thoſe Sygnories (as is ſaid) was a very warlike and valiant man and aboue all things famous in Sea cauſes. And hauing the yere before giuen the ouerthrow to the king of Norway, who was Lord of the Iſland, being deſirous to winne fame by feates of armes, hee was come on land with his men to giue the attempt for the winning of Friſland, which is an Iſland much bigger then Ireland. Wherefore ſeeing that M. Nicolo was a man of iudgement & diſcretion, and very expert both in ſea matters and martiall affaires, hee gaue him commiſſion to goe aboord his Nauy with all his men, charging the captaine to honour him and in all things to vſe his counſaile.

Friſland the king of Norwayes.

This Nauy of Zichmni was of thirteene veſſels, whereof two onely were rowed with oares, the reſt ſmall barkes and one ſhip, with the which they ſayled to the Weſtwards and with little paines wonne Ledouo and Iloſe and diuers other ſmall Iſlands: and turning into a bay called Sudero, in the hauen of the towne named Saneſtol, they tooke certaine ſmall barks laden with fiſh. And here they found Zichmni, who came by land with his armie conquering all the countrey as he went: they ſtayed here but a while, and led on their courſe to the Weſtwards till they came to the other Cape of the gulfe or bay, then turning againe, they found certaine Iſlandes and broken lands which they reduced al vnto the Signorie & poſſeſſion of Zichmni. Theſe ſeas, for asmuch as they ſailed, were in maner nothing but ſholds & rocks, in ſo much that if M. Nicolo and the Venetian mariners had not bene their Pilots, the whole fleete in iudgement of all that were in it, had bene caſt away, ſo ſmall was the ſkill of Zichmnis men, in reſpect of ours, who had bene trained vp in the arte and practiſe of Nauigation all the dayes of their life. Now the fleete hauing done ſuch things as are declared, the Captaine, by the counſaile of M. Nicolo, determined to goe a land, at a towne called Bondendon, to vnderſtand what ſucceſſe Zichmni had in his warres: where they heard to their great content, that he had fought a great battell and put to flight the armie of his enemie: by reaſon of which victory, they ſent Embaſſadours from all parts of the Iſland to yeeld the countrey vp into his handes, taking downe their enſignes in euery towne and caſtle: they thought good to ſtay in that place for his comming, it being reported for certaine that hee would be there very ſhortly. At his comming there was great congratulation and many ſignes of gladneſſe ſhewed, as well for the victory by land, as for that by ſea: for the which the Venetians were honoured and extolled of all men, in ſuch ſort that there was no talke but of them, and of the great valour of M. Nicolo. Wherefore the prince, who was a great fauourer of valiant men and eſpecially of thoſe that could behaue themſelues well at ſea, cauſed M. Nicolo to be brought before him, and after hauing commended him with many honourable ſpeeches, and prayſed his great induſtrie and dexteritie of wit, by the which two things he acknowledged himſelfe to haue receiued an ineſtimable benefite, as the ſauing of his fleet and the winning of many places without any great trouble, he made him knight, and rewarded his men with many rich & bountiful gifts. Then departing from thence they went in tryumphing maner toward Friſland, the chiefe citie of that Iſland, ſituate on the Southeaſt ſide of the Iſle, within a gulfe, as there are many in that Iſland. In this gulf or bay there is ſuch great abundance of fiſh taken, that many ſhips are laden therewith to ſerue Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmarke, and by this trade they gather great wealth.

N. Zeno, made knight by Zichmni.

Ships laden, with fiſh at Friſland, for Flanders, Britain, England, Scotland, Norway and Denmarke. But not to be proued that euer any came thence.

And thus much is taken out of a letter, that M. Nicolo ſent to M. Antonio his brother, requeſting that he would ſeeke ſome meanes to come to him. Wherefore he who had as great deſire to trauaile as his brother, bought a ſhip, and directed his courſe that way: & after he had ſailed a great while and eſcaped many dangers, he arriued at length in ſafetie with M. Nicolo, who receiued him very ioyfully, for that he was his brother not onely in fleſh and blood, but alſo in valour and good qualities. M. Antonio remained in Friſland and dwelt there for the ſpace of 14 yeres, 4 yeres with M. Nicolo, and 10 yeres alone. Where they came in ſuch grace and fauour with the Prince, that he made M. Nicolo Captaine of his Nauy, and with great preparation of warre they were ſent forth for the enterpriſe of Eſtland, which lyeth vpon the coaſt betweene Friſland and Norway, where they did many dammages: but hearing that the king of Norway was coming towardes them with a great fleet, they departed with ſuch a terrible flaw of winde, that they were driuen vpon certaine ſholds: were a great part of their ſhips were caſt away, the reſt were ſaued vpon Griſland, a great Iſland but diſhabited. The king of Norway his fleete being taken with the ſame ſtorme, did vtterly periſh in thoſe ſeas: Whereof Zichmni hauing notice, by a ſhip of his enemies that was caſt by chance vpon Griſland, hauing repayred his fleet, and perceiuing himſelf Northerly neere vnto the Iſlands, determined to ſet vpon Iſland, which together with the reſt, was ſubiect

A letter ſent by M. N. Zeno, from Friſland to his brother M. Antonio in Venice.

The end of the firſt letter.

to the king of Norway : but he found the countrey ſo well fortified and defended, that his fleete being ſo ſmall, and very ill appointed both of weapons and men, he was glad to retire. And ſo he left that enterpriſe without performing any thing at all: and in the ſame chanels he aſſaulted the other Iſles called Iſlande, which are ſeuen, Talas, Broas, Iſcant, Trans, Mimant, Dambere, and Breſt and hauing ſpoyled them all, hee built a fort in Bres, where he left M. Nicolo, with certaine ſmall barkes and men and munition. And now thinking he had done wel for this voyage, with thoſe few ſhips which were left he returned ſafe into Friſland. M. Nicolo remaining nowe in Bres, determined in the ſpring to go forth and diſcouer land : wherefore arming out three ſmall barkes in the moneth of Iuly, he ſayled to the Northwards, and arriued in Engroneland. Where he found a Monaſterie of Friers, of the order of the Predicators, and a Church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a hill that caſteth forth fire, like Veſuuius and Etna.

Engroneland. Preaching Fryers of Saint Thomas.

There is a fountaine of hot burning water with the which they heate the Church of the Monaſtery and the Fryers chambers, it commeth alſo into the kitchin ſo boyling hot, that they vſe no other fire to dreſſe their meate: and putting their breade into braſſe pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot ouen. They haue alſo ſmal gardens couered ouer in the winter time, which being watered with this water, are defended from the force of the ſnow and colde, which in thoſe partes being ſituate farre vnder the pole, is very extreme, and by this meanes they produce flowers and fruites and herbes of ſundry ſorts, euen as in other temperate countries in their ſeaſons, in ſuch ſort that the rude and ſauage people of thoſe partes ſeeing theſe ſupernaturall effects, doe take thoſe Fryers for Gods, and bring them many preſents, as chickens, fleſh, and diuers other things, and haue them all in great reuerence as Lords. When the froſt and ſnowe is great, they heate their houſes in maner beforeſaid, and wil by letting in the water or opening the windowes, at an inſtant temper the heate and cold at their pleaſure. In the buildings of the Monaſterie they vſe no other matter but that which is miniſtred vnto them by the fire: for they take the burning ſtones that are caſt out as it were ſparkles or cinders at the fierie mouth of the hill, and when they are moſt enflamed, caſt water vpon them, whereby they are diſſolued and become excellent white lime and ſo tough that being contriued in building it laſteth for euer. And the very ſparkles after the fire is out of them doe ſerue in ſtead of ſtones to make walles and vautes : for being once colde they wil neuer diſſolue or breake, except they be cut with ſome iron toole, and the vautes that are made of them are ſo light that they need no ſuſtentacle or prop to holde them vp, and they will endure continually very faire and whole. By reaſon of theſe great commodities, the Fryers haue made there ſo many buildings and walles that it is a wonder to ſee. The couerts or roofes of their houſes for the moſt part are made in maner following : firſt they rayſe vp the wall vp to his full height, then they make it enclining or bowing in by little and litle in fourme of a vaut. But they are not greatly troubled with raine in thoſe partes, becauſe the climate (as I haue ſaide) is extreme colde : for the firſt ſnow being fallen, it thaweth no more for the ſpace of nine moneths, for ſo long dureth their winter. They feede of the fleſh of wilde foule and of fiſh : for wheras the warme water falleth into the ſea, there is a large and wide hauen, which by reaſon of the heate of the water, doeth neuer freeze all the winter, by meanes whereof there is ſuch concourſe and flocks of ſea foule and ſuch aboundance of fiſh, that they take thereof infinite multitudes, wherby they maintaine a great number of people round about, which they kepe in continuall worke, both in building and taking of foules and fiſh, and in a thouſand other neceſſarie affaires and buſines about the Monaſterie.

Winter of 9. moneths.

Their houſes are built about the hill on euery ſide, in forme round, and 25 foote broad, and in mounting vpwards they goe narower and narower, leauing at the top a litle hole, whereat the aire commeth in to giue light to the houſe, and the flore of the houſe is ſo hot, that being within they feele no cold at all. Hither in the Summer time come many barkes from the Iſlands their about, and from the cape aboue Norway, and from Trondon, and bring to the Friers al maner of things that may be deſired, taking in change thereof fiſh, which they dry in the ſunne or in the cold, & ſkins of diuers kindes of beaſts. For the which they haue wood to burne and timber very artificially carued, and corne, and cloth to make them apparell. For in change of the two aforeſaid commodities all the nations bordering round about them couet to trafficke with them, and ſo they without any trauell or expences haue that which they deſire. To this Monaſterie reſort Fryers of Norway, of Suetia and of other countreys, but the moſt part are of Iſlande. There are continually in that part many barks, which are kept in there by reaſon of the ſea being frozen, waiting for the ſpring of the yere to diſſolue the yce. The fiſhers boates are made like vnto a weauers ſhuttle: taking the ſkins of fiſhes, they faſhion them with the bones of the ſame fiſhes, and ſowing them together in many doubles they make them ſo ſure and ſubſtanciall, that it is miraculous to ſee, howe in tempeſts they will ſhut themſelues cloſe within and let the ſea and winde cary them they care not whe-

Trade in ſummer time from Trondon to S. Thomas Friers in Groneland.

Reſort of Fryers from Norway and Sueden, to the Monaſtery in Engroneland, called S. Tho.

M. Frobiſher brought theſe kinde of boats from theſe parts into England.

ther without any feare either of breaking or drowning. And if they chance to be driuen vpon any rocks, they remaine ſound without the leaſt bruſe in the world: & they haue as it were a ſleeue in the bottome, which is tyed faſt in the middle, and when there commeth any water into the boat, they put it into the one halfe of the ſleeue, then faſtening the ende thereof with two pieces of wood and looſing the band beneath, they conuey the water forth of the boat: and this they doe as often as they haue occaſion, without any perill or impediment at all.

Moreouer, the water of the Monaſtery, being of ſulphurious or brimſtonie nature, is conueyed into the lodgings of the principall Friers by certaine veſſelles of braſſe, tinne, or ſtone, ſo hot that it heateth the place as it were a ſtoue, not carying with it any ſtinke or other noyſome ſmell.

Beſides this they haue another conueyance to bring hot water with a wall vnder the ground, to the end it ſhould not freeze, vnto the middle of the court, where it falleth into a great veſſel of braſſe that ſtandeth in the middle of a boyling fountaine, and this is to heat their water to drinke & to water their gardens, & thus they haue from the hill the greateſt commodities that may be wiſhed: and ſo theſe Fryers employ al their trauaile and ſtudie for the moſt part in trimming their gardens and in making faire and beautifull buildings, but eſpecially handſome and commodious: neyther are they deſtitute of ingenious and painefull artificers for the purpoſe; for they giue very large payment, and to them that bring them fruits and ſeedes they are very bountifull, and giue they care not what. So that there is great reſort of workemen and maſters in diuers faculties, by reaſon of the good gaines and large allowance that is there.

In the Monaſtery of Saint Thomas moſt of them ſpake the Latine tongue.
The end of the 2. letter.

The moſt of them ſpeake the Latine tongue, and ſpecially the ſuperiours and principals of the Monaſtery. And this is as much as is knowen of Engroneland, which is all by the relation of M. Nicolo, who maketh alſo particular deſcription of a riuer that he diſcouered, as is to be ſeene in the carde that I drew. And in the end M. Nicolo, not being vſed & acquainted with theſe cruell coldes, fel ſicke, and a litle while after returned into Friſland, where he dyed. He left behind him in Venice, two ſonnes, M. Giouanni and M. Toma, who had two ſonnes, M. Nicolo the father of the famous Cardinal Zeno, and M. Pietro of whom deſcended the other Zenos, that are liuing at this day.

N. Zeno dyed in Friſland.

Now M. Nicolo being dead, M. Antonio ſucceeded him both in his goods, and in his dignities and honour: and albeit he attempted diuers wayes, and made great ſupplication, he could neuer obtaine licence to returne into his countrey. For Zichmni, being a man of great courage and valour, had determined to make himſelf Lord of the ſea. Wherfore vſing alwayes the counſaile and ſeruice of M. Antonio, he determined to ſend him with certaine barks to the Weſtwards, for that towards thoſe parts, ſome of his fiſhermen had diſcouered certaine Iſlands very rich and populous: which diſcouery M. Antonio, in a letter to his brother M. Carlo, recounteth from point to point in this maner, ſauing that we haue changed ſome old words, leauing the matter entire as it was.

The diſcouerie of Eſtotiland Weſtward.
Sixe fiſhermen taken.
Fiſhermen of Friſland ſpeake Latine.
Sixe were fiue yeeres in Eſtotiland.
One of the fiſhers of Friſland, reporteth of Eſtotiland.
Eſtotiland rich, abounding with all the commodities of the world.

Sixe and twentie yeeres agoe there departed foure fiſher boats, the which, a mightie tempeſt ariſing, were toſſed for the ſpace of many dayes very deſperately vpon the Sea, when at length, the tempeſt ceaſing, and the wether waxing faire, they diſcouered an Iſland called Eſtotiland, lying to the Weſtwards aboue 1000 Miles from Friſland, vpon the which one of the boats was caſt away, and ſixe men that were in it were taken of the inhabitants and brought into a faire and populous citie, where the king of the place ſent for many interpreters, but there was none could be found that vnderſtood the language of the fiſhermen, except one that ſpake Latine, who was alſo caſt by chance vpon the ſame Iſland, who in the behalfe of the king asked them what countreymen they were: and ſo vnderſtanding their caſe, rehearſed it vnto the king, who willed that they ſhould tary in the countrey: wherefore they obeying his commandement, for that they could not otherwiſe doe, dwelt fiue yeres in the Iſland, & learned the language, and one of them was in diuers partes of the Iſland, and reporteths that it is a very rich countrey, abounding with all the commodities of the world. and that it is litle leſſe then Iſland, but farre more fruitfull, hauing in the middle thereof a very high mountaine, from the which there ſpring foure riuers that paſſe through the whole countrey.

Abundance of golde.
Trade from Eſtotiland, to Engroneland: Skins, brimſtone, and pitch: golde, corne, and beere, or ale.
Many cities and caſtles.

The inhabitants are very wittie people, and haue all artes and faculties, as we haue: and it is credible that in time paſt they haue had trafficke with our men, for he ſaid, that he ſaw Latin bookes in the kings Librarie, which they at this preſent do not vnderſtand: they haue a peculiar language, and letters or caracters to themſelues. They haue mines of all maner of mettals, but eſpecial they abound with gold. They haue their trade in Engroneland, from whence they bring furres, brimſtone & pitch: and he ſaith, that to the Southwards, there is a great populous countrey very rich of gold. They ſow corne, and make beere and ale, which is a kinde of drinke that North people do vſe as we do wine. They haue mighty great woods, they make their buildings with wals, & there are many cities and caſtles. They build ſmall barks and haue ſayling, but they haue not the load ſtone, nor know not the vſe of the compaſſe. Wherfore theſe fiſhers were had in great eſtimation, inſomuch that the king ſent them with twelue barks to the Southwards to a countrey which they call Drogio: but in their voyage they had ſuch contrary weather, that they thought to haue periſhed in the ſea: but eſcaping that cruell death, they fell into another more cruell: for they were taken in the countrey and the moſt part of them eaten by the Sauage people, which fed vpon mans fleſh, as the ſweeteſt meat in their iudgements that is.

A countrey called Drogio.

But that fiſher with his fellowes ſhewing them the maner of taking fiſh with nets, ſaued their liues: and would goe euery day a fiſhing to the ſea and in freſh riuers, and take great abundance of fiſh and giue it to the chiefe men of the countrey, whereby he gate himſelfe ſo great fauour, that he was very well beloued and honoured of euery one.

The 6 fiſher-men of Friſland onely ſaued, by ſhewing the maner to take fiſh.

The fame of this man being ſpread abroad in the countrey, there was a Lord there by, that was very deſirous to haue him with him, and to ſee how he vſed his miraculous arte of catching fiſh, in ſo much that he made warre with the other Lord with whom he was before, and in the end preuailing, for that he was more mightie and a better warriour, the fiſherman was ſent vnto him with the reſt of his company. And for the ſpace of thirteene yeres that he dwelt in thoſe parts, he ſaith, that he was ſent in this order to more then 25 Lords, for they had continuall war amongſt themſelues, this Lord with that Lord, and he with another, onely to haue him to dwell with them: ſo that wandring vp and downe the countrey without any certaine abode in one place, he knew almoſt all thoſe parts. He ſaith, that it is a very great countrey & as it were a new world: the people are very rude and voide of all goodneſſe, they goe all naked ſo that they are miſerably vexed with colde, neither haue they the wit to couer their bodyes with beaſts ſkins which they take in hunting, they haue no kinde of mettal, they liue by hunting, they cary certaine lances of wood made ſharpe at the point, theyhaue bowes, ẏ ſtrings whereof are made of beaſts ſkins: they are very fierce people, they make cruell warres one with another, and eate one another, they haue gouernours & certaine lawes very diuers among themſelues. But the farther to the Southweſtwards, the more ciuiltie there is, the ayre being ſomewhat temperate, ſo that there they haue cities and temples to idols, wherein they ſacrifice men and afterwards eate them, they haue there ſome knowledge and vſe of gold and ſiluer.

The chiefeſt of the 6 fiſhers, ſpecified before and his companions.

In the ſpace of 13 yeeres he ſerued 25 lords of Drogio.

Now this fiſherman hauing dwelt ſo many yeeres in thoſe countreys purpoſed, if it were poſſible, to returne home into his countrey, but his companions deſpairing euer to ſee it againe, let him goe in Gods name, and they kept themſelues where they were. Wherefore he bidding them farwell, fled through the woods towards Drogio, and was very well receiued of the Lord that dwelt next to that place; who knew him and was a great enemie of the other Lord: and ſo running from from one Lord to another, being thoſe by whom he had paſſed before, after long time & many trauels he came at length to Drogio, where he dwelt three yeres. When as by good fortune he heard by the inhabitants, that there were certaine boates arriued vpon the coaſt; wherefore entring into good hope to accompliſh his intent, he went to the ſea ſide, and aſking them of what countrey they were; they anſwered of Eſtotiland, whereat he was exceeding glad, and requeſted that they would take him into them, which they did very willingly, and for that he had the language of the countrey, and there was none that could ſpeake it, they vſed him for their interpreter.

And afterward he frequented that trade with them in ſuch ſort, that he became very rich, and ſo furniſhing out a barke of his owne, he returned into Friſlande, where he made reporte vnto this Lord of that wealthy countrey.

He returned from Eſtotiland to Friſland.

And he is throughly credited becauſe of the mariners, who approue many ſtrange things, that he reporteth to be true. Wherfore this Lord is reſolued to ſend me forth with a fleet towards thoſe parts, and there are ſo many that deſire to go in the voyage, for the noueltie and ſtrangeneſſe of the thing, that I thinke we ſhall be very ſtrongly appointed, without any publike expence at all. And this is the tenor of the letter before mentioned, which I haue here ſet downe to giue intelligence of another voyage that M. Antonio made, being ſet out with many barkes, and men, notwithſtanding he was not captaine, as he had thought at the firſt he ſhould: for Zichmni went in his owne perſon: and concerning that matter I haue a letter in forme following.

Zichmni minded to ſend M. Antonio Zeno, with a fleete towards thoſe parts of Eſtotiland.

One great preparation for the voyage of Eſtotiland was begun in an vnlucky houre: for three dayes before our departure the fiſherman died that ſhould haue bene our guide: notwithſtanding this Lord would not giue ouer the enterprize, but inſtead of the fiſherman tooke certaine mariners that returned out of the Iſland with him: and ſo making our Nauigation to the Weſtwards, we diſcouered certaine Iſlands ſubiect to Friſland, and hauing paſſed certaine ſhelues we ſtayed at Ledouo for the ſpace of 7 dayes to refreſh our ſelues, and to furniſh the fleet with neceſſarie prouiſion. Departing from thence we arriued the firſt of Iuly at the Iſle of Iloſe: and for that the wind made for vs, we ſtayed not there, but paſſed forth, and being vpon the maine ſea, there aroſe immediately a cruel tempeſt, wherwith for eight dayes ſpace we were miſerably vexed, not knowing where we were:

The 4 letter.

The fiſherman dyed that ſhould haue bene interpreter.

Certaine mariners taken in his ſteede, which came with him from Eſtotiland.

Iſle Iloſe.

were, & a great part of the barks were caſt away, afterward the weather waxing faire, we gathered vp the broken peeces of the barks that were loſt, and ſayling with a proſperous winde we diſcouered land at Weſt. Wherefore keeping our courſe directly vpon it, we arriued in a good and ſafe harborough, where we ſaw an infinit companie of people ready in armes, come running very furiouſly to the water ſide, as it were for defence of the Iſland. Wherfore Zichmni cauſing his men to make ſignes of peace vnto them, they ſent 10 men vnto vs that could ſpeake ten languages, but we could vnderſtand none of them, except one that was of Iſland. He being brought before our prince and asked, what was the name of the Iſland, and what people inhabited it, & who gouerned it, anſwered, that the Iſland was called Icaria, and that all the kings that reigned there, were called Icari, after the name of the firſt king of that place, which as they ſay was the ſonne of Dedalus king of Scotland, who conquered that Iſland, left his ſonne there for king, and left them thoſe lawes that they retaine to this preſent, and after this, he deſiring to ſayle further, in a great tempeſt that aroſe, was drowned, wherefore for a memoriall of his death, they call thoſe ſeas yet, the Icarian Sea, and the kings of the Iſland Icari, and for that they were contented with that ſtate, which God had giuen them, neither would they alter one iote of their lawes and cuſtomes, they would not receiue any ſtranger: wherefore they requeſted our prince, that hee would not ſeeke to violate their lawes, which they had receiued from that king of worthy memory and obſerued very duly to that preſent: which if he did attempt, it would redound to his manifeſt deſtruction, they being all reſolutely bent rather to leaue their life, then to looſe in any reſpect the vſe of their lawes. Notwithſtanding, that we ſhould not thinke they did altogether refuſe conuerſation and traffick with other men, they tolde vs for concluſion that they would willingly receiue one of our men, & preferre him to be one of the chiefe amongſt them, onely to learne my language the Italian tongue, and to be informed of our manners and cuſtomes, as they had already receiued thoſe other ten of ten ſundry nations, that came into their Iſland. To theſe things our Prince anſwered nothing at all, but cauſing his men to ſeke ſome good harbrough, he made ſignes as though he would depart, and ſayling round about the Iſland, he eſpied at length a harbrough on the Eaſt ſide of the Iſland, where hee put in with all his Fleet: the mariners went on land to take in wood and water, which they did with as great ſpeede as they could, doubting leaſt they ſhould be aſſaulted by the inhabitants, as it fell out in deed, for thoſe that dwelt thereabouts, making ſignes vnto the other with fire and ſmoke, put themſelues preſently in armes and the other comming to them, they came all running downe to the ſea ſide vpon our men, with bowes and arrowes, and other weapons, ſo that many were ſlaine and diuers ſore wounded. And we made ſignes of peace vnto them, but it was to no purpoſe, for their rage increaſed more and more, as though they had fought for land and liuing. Wherefore we were forced to depart, and to ſayle along in a great circuite about the Iſlande, being alwayes accompanyed vpon the hil tops & the ſea coaſts with an infinite number of armed men: and ſo doubling the Cape of the Iſland towards the North, we found many great ſholdes, amongſt the which for the ſpace of ten dayes we were in continuall danger of looſing our whole fleet, but that it pleaſed God all that while to ſend vs faire weather. Wherefore proceeding on till we came to the Eaſt cape, we ſaw the inhabitants ſtill on the hill tops and by the ſea coaſt keepe with vs, and in making great outcryes and ſhooting at vs a faire off, they vttered their old ſpitefull affection towards vs. Wherefore wee determined to ſtay in ſome ſafe harborough, and ſee if wee might ſpeake once againe with the Iſlander, but our determination was fruſtrate: for the people more like vnto beaſts then men, ſtood continually in armes with intent to beat vs back, if we ſhould come come on land. Wherefore Zichmni ſeeing he could not preuaile, and thinking if he ſhould haue perſeuered and followed obſtinately his purpoſe, their victuals would haue failed them, he departed with a fayre wind and ſailed ſixe daies to the Weſtwards, but the winde changing to the Southweſt, and the ſea waxing rough, wee ſayling 4 dayes with the wind the powp, and at length diſcouering land, were afraid to approch nere vnto it, the ſea being growen, and we not knowing what land it was: but God ſo prouided for vs, that the winde ceaſing there came a great calme. Wherefore ſome of our company rowing to land with oares, returned & brought vs newes to our great comfort, that they had found a very good countery and a better harborough: vpon which newes we towed our ſhips and ſmal barks to land, and being entred into the harborough, we ſaw a farre off a great mountain, that caſt forth ſmoke, which gaue vs good hope that we ſhould finde ſome inhabitants in the Iſland, neither would Zichmni reſt, although it were a great way off, but ſent 100 ſouldiers to ſearch the countrey and bring report what people they were that inhabited it, & in the meane time they tooke in wood and water for the prouiſion of the fleet, and caught great ſtore of fiſh and ſea foule and found ſuch aboundance of birds egges, that our men that were halfe famiſhed, were filled therewithall. Whiles we were riding here, began the moneth of Iune, at which time the aire in the Iſland was

ſo

Zichmni his diſcouerie of the Iſland Icaria.

An Iſland man in Icaria.

The kings of of Icaria called Icari after the name of the firſt king of that place, who as they report, was ſonne to Dedalus king of Scots.

Icarian Sea.

The people of Icaria deſirous of the Italian tongue.

Ten men of ten ſundry nations.

Infinite multitudes of armed men in Icaria.

Zichmni departed from Icaria Weſtwards.

100 men ſent to diſcrie the countrey.

ſo temperate and pleaſant as is impoſſible to expreſſe: but when we could ſee no people at al, we ſuſpected greatly that this pleaſant place was deſolate and diſhabited. We gaue name to the heauen calling it Trin, and the point that ſtretched out into the ſea, we called Capo de Trin. The 100 ſouldiers that were ſent forth, 8 dayes after returned, and brought word that they had bene through the Iſland and at the mountaine, and that the ſmoke was a naturall thing proceding from a great fire that was in the bottome of the hill, and that there was a ſpring from which iſſued a certaine water like pitch which ran into the ſea, and that thereabouts dwelt great multitudes of people halfe wilde, hiding themſelues in caues of the ground, of ſmall ſtature, and very fearefull; for as ſoone as they ſaw them they fled into their holes, and that there was a great riuer and a very good and ſafe harborough. Zichmni being thus informed, and ſeeing that it had a holeſome and pure aire, and a very fruitfull ſoyle and faire riuers, with ſundry commodities, fell into ſuch liking of the place, that he determined to inhabite it, and built there a citie. But his people being weary and faint with long and tedious trauell began to murmure, ſaying that they would returne into their countrey, for that the winter was at hand, and if they entred into the harborough, they ſhould not be able to come out againe before the next Summer. Wherefore he retaining onely the barks with Oares and ſuch as were willing to ſtay with him, ſent all the reſt with the ſhippes backe againe, and willed that I, (though vnwilling) ſhould be their captaine. I therefore departing, becauſe I could not otherwiſe chuſe, ſayled for the ſpace of twenty dayes to the Eaſtwards without ſight of any land; then turning my courſe towards the Southeaſt, in 5. dayes I diſcouered land, and found my ſelfe vpon the Iſle of Neome, and knowing the countrey, I perceiued I was paſt Iſland: wherefore taking in ſome freſh victuals of the inhabitants being ſubiect to Zichmni, I ſayled with a faire winde in three dayes to Friſland, where the people, who thought they had loſt their prince, becauſe of his long abſence, in this our voyage receiued vs very ioyfully.

The 100 ſouldiers returned which had bene through the Iſland, report what they ſaw and found.

M. Antonio Zeno, made chiefe captaine of thoſe ſhips which went back to Friſland.

What followed after this letter I know not but by coniecture, which I gather out of a piece of another letter, which I will ſet downe here vnderneath: That Zichmni built a towne in the port of the Iſland that he diſcouered, and that he ſearched the countrey very diligently and diſcouered it all, and alſo the riuers on both ſides of Engroneland, for that I ſee it particulary deſcribed in the ſea card, but the diſcourſe or narration is loſt. The beginning of the letter is thus.

Concerning thoſe things that you deſire to know of me, as of the men and their maners and cuſtomes, of the beaſts, and of the countries adioyning, I haue made therof a particuler booke, which by Gods help I will bring with me: wherein I haue deſcribed the countrey, the monſtrous fiſhes, the cuſtomes and lawes of Friſland, Iſland, Eſtland, the kingdome of Norway, Eſtotiland, Drogio, and in the end the life of M. Nicolo, the knight our brother, with the diſcouery which he made, and the ſtate of Groneland. I haue alſo written the life and acts of Zichmni, a prince as worthy of immortall memory, as any that euer liued, for his great valiancie and ſinguler humanitie, wherein I haue deſcribed the diſcouery of Engroneland on both ſides, and the citie that he builded. Therefore I will ſpeake no further hereof in this letter, hoping to be with you very ſhortly, and to ſatiſfie you in ſundry other things by word of mouth.

The 5 letter.

All theſe letters were written by M. Antonio to Meſſer Carlo his brother: and it grieueth me, that the booke and diuers other writings concerning theſe purpoſes, are miſerably loſt: for being but a child when they came to my hands, and not knowing what they were, (as the maner of children is) I tore them, and rent them in pieces, which now I cannot cal to remembrance but to my exceeding great griefe. Notwithſtanding, that the memory of ſo many good things ſhould not bee loſt: whatſoeuer I could get of this matter, I haue diſpoſed and put in order in the former diſcourſe, to the ende that this age might be partly ſatiſfied, to the which we are more beholding for the great diſcoueries made in thoſe partes, then to any other of the time paſt, being moſt ſtudious of the newe relations and diſcoueries of ſtrange countries, made by the great mindes, and induſtrie of our anceſtours.

For the more credite and confirmation of the former Hiſtorie of Meſſer *Nicolas* and Meſſer *Antonio Zeni* (which for ſome fewe reſpects may perhaps bee called in queſtion) I haue heere annexed the iudgement of that famous Coſmographer *Abraham Ortelius*, or rather the yealding and ſubmitting of his iudgement thereunto: who in his *Theatrum Orbis*, *fol.6.* next before the map of *Mar del Zur*, boroweth proofe and authoritie out of this relation, to ſhew that the Northeaſt parte of *America* called *Eſtotiland*, and in the original alwayes affirmed to bee an Iſlande, was about the yeere 1390 diſcouered by the aforeſayd Venetian Gentleman Meſſer *Antonio Zeno*, aboue 100 yeeres before euer *Chriſtopher Columbus* ſet ſaile for thoſe Weſterne Regions; and that the Northren Seas were euen then ſayled by our Europæan Pilots through the helpe of the loadſtone: with diuers other particulars concerning the cuſtomes, religion and wealth of the Southern *Americans*, which are moſt euidently confirmed by all the late and moderne Spaniſh Hiſtories of *Nueua Eſpanna* and *Peru*.

Eſtotiland firſt diſcouered.

The ſecond diſcouerie thereof.

AND here I ſhall not (as I ſuppoſe) commit any great inconuenience, or abſurditie, in adding vnto this Hiſtory of the new world, certaine particulars as touching the firſt diſcouery thereof, not commonly knowen. Which diſcouerie al the writers of our time aſcribe (& that not vnworthily) vnto Chriſtopher Columbus. For by him it was in a maner firſt diſcouered, made knowen, and profitably communicated vnto the Chriſtian world, in the yeere of our Lord 1492. Howbeit I finde that the North part thereof called Eſtotiland, (which moſt of all extendeth toward our Europe and the Iſlands of the ſame, namely, Groneland, Iſland, and Friſland,) was long ago found out by certaine fiſhers of the Iſle of Friſland, driuen by tempeſt vpon the ſhore thereof: and was afterward about the yeere 1390 diſcouered a new, by one Antonio Zeno a gentleman of Venice; which ſayled thither vnder the conduct of Zichmni king of the ſaide Iſle of Friſland, a prince in thoſe parts of great valour, and renowned for his martiall exploits and victories. Of which expedition of Zichmni there are extant in Italian certaine collections or abridgements gathered by Franciſco Marcolino out of the letters of M. Nicolò and Antonio Zeni two gentlemen of Venice which liued in thoſe partes. Out of which collections I doe adde concerning the deſcription of Eſtotiland aforeſaid theſe particulars following.

Drogio.

Eſtotiland (ſaith he) aboundeth with all things neceſſary for mankinde. In the mids thereof ſtandeth an exceeding high mountaine, from which iſſue foure riuers that moiſten all the countrie. The inhabitans are wittie and moſt expert in all Mechanicall arts. They haue a kinde of peculiar language and letters. Howbeit in this Kings Librarie are preſerued certaine latine bookes, which they vnderſtand not, being perhaps left there not many yeeres before by ſome Europæans, which trafficked thither. They haue all kinde of mettals; but eſpecially golde, wherewith they mightily abound. They trafficke with the people of Groneland: from whence they fetch ſkinnes, pitch and brimſtone. The inhabitants report that towardes the South, there are regions abounding with gold, and very populous: they haue many and huge woods, from whence they take timber for the building of ſhips and cities, whereof and of caſtles there are great ſtore. The vſe of the loadſtone for Nauigation is vnknowen vnto them. They make relation alſo of a certaine region toward the South, called Drogio, which is inhabited by Canibals, vnto whom mans fleſh is delicate meat: wherof being deſtitute they liue by fiſhing, which they vſe very much. Beyond this are large regions, and as it were a newe world: but the people are barbarous and goe naked: howbeit againſt the colde they cloth themſelues in beaſtes ſkinnes. Theſe haue no kinde of metall: and they liue by hunting. Their weapons are certaine long ſtaues with ſharpe points, and bowes. They wage warres one againſt another. They haue gouernours, and obey certaine lawes. But from hence more towardes the South the climate is much more temperate: and there are cities, and temples of idoles, vnto whom they ſacrifice liuing men, whoſe fleſh they afterwards deuoure. Theſe nations haue the vſe of ſiluer and gold.

Thus much of this tract of landes out of the aforeſaide collections or abridgements. Wherein this alſo is worthy the obſeruation, that euen then our Europæan Pilots ſayled thoſe ſeas by the helpe of the loadſtone. For concerning the vſe thereof in Nauigation, I ſuppoſe there is not to be found a more ancient teſtimonie. And theſe things I haue annexed the rather vnto this table of Mar del Zur; conſidering that none of thoſe Authours which haue written the Hiſtories of the Newe world, haue in any part of their writings, mentioned one word thereof. Hitherto Ortelius.

THE

THE VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO *NEWFOUNDLAND*, TO the Iſles of *Ramea*, and the Iſles of *Aſſumption* otherwiſe called *Natiſcotec*, ſituate at the mouth of the Riuer of *Canada*, and to the Coaſtes of Cape *Briton*, and *Arambec*, corruptly called *Norumbega*, with the Patents, letters, and aduertiſements thereunto belonging.

The voyage of the two ſhips, whereof the one was called the *Dominus vobiſcum*, ſet out the 20 day of May in the 19 yere of king *Henry* the eight, and in the yere of our Lord God 1527. for the diſcouerie of the North partes.

Maſter Robert Thorne of Briſtoll, a notable member and ornament of his country, as wel for his learning, as great charity to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8 and a large diſcourſe to doctor Leigh, his Ambaſſadour to Charles the Emperour, (which both are to be ſeene almoſt in the beginning of the firſt volume of this my worke) exhorted the aforeſaid king with very waighty and ſubſtantial reaſons, to ſet forth a diſcouery euen to the North Pole. And that it may be knowne that this his motion tooke preſent effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the teſtimonies of two of our Chroniclers. M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this ſorte. This ſame moneth (ſay they) king *Henry* the 8 ſent 2 faire ſhips wel manned & victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to ſeek ſtrange regions, & ſo they ſet forth out of the Thames the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord. 1527.

And whereas maſter Hal, and maſter Grafton ſay, that in thoſe ſhips there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great enquirie of ſuch as by their yeeres and delight in Nauigation, might giue me any light to know who thoſe cunning men ſhould be, which were the directers in the aforeſaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde me by ſir Martine Frobiſher, and M. Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of Saint Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much aduance the action, and went therein himſelfe in perſon, but what his name was I cannot learne of any. And further they told me that one of the ſhips was called The Dominus vobiſcum, which is a name likely to be giuen by a religious man of thoſe dayes: and that ſayling very farre Northweſtward, one of the ſhips was caſt away as it entred into a dangerous gulph, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of Newfoundland, and the countrey lately called by her Maieſtie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ſhip ſhaping her courſe towards Cape Briton, and the coaſtes of Arambec, and oftentimes putting their men on land to ſearch the ſtate of thoſe vnknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yere aforeſayd. And thus much (by reaſon of the great negligence of the writers of thoſe times, who ſhould haue vſed more care in preſeruing of the memories of the worthy actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.

The voyage of M. *Hore* and diuers other gentlemen, to *Newfoundland*, and Cape *Briton*, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king *Henry* the 8.

One maſter Hore of London, a man of goodly ſtature and of great courage, and giuen to the ſtudie of Coſmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged diuers Gentlemen and others, being aſſiſted by the kings fauour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of diſcouerie vpon the Northweſt parts of America: wherein his perſwaſions tooke ſuch effect, that within ſhort ſpace many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and diuers others of good worſhip, deſirous to ſee the ſtrange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him, ſome of whoſe names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the Weſt countrey of fiue hundred markes by the yeere liuing. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the ſonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolke, which was lately liuing, and from whoſe mouth I wrote moſt of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Raſtall Serieant Raſtals brother, M. Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the Trinitie, a ſhip of ſeuen ſcore tunnes, wherein M. Hore himſelfe was imbarked. In the other ſhip whoſe name was the Minion,

M. Armigil Wade,

went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, afterwardes Clerke of the Counſailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the ſixth, father to the worſhipfull M. William Wade now Clerke of the priuie Counſell, M. Oliuer Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Ioy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappel, with diuers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ſhips aforeſaid, to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about ſixe ſcore perſons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we muſtered in warlike maner at Graues-end, and after the receiuing of the Sacrament, they embarked themſelues in the ende of Aprill. 1536.

Cape Briton.

The Iſland of Penguin ſtandeth about the latitude of 30. degrees.

From the time of their ſetting out from Grauesend, they were very long at ſea, to witte, aboue two moneths, and neuer touched any land vntill they came to part of the Weſt Indies about Cape Briton, ſhaping their courſe thence Northeaſtwardes, vntill they came to the Iſland of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and ſtones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geeſe, and they ſaw infinite numbers of their egges. They draue a great number of the foules into their boates vpon their ſayles, and tooke vp many of their egges, the foules they flead and their ſkinnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dreſſed and eate them and found them to be very good and nouriſhing meat. They ſaw alſo ſtore of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed ſome, and tooke them for no bad foode.

M. Dawbeneys report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

They beheld the Sauages of Newfoundland.

M. Oliuer Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple theſe things following: to wit, That after their arriuall in Newfoundland, and hauing bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not hauing yet ſeene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the ſame Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, ſpied a boate with Sauages of thoſe parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze vpon the ſhip and our people, and taking vewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to ſuch as were vnder the hatches, and willed them to come vp if they would ſee the natural people of the countrey, that they had ſo long and ſo much deſired to ſee: whereupon they came vp, and tooke viewe of the Sauages rowing toward them and their ſhip, and vpon the viewe they manned out a ſhip-boat to meet them and to take them. But they ſpying our ſhip-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Iſland that lay vp in the Bay or riuer there, and our men purſued them into the Iſland, and the Sauages fledde and eſcaped: but our men found a fire, and the ſide of a beare on a wooden ſpit left at the ſame by the Sauages that were fled.

There in the ſame place they found a boote of leather garniſhed on the outward ſide of the calfe with certaine braue trailes, as it were of rawe ſilke, and alſo found a certaine great warme mitten: And theſe caryed with them, they returned to their ſhippe, not finding the Sauages, nor ſeeing any thing elſe beſides the ſoyle, and the things growing in the ſame, which chiefly were ſtore of firre and pine trees.

Extreme famine.

And further, the ſaid M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found ſmall reliefe, more then that they had from the neſt of an Oſprey, that brought hourely to her yong great plentie of diuers ſorts of fiſhes. But ſuch was the famine that increaſed amongſt them from day to day, that they were forced to ſeeke to relieue themſelues of raw herbes and rootes that they ſought on the maine: but the famine increaſing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpoſe to ſatiſfie their inſatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deſerts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he ſtooped to take vp a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the ſame on the coles and greedily deuoured them.

Our men eate one another for famine.

The Captaines Oration.

By this meane the company decreaſed, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortuned that one of the company driuen with hunger to ſeeke abroade for reliefe found out in the fieldes the ſauour of broyled fleſh, and fell out with one for that he would ſuffer him and his fellowes to ſterue, enioying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell ſpeaches, he that had the broyled meate, burſt out into theſe wordes: If thou wouldeſt needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of ſuch a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ſhip, the Captaine found what became of thoſe that were miſſing, & was perſwaded that ſome of them were neither deuoured with wilde beaſtes, nor yet deſtroyed with Sauages: And hereupon hee ſtood vp and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much theſe dealings offended the Almightie, and vouched the Scriptures from firſt to laſt, what God had in caſes of diſtreſſe done for them that called vpon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no leſſe, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleaſed God to haue holpen them in that diſtreſſe that it had bene better to haue periſhed in body, and to haue liued euerlaſtingly then to haue relieued for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned euerlaſtingly both body and ſoule to the vnquenchable fire of hell. And thus hauing ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and beſought all the company to pray, that it might pleaſe God to looke vpon their miſerable preſent ſtate, and for his owne mercie to relieue the ſame. The famine increaſing, and the inconuenience of the men that were miſſing being found, they agreed amongſt themſelues rather then all ſhould periſh, to caſt lots who ſhould be killed: And ſuch was the mercie of God, that the ſame night there arriued a French ſhip in that port, well furniſhed with vittaile, and ſuch was the policie of the Engliſh, that they became maſters of the ſame, and changing ſhips and vittailing them, they ſet ſayle to come into England.

The Engliſh ſurpriſe a French ſhip, wherein they returned home.

In their iourney they were ſo farre Northwards, that they ſawe mighty Iſlands of yce in the ſommer ſeaſon, on which were haukes and other foules to reſt themſelues being weary of flying ouer farre from the maine. They ſawe alſo certaine great white foules with red bils and red legs, ſomewhat bigger then Herons, which they ſuppoſed to be Storkes. They arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed vnto a certaine caſtle belonging to ſir Iohn Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Raſtall and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Briſtoll, ſo to London. M. Buts was ſo changed in the voyage with hunger and miſerie, that ſir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their ſonne, vntill they found a ſecret marke which was a wart vpon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himſelfe, to whom I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now aliue that was in this diſcouerie.

Haukes and other foules.

Foules ſuppoſed to be ſtorkes.

Certaine moneths after, thoſe Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king cauſing the matter to be examined, and finding the great diſtreſſe of his ſubiects, and the cauſes of the dealing ſo with the French, was ſo mooued with pitie, that he puniſhed not his ſubiects, but of his owne purſe made full and royall recompence vnto the French.

In this diſtreſſe of famine, the Engliſh did ſomewhat relieue their vitall ſpirits, by drinking at the ſprings the freſh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua compoſita before.

The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.

An act againſt the exaction of money or any other thing by any officer for licence to traffique into *Iſeland* & *Newfoundland*, made in *An. 2. Edwardi ſexti.*

Foraſmuch as within theſe few yeeres now laſt paſt, there haue bene leuied, perceiued & taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of ſuch Marchants and fiſhermen as haue vſed and practiſed the aduentures and iourneys into Iſeland, Newfoundland, Ireland, and other places commodious for fiſhing, and the getting of fiſh, in and vpon the Seas or otherwiſe, by way of Marchants in thoſe parties, diuers great exactions, as ſummes of money, doles or ſhares of fiſh, and ſuch other like things, to the great diſcouragement & hinderance of the ſame Marchants and fiſhermen, and to no little dammage of the whole common wealth, and thereof alſo great complaints haue bene made, & informations alſo yerely to the kings Maieſties moſt honourable counſell: for reformation whereof, and to the intent alſo that the ſayd Marchants and fiſhermen may haue occaſion the rather to practiſe & vſe the ſame trade of marchandizing, & fiſhing freely without any ſuch charges and exactions, as are before limited, wherby it is to be thought that more plentie of fiſh ſhall come into this Realme, and thereby to haue the ſame at more reaſonable prices: Be it therefore enacted by the king our ſoueraigne Lord, and the lords and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by authoritie of the ſame, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or miniſter, officers or miniſters of the Admiraltie for the time being, ſhall in any wiſe hereafter exact, receiue, or take by himſelfe, his ſeruant, deputie, ſeruants, or deputies of any ſuch Marchant or fiſherman, any ſumme or ſummes of money, doles or ſhares of fiſh, or any other reward, benefit or aduantage whatſoeuer it be, for any licence to paſſe this Realme to the ſayd voyages or any of them, nor vpon any reſpect concerning the ſaid voyages, nor any of them, vpon paine to forfeit for the firſt offence treble the ſumme, or treble the value of the reward, benefite or aduantage, that any ſuch officer or miniſter ſhall hereafter haue or take of any ſuch Marchants or fiſhermen. For the which forfeiture the party grieued, and euery other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer he or they be, ſhall and may ſue for the ſame by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to haue the one moitie, and the party complaining the other moitie: in which ſuite no eſſoigne protection, or wager of law ſhall be allowed. And for the ſecond offence the party ſo offending not only to loſe and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but alſo to make fine and ranſome at the kings will and pleaſure.

By this acte it appeareth, that the trade out of England to Newfound land was common and frequented about the begining of the raigne of Edward the 6.namely in the yeere 1548.and it is much to be marueiled, that by the negligence of our men,the countrey in all this time hath bene no better ſearched.

A letter written to M. *Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple, conteining a report of the true ſtate and commodities of *Newfoundland*, by M. *Anthonie Parkhurſt* Gentleman, 1578.

MAſter Hakluyt, after moſt heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindneſſe to me ſhewed, not for any merits that hitherto haue beene mine, but wholly proceeding, I muſt needs confeſſe, of your owne good nature, which is ſo ready preſt to benefit your countrey and all ſuch poore men as haue any ſparke in them of good deſires, that you do not onely become their friend,but alſo humble your ſelfe as a ſeruaunt in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cauſe your burning zeale to bee knowen to thoſe that haue authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompenſe your trauelling mind and pen, wherewith you ceaſe not day nor night to labour and trauell to bring your good and godly deſires to ſome paſſe,though not poſſibly to that happy ende that you moſt thirſt for: for ſuch is the malice of wicked men the deuils inſtruments in this our age, that they cannot ſuffer any thing (or at leaſt few) to proceed and proſper that tendeth to the ſetting forth of Gods glory,and the amplifying of the Chriſtian faith, wherein hitherto princes haue not bene ſo diligent as their calling required. Alas,the labourers as yet are few,the harueſt great, I truſt God hath made you an inſtrument to increaſe the number,and to mooue men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and thoſe parts from out of the captiuitie of that ſpirituall Pharao,the deuill.

English.

Spaniards.

Portugals.

French.
Britons.

Now to anſwer ſome part of your letter touching the ſundry nauies that come to Newfoundland, or Terra noua,for fiſh: you ſhal vnderſtand that ſome fiſh not neere the other by 200.leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and ſome yeres come many more then other ſome, as I ſee the like among vs: who ſince my firſt trauell being but 4. yeeres, are increaſed from 30.ſayle to 50. which commeth to paſſe chiefly by the imagination of the Weſterne men, who thinke their neighbours haue had greater gaines then in very deed they haue, for that they ſee me to take ſuch paines yeerely to go in proper perſon: they alſo ſuppoſe that I find ſome ſecret commoditie by reaſon that I doe ſearch the harbors, creekes and hauens, and alſo the land much more then euer any Engliſhman hath done. Surely I am glad that it ſo increaſeth,whereof ſoeuer it ſpringeth. But to let this paſſe, you ſhall vnderſtand that I am informed that there are aboue 100. ſaile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet,and do drie it when they come home) beſides 20. or 30. more that come from Biſkaie to kill Whale for Traine. Theſe be better appoynted for ſhipping and furniture of munition, then any nation ſauing the Engliſhmen, who commonly are lords of the harbors where they fiſh, and do vſe all ſtrangers helpe in fiſhing if need require, according to an old cuſtome of the countrey, which thing they do willingly, ſo that you take nothing from them more then a boat or twaine of ſalt, in reſpect of your protection of them againſt rouers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be neere fiue or ſixe thouſand tunne. But of Portugals there are not lightly aboue 50.ſaile, and they make all wet in like ſorte, whoſe tunnage may amount to three thouſand tuns, and not vpwarde. Of the French nation and Britons, are about one hundred and fiftie ſailes, the moſt of their ſhipping is very ſmall, not paſt fortie tunnes, among which ſome are great and reaſonably well appointed, better then the Portugals, and not ſo well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be ſome 7000.tunne. Their ſhipping is from all parts of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from moſt parts of Spaine, the Portugals from Auiero and Viana, and from 2. or 3. ports more. The trade that our nation hath to Iſland maketh,that the Engliſh are not there in ſuch numbers as other nations.

The fertility of Newfoundland.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodneſſe of the countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand that I haue in ſundry places ſowen Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Peaſe and ſeedes of herbes, kernels, Plumſtones, nuts, all which haue proſpered as in England. The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in ſome places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Peare-tree meet to graffe on. As for Roſes, they are as common as brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raſpis, as common as graſſe. The timber is moſt Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple trees: fewe of theſe two kinds meete to maſte a ſhip of threeſcore and ten: but neere Cape Briton, and to the Southward, big and ſufficient for any ſhip. There be alſo Okes & thornes, there is in

all

Generall ſortes of fiſh.

Called by the Spaniards Anchouas, and by the Portugals Capelinas.

all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meeteſt wood for cole, and alſo Willow, which will ſerue for many other purpoſes. As touching the kindes of Fiſh beſide Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plaſe, or rather wee ſhould call them Flounders, Dog fiſh, and another moſt excellent of taſte called of vs a Cat, Oiſters, and Muſkles, in which I haue found pearles aboue 40. in one Muſkle, and generally all haue ſome, great or ſmall. I heard of a Portugall that found one worth 300. duckets: There are alſo other kinds of Shel-fiſh, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobſters, and crabs: alſo a fiſh like a *Smelt which commeth on ſhore, and another that hath the like propertie, called a Squid: theſe be the fiſhes, which (when I pleaſe to bee merie with my old companions) I ſay, doe come on ſhore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports, and coniure them by ſuch like words: Theſe alſo bee the fiſhes which I may ſweepe with broomes on a heape, and neuer wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatſoeuer they be appoynted by any man, ſo they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes be ſmall, but the nature of the fiſh great and ſtrange. For the Squid, whoſe nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I ſet him a candle to ſee his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it as doe our freſh water fiſh, the other commeth alſo in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would deuoure him, and therefore for feare comming ſo neere the ſhore, is driuen drie by the ſurge of the Sea on the pibble and ſands. Of theſe being as good as a Smelt you may take vp with a ſhoue-net as plentifully as you do Wheate in a ſhouell, ſufficient in three or foure houres for a whole Citie. There be alſo other fiſhes which I tell thoſe that are deſirous of ſtrange newes, that I take as faſt as one would gather vp ſtones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie ſay they, wee beleeue ſo, and that you catch all the reſt you bring home in that ſort, from Portugals and Frenchmen. No ſurely, but thus I doe: with three hookes ſtretched forth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele ſpeare, with which I picke thoſe Flounders as faſt as you would take vp fritters with a ſharpe pointed ſticke, and with that toole I may take vp in leſſe then halfe a day Lobſters ſufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This paſtime ended, I ſhewe them that for my pleaſure I take a great Maſtiue I haue, and ſay no more then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fiſh that obeyeth not this Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Chriſtendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of thoſe great Cods by reaſon of ſheluing ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him vp backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cauſe my friendes to wonder, and at the firſt hearing to iudge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merrie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

I tolde you once I doe remember how in my trauaile into Africa and America, I found trees that bare Oiſters, which was ſtrange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oiſters and Muſkles did ſticke faſt, as their propertie is, to ſtakes and timber.

Nowe to let theſe merrie tales paſſe, and to come to earneſt matters againe, you ſhall vnderſtand, that Newfoundland is in a temperate Climate, and not ſo colde as fooliſh Mariners doe ſay, who finde it colde ſometimes when plentie of Iſles of yce lie neere the ſhore: but vp in the land they ſhall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the yce that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the ſituation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of little ſmall riuers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of ſnow and raine: few ſprings that euer I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in ſome places or rather in moſt places great lakes with plentie of fiſh, the countrey moſt couered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good graſſe, and plentie of Beares euery where, ſo that you may kill of them as oft as you liſt: their fleſh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other if it be powdred but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like ſtore. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wild Geeſe, and many other kind of birdes ſtore, too long to write, eſpecially at one Iſland named Penguin, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ſhip as many as ſhall lade her. Theſe birdes are alſo called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of theſe then in a gooſe: the Frenchmen that fiſh neere the grand baie, doe bring ſmall ſtore of fleſh with them, but victuall themſelues alwayes with theſe birdes. Nowe againe, for Veniſon plentie, eſpecially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Pleſance: there are many other kinds of beaſts, as Luzarnes and other mightie beaſtes like to Camels in greatneſſe, and their feete clouen, I did ſee them farre off not able to diſcerne them perfectly, but their ſteps ſhewed that their feete were clouen, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I ſuppoſe them to bee a kind of Buffes which

I read to bee in the countreyes adiacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee alſo to the Northwards, Hares and Foxes in all parts ſo plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our fleſh before our faces within leſſe then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie perſons were turning of drie fiſh, and two dogs in ſight, yet ſtoode they not in feare till wee gaue ſhot and ſet the dogs vpon them: the Beares alſo be as bold, which will not ſpare at midday to take your fiſh before your face, and I beleeue aſſuredly would not hurt any bodie vnleſſe they be forced.

Nowe to ſhew you my fancie what places I ſuppoſe meeteſt to inhabite in thoſe parts diſcouered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand Bay, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chaſteaux, and one Iſland in the very entrie of the ſtreight called Bell Iſle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are ſtones and things meete for it throughout all Newfound land) wee ſhall bee lordes of the whole fiſhing in ſmall time, if it doe ſo pleaſe the Queenes Maieſtie, and from thence ſend wood and cole with all neceſſaries to Labrador lately diſcouered: but I am of opinion, and doe moſt ſtedfaſtly beleeue that we ſhall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fiſhing then any yet we haue vſed, where wee ſhall haue not farre from thence plentie of ſalt made by fire vndoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reaſon I finde ſalt kerned on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: theſe places may bee found for ſalte in three and fortie. I know more touching theſe two commodities laſt remembred then any man of our nation doeth; for that I haue ſome knowledge in ſuch matters, and haue moſt deſired the finding of them by painefull trauaile, and moſt diligent inquirie. Now to be ſhort, for I haue bene ouer long by Maſter Butlers means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde worthy of remembrance: wherefore this one thing more. I could wiſh the Iſland in the mouth of the riuer of Canada ſhould bee inhabited, and the riuer ſearched, for that there are many things which may riſe thereof, as I will ſhew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proofe whether it be true or no that I haue read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugals to bee in that riuer, and about Cape Briton. I had almoſt forgot to ſpeake of the plentie of wolues, and to ſhew you that there be foxes, blacke white & gray: other beaſts I know none ſaue thoſe before remembred. I found alſo certain Mines of yron and copper in S. Iohns, and in the Iſland of Yron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had deſire to plant thereabout, for proofe whereof I haue brought home ſome of the oare of both ſortes. And thus I ende, aſſuring you on my faith, that if I had not beene deceiued by the vile Portugals deſcending of the Iewes and Iudas kinde, I had not failed to haue ſearched this riuer, and all the coaſt of Cape Briton, what might haue bene found to haue benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falſifying their faith and promiſe, diſappointed me of the ſalte they ſhould haue brought me in part of recompenſe of my good ſeruice in defending them two yeeres againſt French Rouers, that had ſpoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me loſe not onely the ſearching of the countrey, but alſo forced mee to come home with great loſſe aboue 600. li. For recompence whereof I haue ſent my man into Portugall to demaund iuſtice at the Kings hand, if not, I muſt put vp my ſupplication to the Queenes Maieſty & her honourable councell, to grant me leaue to ſtay here ſo much of their goods as they haue dammified mee, or elſe that I may take of them in Newfound land, as much fiſh as ſhall be worth 600. li. or as much as the ſalte might haue made. I pray you aduertiſe mee what way I were beſt to take, and what hope there will bee of a recompence if I follow the ſuite: many there are that doe comfort me, and doe bid me proceede, for that her Maieſtie and the councell doe tender poore fiſher men, who with me haue ſuſteined three hundred pound loſſe in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend ſhall thinke me a man ſufficient and of credite, to ſeeke the Iſle of S. Iohn, or the riuer of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Briton, I ſhall giue my diligence for the true and perfect diſcouerie, and leaue ſome part of mine owne buſineſſe to further the ſame: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Briſtow the 13. of Nouember, 1578.

Yours to vſe and command
ANTHONY PARCKHVRST.

The Letters Patents graunted by her Maieſtie to Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in *America*.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Know ye that of our ſpeciall grace, certaine ſcience and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, doe giue and graunt to our truſtie and welbeloued ſeruaunt Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Deuonſhire knight, and to his heires and aſſignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time and at all times for euer hereafter, to diſcouer, finde, ſearch out, and view ſuch remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually poſſeſſed of any Chriſtian prince or people, as to him, his heires & aſſignes, and to euery or any of them, ſhall ſeeme good: and the ſame to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and aſſignes for euer, with all commodities, iuriſdictions and royalties both by ſea and land: and the ſayd ſir Humfrey and all ſuch as from time to time by licence of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ſhall goe and trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the diſcretion of the ſayde ſir Humfrey, and of his heires and aſſignes, the ſtatutes or actes of Parliament made againſt Fugitiues, or againſt ſuch as ſhall depart, remaine, or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, ſtatute, lawe, or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And wee doe likewiſe by theſe preſents, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, giue full authoritie and power to the ſaide Sir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them, that hee and they, and euery, or any of them, ſhall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the ſame voyages, to trauell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and euery or any of them, ſuch and ſo many of our ſubiects as ſhall willingly accompany him and them, and euery or any of them, with ſufficient ſhipping, and furniture for their tranſportations, ſo that none of the ſame perſons, nor any of them be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be ſpecially reſtrained by vs, our heires and ſucceſſors. And further, that he the ſaid Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them ſhall haue, hold, occupy & enioy to him, his heires or aſſignes, and euery of them for euer, all the ſoyle of all ſuch lands, countries, & territories ſo to be diſcouered or poſſeſſed as aforeſaid, and of all Cities, Caſtles, Townes and Villages, and places in the ſame, with the rites, royalties and iuriſdictions, as well marine as other, within the ſayd lands or countreys of the ſeas thereunto adioyning, to be had or vſed with ful power to diſpoſe thereof, & of euery part thereof in fee ſimple or otherwiſe, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the ſame conueniently may be, at his, and their will & pleaſure, to any perſon then being, or that ſhall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, paying vnto vs for all ſeruices, dueties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and ſiluer, that from time to time, and at all times after ſuch diſcouerie, ſubduing and poſſeſſing ſhall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys and territories, ſhall for euer bee holden by the ſayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours by homage, and by the ſayd payment of the ſayd fift part before reſerued onely for all ſeruices.

And moreouer, we doe by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, giue and graunt licence to the ſayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or aſſignes, and to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them ſhall, and may from time to time, and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulſe, repell, and reſiſt, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatſoeuer, all, and euery ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoeuer, as without the ſpeciall licence and liking of the ſayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and aſſignes, ſhall attempt to inhabite within the ſayd countreys, or any of them, or within the ſpace of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within ſuch countreys as aforeſayd, if they ſhall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforeſayd, with the ſubiects of any Chriſtian prince, being in amitie with her Maieſty, where the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their aſſociates or companies, ſhall within ſixe yeeres next enſuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by theſe preſents, further power and authoritie to the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter to take and ſurpriſe by all maner of meanes whatſoeuer, all and euery perſon and perſons, with their ſhippes, veſſels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, or his heires or aſſignes as aforeſayd, ſhall bee found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforeſayde, (the ſubiects of our Realmes and dominions, and all other perſons in amitie with vs, being driuen by force of tempeſt or ſhipwracke onely excepted) and thoſe perſons and euery of them with their ſhips, veſſels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and poſſeſſe, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the diſcretion of him the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and of euery or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie of ſuch countreys, landes and territories ſo to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterpriſe: wee doe by theſe preſents graunt, and declare, that all ſuch countreys ſo hereafter to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayd, from thenceforth ſhall bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours. And wee doe graunt to the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other perſon and perſons, being of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be noted or entred in ſome of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the aſſent of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, ſhall nowe in this iourney for diſcouerie, or in the ſecond iourney for conqueſt hereafter, trauel to ſuch lands, countries and territories as aforeſaid, and to their and euery of their heires: that they and euery or any of them being either borne within our ſayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter ſhall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with ſuch licence as aforeſayd, ſhall, and may haue, and enioy all the priuileges of free denizens and perſons natiue of England, and within our allegiance: any law, cuſtome, or vſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And foraſmuch, as vpon the finding out, diſcouering and inhabiting of ſuch remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforeſayd, it ſhall be neceſſarie for the ſafetie of all men that ſhall aduenture themſelues in thoſe iourneys or voiages, to determine to liue together in Chriſtian peace and ciuill quietneſſe each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleaſure and profit, enioy that whereunto they ſhall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours are likewiſe pleaſed and contented, and by theſe preſents doe giue and graunt to the ſayd ſir Humfrey and his heires and aſſignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may from time to time for euer hereafter within the ſayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, puniſh, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good diſcretions and pollicies, as well in cauſes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all ſuch our ſubiects and others, as ſhall from time to time hereafter aduenture themſelues in the ſayd iourneys or voyages habitatiue or poſſeſſiue, or that ſhall at any time hereafter inhabite any ſuch lands, countreys or territories as aforeſayd, or that ſhall abide within two hundred leagues of any the ſayd place or places, where the ſayd ſir Humfrey or his heires, or aſſignes, or any of them, or any of his or their aſſociats or companies, ſhall inhabite within ſixe yeeres next enſuing the date hereof, according to ſuch ſtatutes, lawes and ordinances, as ſhall be by him the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, or euery, or any of them deuiſed or eſtabliſhed for the better gouernement of the ſaid people as aforeſayd: ſo alwayes that the ſayd ſtatutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conueniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes & pollicy of England: and alſo, that they be not againſt the true Chriſtian faith or religion now profeſſed in the church of England, nor in any wiſe to withdraw any of the ſubiects or people of thoſe lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, as their immediate Soueraignes vnder God. And further we doe by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, giue and graunt full power and authority to our truſtie and welbeloued counſeller, ſir William Cecill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treaſurer of England, and to the lord treaſurer of England of vs, for the time being, and to the priuie counſell of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, ſhall, and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or ſeales by vertue of theſe preſents, authorize and licence the ſayd ſir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them by him and themſelues, or by their or any of their ſufficient atturneys, deputies officers, miniſters, factors and ſeruants, to imbarke and tranſport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their aſſociates and companies, and euery or any of them, with ſuch other neceſſaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the ſame lord treaſurer or foure of the priuie counſell of vs, our heires, or ſucceſſours for the time being, as aforeſayd, ſhall be from time to time by his or their wiſedoms or diſcretions thought meete and conuenient for the better reliefe and ſupportation of him the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them, and his and their, and euery or any of their ſaid aſſociates and companies, any act, ſtatute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleaſure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Chriſtian Kings, princes and ſtates, that if the ſaid Sir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, ſhall at any time or times hereafter robbe or ſpoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of vniuſt and vnlawfull hoſtilitie to any of the Subiects of vs, our heires, or ſucceſſours, or any of the Subiects of any King, prince, ruler, gouernour or ſtate being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or ſucceſſours: and that vpon ſuch iniurie, or vpon iuſt complaint of any ſuch prince, ruler, gouernour or ſtate, or their ſubiects, wee our heires or ſucceſſors ſhall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the ſaid Sir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any other to whom theſe our Letters patents may extend, ſhall within the terme to be limited by ſuch proclamations, make full reſtitution and ſatiſfaction of all ſuch iniuries done, ſo as both we and the ſaide Princes, or others ſo complayning, may holde vs and themſelues fully contended: And that if the ſaide Sir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, ſhall not make or cauſe to bee made ſatiſfaction accordingly, within ſuch time ſo to be limited: that then it ſhall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, to put the ſaid Sir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the ſaid places to be diſcouered as is aforeſaide, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after ſuch time of putting out of protection the ſaide Sir Humfrey, and his heires, aſſignes, adherents and others ſo to be put out, and the ſaid places within their habitation, poſſeſſion and rule, ſhal be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all Princes and others to purſue with hoſtilitie as being not our Subiects, nor by vs any way to bee aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expreſſe mention, &c. In witneſſe whereof, &c. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Weſtminſter the 11. day of Iune, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipſam Reginam, &c.

De Nauigatione Illuſtris & Magnanimi Equitis aurati *Humfredi Gilberti*, ad deducendam in nouum Orbem coloniam ſuſceptâ, Carmen STEPHANI PARMENII BUDEII.

Ad eundem illuſtrem equitem autoris præfatio.

REddenda eſt, quàm fieri poteſt breuiſſimè, in hoc veſtibulo, ratio facti mei, & cur ita homo nouus & externus, in tanta literatiſſimorum hominum copia, quibus Anglia beata eſt, verſandum in hoc argumento mihi putauerim: ita enim tu, fortiſſime Gilberte, fœtum hunc noſtrum in lucem exire voluiſti. In ſeruitute & barbarie Turcica, Chriſtianis tamen, magno immortalis Dei beneficio, parentibus natus, aliquã etiam ætatis partem educatus; poſtquam doctiſſimorum hominum opera, quibus tum Pannoniæ noſtra, tum imprimis ſaluæ adhuc earum reliquiæ floreſcunt, in literis adoleuiſſem, more noſtrorum hominum, ad inuiſendas Chriſtiani orbis Academias ablegatus fui. Qua in peregrinatione, non ſolùm complura Muſarum hoſpitia, ſed multas etiam ſapienter inſtitutas reſpublicas, multarum Eccleſiarum probatiſſimas adminiſtrationes introſpeximus, iam fermè triennio ea in re poſito. Fuerat hæc noſtra profectio ita à nobis comparata, vt non tantùm mores & vrbes gentium videndum, ſed in familiaritatem, aut ſaltem notitiam illuſtriorum hominum introëundum nobis putaremus. Cæterum, vt hoc à nobis ſine inuidia dici poſſit, (certè enim taceri abſque malicia nullo modo poteſt) non locus, non natio, non reſpublica vlla nobis æquè ac tua Britannia complacuit, quamcunque in partem euentum conſilij mei conſiderem. Accedit, quòd præter omnem expectationem meam ab omnibus tuis ciuibus, quibuſcum aliqua conſuetudo mihi contigit, tanta paſſim humanitate acceptus eſſem; vt iam (ſit hoc ſalua pietate à me dictum) ſuauiſſima Anglorum amicitiæ fermè aboleuerint deſiderium & Pannoniarum & Budæ meæ, quibus patriæ nomen debeo. Quas ob cauſſas cùm ſæpenumero animus fuiſſet ſignificationem aliquam noſtræ huius voluntatis & exiſtimationis edendi; accidit vtique ſecundùm ſententiam, vt dum ſalutandis & cognoſcendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatiſſimus ac doctiſſimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus *ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi præclariſſimo tuo de ducenda propediem colonia in nouum orbem inſtituto. Quæ dum aguntur, agnoſcere potui ego illud corpus & animum tuum ſempiterna poſteritatis commemoratione dignum, & agnoui profecto, eâque tali ac tanta obſeruantia proſequi cœpi; vt cum paulò poſt plura de tuis virtutibus, & rebus geſtis paſſim audiuiſſem, tempus longè accommodatiſſimum exiſtimarem eſſe, quo aliqua parte officij*

ſtudijque noſtri, ergà te & tuam gentem perfungerer. Hoc eſt primum ouum, vnde noſtrum [illegible] originem ducit. Reliquum eſt, vt eas & redeas quàm proſperrimè, vir nobiliſſime, & beneuolentia tua, autoritate, ac nomine, tueare ſtudium noſtrum. Vale pridie Kalen. Aprilis 1583.

AD THAMESIN.

AMnis, inoffenſa qui tàm requiete beatus
Antipodum quæris iam tibi in orbe locum:
Nunc tibi principium meritæ, pro tempore, laudis
Fecimus, & raucæ carmina prima tubæ.
Tum cum reddideris, modo quam dimittimus, Argo,
Ornatu perages gaudia feſta nouo.

QVæ noua tàm ſubitò mutati gratia cœli?
Vnde graues nimbi vitreas tenuantur in auras?
Diffugiunt nebulæ, puroque nitentior ortu
Illuſtrat terras, clementiaque æquora TITAN?
Nimirum poſuere NOTI, meliorque reſurgit
EVRVS, & in ventos ſoluuntur vela ſecundos,
Vela quibus gentis decus immortale BRITANNAE
Tendit ad ignotum noſtris maioribus orbem
Vix notis GILEBERTVS aquis. Ecquando licebit
Ordiri heroas laudes, & facta nepotum
Attonitis memoranda animis? Si cœpta ſilendum eſt
Illa, quibus noſtri priſcis ætatibus audent
Conferri, & certare dies: quibus obuia plano
Iamdudum FORTVNA ſolo, quibus omne per vndas
NEREIDVM genus exultat, fauſtoque tridenti
Ipſe pater NEREVS placabile temperat æquor.
Et paſſim Oceano curui Delphines ab imo
In ſummos ſaliunt fluctus, quaſi terga pararent
In quibus euectæ ſulcent freta proſpera puppes.
Et quaſi diluuium, tempeſtateſque minatur
Follibus inflatis inimica in vela phyſeter.
Et fauet ÆGAEON, & qui NEPTVNIA PROTEVS
Armenta, ac turpes alit imo in gurgite phocas.
Atque idem modò ab antiqua virtute celebrat
Sceptra CHALEDONIDVM: ſeclis modò fata futuris
Pandit, & ad ſeros canit euentura minores.
Vt pacis bellique bonis notiſſima vaſto
Inſula in OCEANO, magni decus ANGLIA mundi;
Poſtquam opibus diues, populo numeroſa frequenti,
Tot celebris factis, toto caput extulit orbe;
Non incauta ſui, ne quando immenſa poteſtas
Pondere ſit ruitura ſuo, noua mœnia natis
Quærat, & in longum extendat ſua regna receſſum:
Non aliter, quàm cùm ventis ſublimibus aptæ
In nidis creuere grues, proficiſcitur ingens
De noſtra ad tepidum tellure colonia NILVM.
Euge, ſacrum pectus, tibi, per tot ſecula, ſoli
Seruata eſt regio nullis regnata MONARCHIS.
Et triplici quondam mundi natura notata
Margine, & audacem quarto dignata COLVMBVM;
Iam quintâ luſtranda plagâ tibi, iamque regenda
Imperio supereſt. EVROPAM ASIAMQVE relinque,
Et fortunatam nimiùm, niſi ſole propinquo
Arderet, LIBYEN: illis ſua facta viaſque
Terminet ALCIDES: abs te illuſtranda quieſcit

Parte alia tellus,quam non BABYLONIA ſceptra,
Non MACEDVM inuictæ vires, non PERSICA virtus
Attigit, aut vnquam LATIAE feriere ſecures.
Non illo ſoboles MAHOMETI mugijt orbe:
Non vafer HISPANVS,cœlo,ſuperiſque relictis,
Sacra PAPAE humano crudelia ſanguine fecit.
Illic mortales hominumque ignota propago;
Siue illi noſtræ veniant ab origine gentis,
Seu tandem à priſca FAVNORVM ſtirpe ſuperſint
Antiqua geniti terra, ſine legibus vrbes
Syluaſque & pingues habitant ciuilibus agros:
Et priſcos referunt mores, vitamque ſequuntur
ITALIAE antiquæ, & primi rude temporis æuum:
Cum genitor nati fugiens SATVRNVS ob iram
In LATIO poſuit ſedem,rudibuſque regendos
In tenues vicos homines collegit ab agris.
Aurea in hoc primùm populo cœpiſſe feruntur
Secula,ſicque homines vitam duxiſſe beati;
Vt ſimul argenti percurrens tempora, & æris,
Degener in durum chalybem vileſceret ætas;
Rurſus in antiquum, de quo deſcenderat, aurum
(Sic perhibent vates) æuo vertente rediret.
Fallor an eſt tempus, reuolutoque orbe videntur
Aurea pacificæ tranſmittere ſecula gentes?
Fallor enim, ſi quaſſatas tot cladibus vrbes
Reſpicio, & paſſim lacerantes regna tyrannos:
Si MAHOMETIGENIS ASIAM LIBYAMQVE cruento
MARTE premi, domitaque iugum ceruice ſubire:
Iamque per EVROPAE fines immane tribunal
BARBARI adorari domini, DACISQVE, PELASGISQVE
ÆMATHIISQVE, omnique ſolo quod diuidit HEBRVS,
Et quondam bello inuictis,nunc MARTE ſiniſtro
Anguſtos fines, paruamque tuentibus oram
PANNONIAE populis, & priſca in gente LIBVRNIS.
Tum verò in ſuperos pugnas ſine fine cieri
Patribus AVSONIIS: ardere in bella, neceſque
SARMATICAS gentes: & adhuc à cæde recenti
HISPANVM ſancto GALLVMQVE madere cruore.
Non ſunt hæc auri,non ſunt documenta, ſed atrox
Ingenio referunt ferrum,& ſi dicere ferro
Deteriora mihi licet,intractabile ſaxum.
    At verò ad niueos alia ſi parte BRITANNOS
Verto oculos animumque, quos, ô pulcherrima tellus,
Teſtibus antiquo vitam traducis in auro?
Namque quòd hoc ſummum colitur tibi numen honore
Quo ſuperi,atque omnis geniorum caſta iuuentus
Illius ad ſacra iuſſa vices obit, arguit aurum.
Quòd tàm chara DEO tua ſceptra gubernat AMAZON,
Quàm DEA,cum nondum cœlis ASTRÆA petitis
Inter mortales regina erat, arguit aurum.
Quòd colit haud vllis incluſas mœnibus vrbes
Aurea libertas, & neſcia ferre tyrannum
Securam ætatem tellus agit, arguit aurum,
Quòd regio nullis iniuria gentibus, arma
Arma licet ferruginea rubicunda quiete,
Finitimis metuenda gerit tamen, arguit aurum.
Quòd gladij, quòd mucrones, quòd pila, quòd haſtæ
In raſtros abiere, & bello aſſueta iuuentus

Pacem & amicitias dulces colis, arguit aurum.
Denique ſi fas eſt auro connectere laudes
Æris, & in pacis venerari tempore fortes;
Quot natos bello heroas, quot ahænea nutris
Pectora? Sint teſtes procerum tot millia, teſtes
Mille duces, interque duces notiſſima mille
Illa cui aſſurgunt MVSÆ, quam conſcia PALLAS
Lætior exaudit, GILBERTI gloria noſtri.
Illius auxilium, & ſocialia prælia amici
Mirantur BELGÆ, & quamuis iniuſtus IBERVS
Commemorat iuſtas acies, domitaſque per oras
Martia victrices formidat HIBERNIA turmas.
Illum oppugnatæ quaſſatis turribus arces,
Illum expugnatæ perruptis mœnibus vrbes,
Fluminaque & portus capti, hoſtilique notatum
Sanguine ſubmerſæ meminere ſub æquore claſſes.
Hìc vbi per medios proiectus SEQVANA CELTAS
Labitur, & nomen mox amiſſurus, & vndas.
Omnia ſi deſint, quantum eſt ingentibus auſis
Humani generis pro pace bonoque paciſci
Tàm varios caſus, freta tanta, pericula tanta?
Linquere adhuc teneram prolem, & dulciſſima ſacri
Oſcula coniugij, numerantemque ordine longo
AVCHERIAM digitis in mollibus, æquora mille
Formidanda modis, atque inter pauca relatos
AVCHERIOS exempla ſuos, fratremque patremque;
Qui dum pro patriâ laudem & virtute ſequuntur,
Obſeſſi in muris ſoli portiſque CALETI,
Præpoſuere mori, quàm cum prodentibus vrbem,
Et decus ALBIONVM, turpi ſupereſſe ſalute.
Quòd ſi parua loquor, nec adhuc fortaſſe fatenda eſt
Aurea in hoc iterum noſtro gens viuere mundo,
Quid vetat ignotis vt poſſit ſurgere terris?
Auguror, & faueat dictis DEVS, auguror annos,
In quibus haud illo ſecus olim principe in vrbes
Barbara plebs coëat, quàm cùm noua ſaxa vocaret
AMPHION THEBAS, TROIANA ad mœnia PHOEBVS.
Atque vbi ſic vltrò iunctas ſociauerit ædes,
Deinde dabit leges cuſtoditurus eaſdem;
In quibus ignari ciues fraudumque, dolique,
A ſolida aſſueſcant potius virtute beari;
Quàm genio & molli liquentia corpora vita
In Venerem ignauam, pinguemque immergere luxum:
Quàm nummos, quam lucra ſequi, quam propter honores
Viuere ad arbitrium ſtolidæ mutabile plebis.
Non illic generi virtus, opibuſue premetur
Libertas populi, non contrà in deſide vulgo
Oppugnabit opes ciuis ſub nomine pauper:
Quiſque ſuo partem fœlix in iure capeſſet,
Tum ſua magna parens ingenti fœnore tellus
Exiguo ſudore dabit bona: cura iuuentam
Nulla adiget ſenio, nec ſic labor ocia tollet,
Quo minus è virtute petant ſua commoda ciues.
O mihi fœlicem ſi fas conſcendere puppim:
Et tecum patriâ (pietas ignoſce) relictâ
Longinquum penetrare fretum, penetrare ſorores
Mecum vnâ AONIAS, illic exordia gentis
Prima nouæ ad ſeros tranſmittere poſſe nepotes!

Sed me fata vetant, memoraturúmque canorâ
Inclyta facta tubâ, ad clades miſerabilis ISTRI
Inuitum retrahunt. His his me fata reſeruent:
Non deerit vates, illo qui cantet in orbe
Aut veteres populos, aut noſtro incognita cœlo
Munera naturæ; dum ſpreto HELICONE manebit
Illa AGANIPPÆIS ſacrata OXONIA Muſis.
    Dum loquor in viridi feſtinant gramine Nymphæ,
Impediuntque comas lauro, & florentis oliuæ
Frondibus armantur, dominatricemque frequentes
Oceani immenſi longè venerantur ELISAM.
Illa autem ad gelidum celſis de turribus amnem
Proſpicit, & iamiam TAMESINO in patre tuetur
Paulatim obliquis GILBERTVM albeſcere velis.
Sic dea PELIACO ſpectaſſe è vertice PALLAS
Fertur IASONIOS comites, ad PHASIDOS vndas
Vix benè dum notis committere carbaſa ventis.
DIVA faue, nutuque tuo ſuſcepta parari
Vela iuua; Si ſola geris digniſſima totum
Talibus auſpicijs proferri ſceptra per orbem.
Propterea quia ſola tuos ita pace beaſti
Tranquilla populos, vt iam te principe poſſint
Augere imperij fines. Quia ſola videris
Quo niueæ CHARITES, quo corpore DELIA virgo
Pingitur, & iuſto ſi ſit pro teſte vetuſtas.
Talibus audimus quondam de matribus ortos
SEMIDEOS homines: tali eſt de ſanguine magnus
Siue HECTOR genitus, ſiue HECTORE maior ACHILLES:
Duntaxat ſine fraude vlla, ſine crimine poſſint
Vlla tibi veterum conferri nomina matrum.
Quæ ſexum factis ſuperas, quæ patribus audes,
NYMPHA, dijs dignas laudes æquare LATINIS.
Mentior infœlix, niſi ſic in corpore virtus
Lucet formoſo, ceu quæ precioſior auro eſt
Gemma, tamen pariter placituro clauditur auro.
Mentior, & taceo, niſi ſola audiris vbique
Induperatorum timor aut amor, inter & omnes
Securam requiem peragis tutiſſima caſus:
Dum reliqui reges duro quaſi carcere clauſi
Sollicitis lethi dapibus, plenoque fruuntur
Terrificis monſtris furtiua per ocia ſomno.
Mentior & taceo, ſolam niſi viuere ciues
Æternùm cupiunt: quando nec verbere toruo,
Nec cædis pœnæue thronum formidine firmas:
Sed tibi tot meritis maieſtas parta, & inermis
Ad patulos reſidet cuſtos clementia poſtes:
Vt quot penè rei iuſtum meruere tribunal,
Tot veniam grato narrent ſermone clientes.
Nec tamen admittis, niſi quod iuſtumque piumque
Agnoſcit probitas, & quæ potes omnia, ſolis
Legibus vſurpas cautas ſanctiſſima vires.
Nec mala formidas: ſi quidem quaſi fune ligatur
Conſilio fortuna tibi: Nullum impia terret
In caſtris BELLONA tuis: Quin pronus adorat
GRADIVVS tua iuſſa pater, ſequiturque vocantem
Quacunque ingrederis grato victoria plauſu.
Dumque fores alijs, vitamque & regna tuetur
Ianitor externus, cingunt tua limina ciues:

Dumque alijs ſordet ſapientia regibus, almo
PEGASIDVM tu fonte ſatur, tot APOLLINIS artes
Aurea vaticina fundis quaſi flumina lingua.
Nil noſtri inuenere dies, nil priſca vetuſtas
Prodidit, in linguis peragunt commercia nullis
CHRISTIADVM gentes, quas te, diuina virago,
Iuſtius AONIÆ poſſint iactare ſorores.
Audijt hæc mundus, cunctiſque in finibus ardet
Imperio parêre tuo: & quæ ſortè recuſat
Miratur vires regio tamen. Hinc tua ſceptra
Incurua MAHOMETIGENÆ ceruice ſalutant:
Hinc tua pugnaces properant ad fœdera GALLI:
Dumque ſibi metuit toties tibi victus IBERVS,
Neſcia ROMANO GERMANIA Marte domari
Quærit amicitias BRITONVM: procul oſcula mittit
Virgineis pedibus LATIVM, longéque remoti
PANNONES in tutos optant coaleſcere fines.
Quinetiam quæ ſubmiſſo diademate nuper
Noua Albion. Obtulit inuictis faſceſque fidemque BRITANNIS,
Nonne vides paſſis vt crinibus horrida dudum
Porrigit ingentem lugubris AMERICA dextram?
Et numquid lacrymas, inquit, ſoror ANGLIA, noſtras
Reſpicis, & dura nobiſcum in ſorte gemiſcis?
An verò neſciſſe potes, quæ tempora quantis
Cladibus egerimus? poſtquam inſatiabilis auri,
Nam certè non vllus amor virtutis IBEROS
In noſtrum migrare ſolum, pietaſue coëgit.
Ex illo, quæ ſacra prius væſana litabam
Manibus infernis, ſperans meliora, tuumque
Diſcere poſſe DEVM, iubeor, mortalibus aras
Erigere, & mutas ſtatuas truncoſque precata
Neſcio quod demens ROMANVM numen adoro.
Cur trahor in terras? ſi mens eſt lucida, puris
Cur DEVS in cœlis rectâ non quæritur? aut ſi
A nobis cœlum petitur, cur ſæpe videmus
Igne, fame, ferro ſubigi, quocunque reatu
Oenotriæ ſedis maieſtas læſa labaſcit?
Non ſic relligio, non ſic me iudice gaudet
Defendi ſua regna DEVS, quòd ſi optimus ille eſt;
Quòd ſi cuncta poteſt, & nullis indiget armis.
Mitto queri cædes, exhauſtaque mœnia bello:
Mitto queri in viles tot libera corpora ſeruos
Abiecta, immaníque iugum Buſiride dignum.
Te tantum fortuna animet tua, te tua virtus:
Si tibi tam plenis habitantur mœnibus vrbes,
Vt niſi in excelſum creſcant, cœloque minentur
Ædes aëriæ; quanquam latiſſima, deſit
Terra tamen populo: Si tot tua flumina nigrant
Turrigeras arces imitatæ mole carinæ,
Quot non illa natant eadem tua flumina cygni.
Si tibi iam ſub ſole iacens penetratus vtroque eſt
Mundus, vtroque iacens peragrata eſt terra ſub axe.
Hugo Willobeius eques auratus. Ni fruſtrà gelidam vectus WILOBEIVS ad arcton
Illa in gente iacet, cui dum Sol circinat vmbras,
Dimidio totus vix forſitan occidit anno.
Ni fruſtrà quæſiuit iter, duraque bipenni
Martinus Frobisherus eques auratus. Illo FROBISERVS reditum ſibi in æquore fecit,
Horridum vbi ſemper pelagus, glacieque perenni

Frigora natiuos ſimulant immitia montes.
Ni fruſtrà per CIMMERIOS, ſyluiſque propinqua
Flumina RIPHAEIS eoa profectus ad vſque eſt
Mœnia IENCISONUS, PERSASQVE & proxima PERSIS
BACTRA, & BACTRORVM confines regibus INDOS. Antonius Ienkinſonus.
Ni fruſtrà, quod mortali tot ſecla negarant,
Hâc tuus immenſum nuper DRACVS ambijt orbem,
Quà patri OCEANO clauſas circumdare terras Franciſcus Dracus eques auratus.
Conceſſit natura viam, mediaque meare
Tellure, & duplici ſecludere littore mundos.
Iam ſi fortuna, iam ſi virtute ſequare
Digna tua; ſunt monſtra mihi, ſunt vaſta gigantum
Corpora, quæ magno cecidiſſe ſub HERCVLE non ſit
Dedecus, OGIGIVS non quæ aſpernetur IACCVS.
Quæ ſi indigna putas, tantaque in pace beata
Auerſare meos multo vt tibi ſanguine fines
Inuidioſa petas: eſt nobis terra propinqua,
Et tantum bimari capiens diſcrimen in ISTHMO.
Hanc tibi iamdudum primi inuenere BRITANNI,
Tum cum magnanimus noſtra in regione CABOTVS Sebaſtianus Cabotus.
Proximus à magno oſtendit ſua vela COLVMBO.
Hæc neque vicina nimiùm frigeſcit ab arcto,
Sole nec immodico in ſteriles torretur arenas:
Frigus & æſtatem iuſto moderamine ſeruat,
Siue leues auras, grati ſpiracula cœli,
Seu diæ telluris opes, & munera curas.
Pone age te digno tua ſceptra in honore, meoque
Iunge ſalutarem propius cum littore dextram.
Sit mihi fas aliquam per te ſperare quietem,
Vicinoque bono lætum illuceſcere Solem.
Quòd ſi conſilijs ſuperûm, fatiſque negatum eſt
Durare immenſum magna in fortunia tempus:
Quòd ſi de immerita iuſtum eſt ceruice reuelli
Ignarum imperij dominum, populique regendi;
Quòd ſi nulla vnquam potuit ſupereſſe poteſtas,
Ni pia flexilibus pareret clementia frenis
Obſequium. A miti quæſita potentia CYRO
Amiſſa eſt ſæuæ ſoboli. Parcendo ſubegit
Tot reges MACEDVM virtus, tot poſtera ſenſim
Abſcidit a parto tandem inclementia regno.
Et quod ROMVLEIS creuit ſub patribus olim
Imperium, diri ſemper minuêre NERONES.

A report of the voyage and ſucceſſe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by ſir *Humfrey Gilbert* knight, with other gentlemen aſſiſting him in that action, intended to diſcouer and to plant Chriſtian inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon thoſe large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of *Florida*, lying vnder very temperate Climes, eſteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian prince, written by M. *Edward Haies* gentleman, and principall actour in the ſame voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by Gods ſpeciall aſſiſtance returned home with his retinue ſafe and entire.

Many voyages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any thorowly accompliſhed by our nation of exact diſcouery into the bowels of thoſe maine, ample and vaſt countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Chriſtian habitation and regiment vpon the ſame, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually poſſeſſe therein, & by our ignorance

of the riches and ſecrets within thoſe lands, which vnto this day we know chiefly by the trauell and report of other nations, and moſt of the French, who albeit they can not challenge ſuch right and intereſt vnto the ſayd countreys as we, neither theſe many yeeres haue had oportunity nor meanes ſo great to diſcouer and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of inteſtine warres) as we haue had by the ineſtimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet haue they both waies performed more, and had long ſince attained a ſure poſſeſſion and ſetled gouernment of many prouinces in thoſe Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into thoſe forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The coaſts frō Florida Northward firſt diſcouered by the Engliſh natiō.

The firſt diſcouery of theſe coaſts (neuer heard of before) was well begun by Iohn Cabot the father, and Sebaſtian his ſonne, an Engliſhman borne, who were the firſt finders out of all that great tract of land ſtretching from the cape of Florida vnto thoſe Iſlands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the ſearch of inland countreys had bene followed, as the diſcouery vpon the coaſt, and out-parts therof was performed by thoſe two men: no doubt her Maieſties territories and reuenue had bene mightily inlarged and aduanced by this day. And which is more; the ſeed of Chriſtian religion had bene ſowed amongſt thoſe pagans, which by this time might haue brought foorth a moſt plentifull harueſt and copious congregation of Chriſtians; which muſt be the chiefe intent of ſuch as ſhall make any attempt that way: or els whatſoeuer is builded vpon other foundation ſhall neuer obtaine happy ſucceſſe nor continuance.

And although we can not preciſely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what haue bene the humours of men ſtirred vp to great attempts of diſcouering and planting in thoſe remote countreys, yet the euents do ſhew that either Gods cauſe hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted ſo abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto thoſe infidels before the appointed time.

But moſt aſſuredly, the only cauſe of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will alſo bring forward at the time aſſigned by God, an effectuall and compleat diſcouery & poſſeſſion by Chriſtians both of thoſe ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithſtanding God in his wiſdome hath permitted to be reuealed from time to time a certaine obſcure and miſty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cauſe) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readineſſe for the execution of his will againſt the due time ordeined, of calling thoſe pagans vnto Chriſtianity.

A fit conſideration.

In the meane while, it behooueth euery man of great calling, in whom is any inſtinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the ſame proceed of ambition or auarice, he may aſſure himſelfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and aſſiſtance againſt the violence (els irreſiſtable) both of ſea, and infinite perils vpon the land; whom God yet may vſe an inſtrument to further his cauſe and glory ſome way, but not to build vpon ſo bad a foundation.

Otherwiſe, if his motiues be deriued from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compaſſion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in moſt wonderfull and dreadfull maner ouer their bodies and ſoules; aduancement of his honeſt and well diſpoſed countreymen, willing to accompany him in ſuch honourable actions; reliefe of ſundry people within this realme diſtreſſed: all theſe be honorable purpoſes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleaſed, who will aſſiſt ſuch an actour beyond expectation of man.

Probable coniectures ỹ theſe lands North of Florida, are reſerued for the Engliſh nation to poſſeſſe.

And the ſame, who feeleth this inclination in himſelfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repoſe in the preordinance of God, that in this laſt age of the world (or likely neuer) the time is compleat of receiuing alſo theſe Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raiſe him an inſtrument to effect the ſame: it ſeeming probable by euent of precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French ſundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reſerued the ſame to be reduced vnto Chriſtian ciuility by the Engliſh nation. For not long after that Chriſtopher Columbus had diſcouered the Iſlands and continent of the Weſt Indies for Spaine, Iohn and Sebaſtian Cabot made diſcouery alſo of the reſt from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

The Spanyards proſperous in the Southerne diſcoueries, yet vnhappy in theſe Northerne.

And whenſoeuer afterwards the Spanyards (very proſperous in all their Southerne diſcoueries) did attempt any thing into Florida and thoſe regions inclining towards the North, they proued moſt vnhappy, and were at length diſcouraged vtterly by the hard and lamentable ſucceſſe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeuouring to bring thoſe Northerly regions alſo vnder the Spaniſh iuriſdiction; as if God had preſcribed limits vnto the Spaniſh nation which they might not exceed: as by their owne geſts recorded may be aptly gathered.

The French, as they can pretend leſſe title vnto theſe Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the firſt diſcouery of the ſame continent ſo far Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but review that before diſcouered by the Engliſh nation, vſurping vpon our right, and impoſing names vpon countreys, riuers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the firſt finders of thoſe coaſts; which iniury we offered not vnto the Spanyards, but left off to diſcouer when we approched the Spaniſh limits: euen ſo God hath not hitherto permitted them to eſtabliſh a poſſeſſion permanent vpon anothers right, notwithſtanding their manifolde attempts, in which the iſſue hath bene no leſſe tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

The French are but vſurpers vpon our right.

The French alſo infortunate in thoſe North parts of America.

Then ſeeing the Engliſh nation onely hath right vnto theſe countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of firſt diſcouery, vnto which Cabot was authoriſed by regall authority, and ſet forth by the expenſe of our late famous king Henry the ſeuenth: which right alſo ſeemeth ſtrongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withſtanding the enterpriſes of other nations: it may greatly incourage vs vpon ſo iuſt ground, as is our right, and vpon ſo ſacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the ſame) to proſecute effectually the full poſſeſſion of thoſe ſo ample and pleaſant countreys apperteining vnto the crowne of England: the ſame (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arriued vnto the time by God preſcribed of their vocation, if euer their calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which alſo is very probable by the reuolution and courſe of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moued from the Eaſt, towards, & at laſt vnto the Weſt, where it is like to end, vnleſſe the ſame begin againe where it did in the Eaſt, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are aſſured of the contrary by the propheſie of Chriſt, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world ſhalbe the end. And as the Goſpel when it deſcended Weſtward began in the South, and afterward ſpread into the North of Europe: euen ſo, as the ſame hath begunne in the South countreys of America, no leſſe hope may be gathered that it will alſo ſpread into the North.

A good incouragement of the Engliſh nation, to proceed in the conqueſts of the North of America.

The due time approcheth by all likelihood of calling theſe heathens vnto Chriſtianity.

The word of God moueth circularly.

Theſe conſiderations may helpe to ſuppreſſe all dreads riſing of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as alſo of the heauy ſucceſſe and iſſue in the late enterpriſe made by a worthy gentleman our countryman ſir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the firſt of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in thoſe Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had conſumed much ſubſtance, and loſt his life at laſt, his people alſo periſhing for the moſt part: yet the myſtery thereof we muſt leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cauſe (which was iuſt in all pretence) and of the perſon, who was very zealous in proſecuting the ſame, deſeruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expenſe of life in ſo vertuous an enterpriſe. Whereby neuertheleſſe, leaſt any man ſhould be diſmayd by example of other folks calamity, and miſdeeme that God doth reſiſt all attempts intended that way: I thought good, ſo farre as my ſelfe was an eye witneſſe, to deliuer the circumſtance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was ſo infortunately incumbred with wants, and worſe matched with many ill diſpoſed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for thoſe affaires, was ſubiected to tolerate abuſes, & in ſundry extremities to holde on a courſe, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to ſucceed.

The iſſue of ſuch actions, being alwayes miſerable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confuſion and diſorder, hath left this for admonition (being the firſt attempt by our nation to plant) vnto ſuch as ſhall take the ſame cauſe in hand hereafter not to be diſcouraged from it: but to make men well aduiſed how they handle his ſo high and excellent matters, as the cariage is of his word into thoſe very mighty and vaſt countreys. An action doubtleſſe not to be intermedled with baſe purpoſes; as many haue made the ſame but a colour to ſhadow actions otherwiſe ſcarſe iuſtifiable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cauſe, without pondering his iuſt proceedings: and doth alſo incenſe forren princes againſt our attempts how iuſt ſoeuer, who can not but deeme the ſequele very dangerous vnto their ſtate (if in thoſe parts we ſhould grow to ſtrength) ſeeing the very beginnings are entred with ſpoile.

The planting of Gods word muſt be handled with reuerence.

Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting vpon remote lands.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cauſe, alſo towards thoſe in whom appeareth diſpoſition honourable vnto this action of planting Chriſtian people and religion in thoſe remote and barbarous nations of America (vnto whom I wiſh all happineſſe) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage vndertaken with ſir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduerſly.

When firſt Sir Humfrey Gilbert vndertooke the Weſterne diſcouery of America, and had

procured

The firſt and great preparation of ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

procured from her Maieſty a very large commiſſion to inhabit & poſſeſſe at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian prince, the ſame commiſſion exemplified with many priuileges, ſuch as in his diſcretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good eſtimation drew vnto him, to aſſociate him in ſo commendable an enterpriſe, ſo that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puiſſant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by ſea: neuertheleſſe, amongſt a multitude of voluntary men, their diſpoſitions were diuers, which bred a iarre, and made a diuiſion in the end, to the confuſion of that attempt euen before the ſame was begun. And when the ſhipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready vpon the coaſt to go aboord: at that time ſome brake conſort, and followed courſes degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promiſes contracted, and the greater number were diſperſed, leauing the Generall with few of his aſſured friends, with whom he aduentured to ſea: where hauing taſted of no leſſe miſfortune, he was ſhortly driuen to retire home with the loſſe of a tall ſhip, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

A conſtant reſolution of ſir Humfry Gilbert.

Hauing buried onely in a preparation a great maſſe of ſubſtance, wherby his eſtate was impaired, his minde yet not diſmaid, he continued his former deſignment & purpoſe to reuiue this enterpriſe, good occaſion ſeruing. Upon which determination ſtanding long, without meanes to ſatiſfy his deſire; at laſt he granted certaine aſſignments out of his cōmiſſion to ſundry perſons of meane ability, deſiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whō if God gaue good ſucceſſe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the ſame (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worſt that might happen in that courſe might be excuſed without preiudice vnto him by the former ſuppoſition, that thoſe North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a poſſeſſion taken in any parcell of thoſe heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did inueſt him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced ſir Humfry Gilbert to make thoſe aſſignments, deſiring greatly their expedition, becauſe his commiſſion did expire after ſix yeres, if in that ſpace he had not gotten actuall poſſeſſion.

A ſecond preparation of ſir Humfry Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his aſſignes: inſomuch that at laſt he muſt reſolue himſelfe to take a voyage in perſon, for more aſſurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almoſt was expired or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongſt others, ſir George Peckam knight ſhewed himſelfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his aduice & in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability ioyned vnto him, reſoluing to aduenture their ſubſtance & liues in the ſame cauſe. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of ſhipping, munition, victual, men, and things requiſit, ſome of them cōtinued the charge two yeres compleat without intermiſſion. Such were the difficulties and croſſe accidents oppoſing theſe proceedings, which tooke not end in leſſe then two yeres: many of which circumſtances I will omit.

The laſt place of our aſſembly, before we left the coaſt of England, was in Cauſet bay neere vnto Plimmouth: then reſolued to put vnto the ſea with ſhipping and prouiſion, ſuch as we had, before our ſtore yet remaining, but chiefly the time and ſeaſon of the yeere, were too farre ſpent. Neuertheleſſe it ſeemed firſt very doubtfull by what way to ſhape our courſe, and to begin our intended diſcouery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

Conſultation about our courſe.

The firſt, that is, beginning South, without all controuerſie was the likelieſt, wherein we were aſſured to haue commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida ſetteth Northward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, diſcouering from the foreſayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all thoſe lands lying to the North.

Commodities in diſcouering from South Northward.

Alſo the yere being farre ſpent, and arriued to the moneth of Iune, we were not to ſpend time in Northerly courſes, where we ſhould be ſurpriſed with timely Winter, but to couet the South, which we had ſpace enough then to haue attained; and there might with leſſe detriment haue wintred that ſeaſon, being more milde and ſhort in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

Theſe and other like reaſons alleged in fauour of the Southerne courſe firſt to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that foraſmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull prouiſions were diminiſhed and left inſufficient for ſo long a voyage, and for the wintering of ſo many men, we ought to ſhape a courſe moſt likely to miniſter ſupply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but ſeuen hundred leagues from our Engliſh coaſt. Where being vſually at that time of the yere, and vntill the fine of Auguſt, a multitude of ſhips repairing thither for fiſh, we ſhould be relieued abundantly with many neceſſaries, which after the fiſhing ended, they might well ſpare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Not ſtaying long vpon that Newland coaſt, we might proceed Southward, and follow ſtill the Sunne, vntill we arriued at places more temperate to our content.

By which reaſons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly courſe, obeying vnto neceſſity, which muſt be ſupplied. Otherwiſe, we doubted that ſudden approch of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke miſts, tempeſt and rage of weather; alſo contrariety of currents deſcending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Briton and cape Raſe, would fall out to be great and irreſiſtable impediments vnto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell vs to Winter in thoſe North and colde regions.

Cauſe why we began our diſcouery fro the North.

Incommodities in beginning North.

Wherfore ſuppreſſing all obiections to the contrary, we reſolued to begin our courſe Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreſhing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permiſſion) to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of ſearch. Immediatly we agreed vpon the maner of our courſe and orders to be obſerued in our voyage; which were deliuered in writing vnto the captaines and maſters of euery ſhip a copy in maner following.

Euery ſhippe had deliuered two bullets or ſcrowles, the one ſealed vp in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included ſeuerall watch-words. That open, ſeruing vpon our owne coaſt or the coaſt of Ireland: the other ſealed, was promiſed on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we ſhould be cleere of the Iriſh coaſt; which from thenceforth did ſerue vntill we arriued and met altogether in ſuch harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vouz. The ſayd watch-words being requiſite to know our conſorts whenſoeuer by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet diſperſed ſhould come together againe; or one ſhould hale another; or if by ill watch and ſteerage one ſhip ſhould chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reaſon of the bullet ſealed was to keepe ſecret that watch-word while we were vpon our owne coaſt, leſt any of the company ſtealing from the fleet might bewray the ſame; which knowen to an enemy, he might boord vs by night without miſtruſt, hauing our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Maſters to be obſerued by the fleet of Sir *Humfrey Gilbert*.

Firſt the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall ſhall ſhorten his ſaile by night, then to ſhew two lights vntill he be anſwered againe by euery ſhip ſhewing one light for a ſhort time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his ſhortening of ſaile, as aforeſayd, ſhall make more ſaile againe: then he to ſhew three lights one aboue another.

4 Item, if the Admirall ſhall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet ſhould happen to be ſcattered by weather, or other miſhap, then ſo ſoone as one ſhall deſcry another, to hoiſe both toppe ſailes twiſe, if the weather will ſerue, and to ſtrike them twiſe againe: but if the weather ſerue not, then to hoiſe the maine top ſaile twiſe, and forthwith to ſtrike it twiſe againe.

6 Item, if it ſhall happen a great fogge to fall, then preſently euery ſhippe to beare vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery ſhip to hull, and ſo to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to ſhoot off two pieces euery euening, and euery ſhip to anſwere it with one ſhot: and euery man bearing to the ſhip, that is to leeward ſo neere as he may.

7 Item, euery maſter to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery ſhip to haile the admirall, and ſo to fall aſterne him, ſailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coaſt, euery ſhip to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any ſhip be in danger any way, by leake or otherwiſe, then ſhe to ſhoot off a piece, and preſently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beare towards her, anſwering her with one light for a ſhort time, and ſo to put it out againe; thereby to giue knowledge that they haue ſeene her token.

10 Item, whenſoeuer the Admirall ſhall hang out her enſigne in the maine ſhrowds, then euery man to come aboord her, as a token of counſell.

11 Item, if there happen any ſtorme or contrary winde to the fleet after the diſcouery, whereby they are ſeparated: then euery ſhip to repaire vnto their laſt good port, there to meet againe.

Our

Our courſe agreed vpon.

The courſe firſt to be taken for the diſcouery is to beare directly to cape Raſe, the moſt Southerly cape of Newfound land; and there to harbour our ſelues either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the firſt places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours vnto the Northward of cape Raſe: and therefore euery ſhip ſeparated from the fleet to repaire to that place ſo faſt as God ſhall permit, whether you ſhall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to ſtay for the meeting of the whole fleet the ſpace of ten dayes; and when you ſhall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our courſe vnto the *Newfound land.*

Beginning our courſe from Silley, the neereſt is by Weſtſouthweſt (if the winde ſerue) vntill ſuch time as we haue brought our ſelues in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, becauſe the Ocean is ſubiect much to Southerly windes in Iune and Iuly. Then to take trauerſe from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes; if God ſhall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indeuour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, ſo neere as you can poſſibly, becauſe cape Raſe lieth about that height.

Notes.

If by contrary windes we be driuen backe vpon the coaſt of England, then to repaire vnto Silley for a place of our aſſembly or meeting.

If we be driuen backe by contrary winds that we can not paſſe the coaſt of Ireland, then the place of our aſſembly to be at Beare hauen or Baltimore hauen.

If we ſhall not happen to meet at cape Raſe, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neereſt harbour vnto the Weſtward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other ſhipping we may not ſafely ſtay there, then to reſt at the very next ſafe port to the Weſtward; euery ſhip leauing their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in ſuch a caſe, were of the Generals priuate deuice written by himſelfe, ſealed vp in cloſe waxe, and deliuered vnto euery ſhippe one ſcroule, which was not to be opened vntill occaſion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue for inſtruction of after commers: that euery of vs comming into any harbour or riuer might know who had bene there, or whether any were ſtill there vp higher into the riuer, or departed, and which way.

Beginning of the voyage.

Orders thus determined, and promiſes mutually giuen to be obſerued, euery man withdrew himſelfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our ſhippes vnder ſaile, hauing a ſoft gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tueſday the eleuenth day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, hauing in our fleet (at our departure from Cauſet bay) theſe ſhippes, whoſe names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and maſters of them, I haue alſo inſerted, as followeth:

1 The Delight *aliâs* The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke maſter.

2 The Barke Raleigh ſet forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Dauis of Briſtoll maſter.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouſe maſter.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade maſter.

Our fleet conſiſted of fiue ſailes, in which we had about 260 men.

Prouiſions fit for ſuch diſcoueries.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Maſons, Carpenters, Smithes, and ſuch like, requiſite to ſuch an action: alſo Minerall men and Refiners. Beſides, for ſolace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Muſike in good variety: not omitting the leaſt toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horſſe, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes poſſible. And to that end we were indifferently furniſhed of all petty haberdaſhrie wares to barter with thoſe ſimple people.

Iune 11.

In this maner we ſet forward, departing (as hath bene ſaid) out of Cauſon bay the eleuenth day of Iune being Tueſday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great ſtorme of thunder and winde fell the ſame night.

Iune 13.

Obſerue.

Thurſday following, when we haled one another in the euening (according to the order before ſpecified) they ſignified vnto vs out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very many of the men were fallen ſicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forſooke vs, notwithſtanding we had the winde Eaſt, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious ſickneſſe, and arriued greatly diſtreſſed at Plimmoth: the reaſon I could neuer vnderſtand. Sure I am, no coſt was ſpared by their owner Maſter Raleigh in ſetting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieued with the loſſe of the moſt puiſſant ſhip in our fleete: after whoſe departure, the Golden Hind ſucceeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooued her flagge from the mizon vnto the foretop.

Iune 15.

From Saturday the 15 of Iune vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the We[illegible] northweſt, whereby we were driuen Southward vnto 41 degrees ſcarſe.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly Weſt towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of Weſt to the South or to the North, whereby the courſe thither falleth out to be long and tedious after Iune, which in March, Apriell & May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and leſſe. We had winde alwayes ſo ſcant from Weſt northweſt, and from Weſt ſouthweſt againe, that our trauerſe was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almoſt, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

Iuly 20.

Great fogges vpon the Ocean ſea Northward.

Alſo we were incombred with much fogge and miſts in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe ſo well together, but were diſſeuered, loſing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrill vpon the 20 day of Iuly, whom we met againe at ſeuerall places vpon the Newfound land coaſt the third of Auguſt, as ſhalbe declared in place conuenient.

Iuly 27.

Saturday the 27 of Iuly, we might deſcry not farre from vs, as it were mountaines of yce driuen vpon the ſea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be coniectured that ſome current doth ſet that way from the North.

The banke in length vnknowen, ſtretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10. leagues, in depth of water vpon it 30 fadome.

A great fiſhing vpon ye banke.

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this ſide, we paſſe the banke, which are high grounds riſing within the ſea and vnder water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not leſſe then 25 and 30 fadome water vpon them: the ſame (as it were ſome chaine of mountaines within the ſea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitly. The bredth of this banke is ſomewhere more, and ſomewhere leſſe: but we found the ſame about 10 leagues ouer, hauing ſounded both on this ſide thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almoſt 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had paſſed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, haue a notable trade of fiſhing vpon this banke, where are ſometimes an hundred or more ſailes of ſhips: who commonly beginne the fiſhing in Apriell, and haue ended by Iuly. That fiſh is large, alwayes wet, hauing no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fiſh.

Abundance of foules.

During the time of fiſhing, a man ſhall know without ſounding when he is vpon the banke, by the incredible multitude of ſea foule houering ouer the ſame, to pray vpon the offalles & garbiſh of fiſh throwen out by fiſhermen, and floting vpon the ſea.

Iuly 30.

Firſt ſight of land.

Upon Tueſday the 11 of Iune, we forſooke the coaſt of England. So againe Tueſday the 30 of Iuly (ſeuen weekes after) we got ſight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or ſome other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not iudge, ſo great haſe and fogge did hang vpon the coaſt, as neither we might diſcerne the land well, nor take the ſunnes height. But by our beſt computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

Forſaking this bay and vncomfortable coaſt (nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coaſt to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

Iland and a foule named Penguin.

We had ſight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almoſt incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much leſſe then a gooſe) and exceeding fat: which the French men vſe to take without difficulty vpon that Iland, and to barrell them vp with ſalt. But for lingering of time we had made vs there the like prouiſion.

An Iland called Baccalaos, of the fiſh taken there.

Trending this coaſt, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not paſt two leagues from the maine: to the South thereof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues diſtant from Baccalaos, betweene which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar ſort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had loſt in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: whereof it ſeemed their ſtore was ſo amended, that for ioy and congratulation of our meeting, they ſpared not to caſt vp into the aire and ouerboord, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himſelfe was very honeſt and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and deſert: who for the moſt part were ſuch as had bene by vs ſurpriſed vpon the narrow ſeas of England, being pirats and had taken at that inſtant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with ſalt. Both which we reſcued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the ſame ſhip now called the Swallow, following ſtill their kind ſo oft, as (being ſeparated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and ſpoile. And becauſe Gods iuſtice did follow the ſame company, euen to deſtruction, and to the ouerthrow alſo of the Captaine (though not conſenting to their miſdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifeſtation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perſwaded that God more ſharpely tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much theſe went vnder protection of his cauſe and religion, which was then pretended.

Miſdemeanour of them in the Swallow.

Therefore vpon further enquiry it was knowen, how this cōpany met with a barke returning home after the fiſhing with his fraight: and becauſe the men in the Swallow were very neere ſcanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they beſought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to borrow what might be ſpared, the rather becauſe the ſame was bound homeward. Leaue giuen, not without charge to deale fauorably, they came aboord the fiſherman, whō they rifled of tackle, ſailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not ſparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out elſe what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men ſkilfull in ſuch miſchiefe) as they tooke their cocke boat to go aboord their own ſhip, it was ouerwhelmed in the ſea, and certaine of theſe men there drowned: the reſt were preſerued euen by thoſe ſilly ſoules whom they had before ſpoyled, who ſaued and deliuered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps deſtitute of ſayles and furniture ſufficient to carry them home (whither they had not leſſe to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the reſt that eſcaped at this inſtant; to reueale the fact, and iuſtifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as ſhalbe declared in place conuenient.

Engliſh ſhips are the ſtrongeſt and Admirals of other fleetes, fiſhing vpon the South partes of Newfound land.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our courſe Southward, vntill we came againſt the harbor called S. Iohn, about 5. leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found alſo the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the Engliſh marchants that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleetes of fiſhermen within the ſame harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of ſo happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of Auguſt) we made readie our fights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any reſiſtance to the contrarie notwithſtanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 ſailes. But firſt the Generall diſpatched a boat to giue them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, hauing Commiſſion from her Maieſtie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a ſlacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not aboue 2 buts length) the Admirall fell vpon a rocke on the larboord ſide by great ouerſight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much aboue water faſt by the ſhore, where neither went any ſea gate. But we found ſuch readineſſe in the Engliſh Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ſhip, and cleared her of danger.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Maſters repairing aboord our Admirall: whither alſo came immediatly the Maſters and owners of the fiſhing fleete of Engliſhmen, to vnderſtand the Generals intent and cauſe of our arriuall there. They were all ſatiſfied when the General had ſhewed his commiſſion, and purpoſe to take poſſeſſion of thoſe lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the aduancement of Chriſtian religion in thoſe Paganiſh regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repayring of his fleete, and ſupply of ſome neceſſaries, ſo farre as conueniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adioyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them with any fauour and priuiledge, which vpon their better aduiſe they ſhould demand, the like being not to bee obteyned hereafter for greater price. So crauing expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in thoſe partes, he diſmiſſed them, after promiſe giuen of their beſt indeuour to ſatiſfie ſpeedily his ſo reaſonable requeſt. The marchants with their Maſters departed, they cauſed foorthwith to be diſcharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that euery ſhip of our fleete ſhould deliuer vnto the marchants and Maſters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ſhips aſwell Engliſh as ſtrangers, were taxed at an eaſie rate to make ſupply. And beſides, Commiſſioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning (for our Engliſh marchants command all there) to leauie our prouiſion: whereunto the Portugals (aboue other nations) did moſt willingly and liberally contribute. Inſomuch as we were preſented (aboue our allowance) with wines, marmalads, moſt fine ruske or biſket, ſweet oyles and ſundry delicacies. Alſo we wanted not of freſh ſalmons, trouts, lobſters and other freſh fiſh brought daily vnto vs. Moreouer as the maner is in their fiſhing, euery weeke to chooſe their Admirall a new, or rather they ſucceede in orderly courſe, and haue weekely their Admirals feaſt ſolemnized: euen ſo the General, Captaines and maſters of our fleete were continually inuited and feaſted. To grow ſhort, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious paſſage through the Ocean, it ſeemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the ſame was vnexpected in that deſolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beaſts and birds haue only the fruition of all thoſe countries, which now ſeemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good order taken by Engliſh marchants for our ſupply in Newfound land.

Good entertainment in Newfound land.

No Sauages in the South part of Newfound land.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of Auguſt, the Generall and his company were brought on land by Engliſh marchants, who ſhewed vnto vs their accuſtomed walks vnto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it ſelfe without art: who confuſedly hath brought foorth roſes abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to ſenſe very comfortable. Alſo the like plentie of raſpis berries, which doe grow in euery place.

Auguſt 4.

Munday following, the General had his tent ſet vp, who being accompanied with his owne followers, ſommoned the marchants and maſters, both Engliſh and ſtrangers to be preſent at his taking poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted vnto the ſtrangers his Commiſſion: by vertue whereof he tooke poſſeſſion in the ſame harbour of S. Iohn, and 200 leagues euery way, inueſted the Queenes Maieſtie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him (after the cuſtome of England) a rod & a turffe of the ſame ſoile, entring poſſeſſion alſo for him, his heires and aſſignes for euer: And ſignified vnto al men, that from that time forward, they ſhould take the ſame land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himſelfe authoriſed vnder her Maieſtie to poſſeſſe and enioy it, And to ordaine lawes for the gouernement thereof, agreeable (ſo neere as conueniently might be) vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people comming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, ſhould be ſubiected and gouerned. And eſpecially at the ſame time for a beginning, he propoſed & deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to ſay: the firſt for Religion, which in publique exerciſe ſhould be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maieſties right and poſſeſſion of thoſe territories, againſt which if any thing were attempted preiudiciall, the partie or parties offending ſhould be adiudged and executed as in caſe of high treaſon, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any perſon ſhould vtter words ſounding to the diſhonour of her Maieſtie, he ſhould looſe his eares, and haue his ſhip and goods confiſcate.

Auguſt 5.

Poſſeſſion taken.

Three lawes.

Theſe contents publiſhed, obedience was promiſed by generall voyce and conſent of the multitude aſwell of Engliſhmen as ſtrangers, praying for continuance of this poſſeſſion and gouernement begun. After this, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, and infixed vpon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to eſtabliſh this poſſeſſion taken in the right of her Maieſtie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and aſſignes for euer: the Generall granted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water ſide, both in this harbor of S. Iohn, and elſewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby aſſured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dreſſe and to drie their fiſh, whereof many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came firſt into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and ſeruice vnto ſir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or aſſignes for euer, and yeerely to maintaine poſſeſſion of the ſame, by themſelues or their aſſignes.

Actuall poſſeſſion maintained in Newfound land.

Now remained only to take in prouiſion granted, according as euery ſhippe was taxed, which did fiſh vpon the coaſt adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men vnto their charge: ſome to repaire and trim the ſhips, others to attend in gathering togither our ſupply and prouiſions: others to ſearch the commodities and ſingularities of the countrey, to be found by ſea

Men appointed to make ſearch.

or land, and to make relation vnto the Generall what eyther themſelues could knowe by their owne trauaile and experience, or by good intelligence of Engliſh men or ſtrangers, who had longeſt frequented the ſame coaſt. Alſo ſome obſerued the eleuation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graued. And by that I could gather by each mans ſeuerall relation, I haue drawen a briefe deſcription of the Newfound land, with the commodities by ſea or lande alreadie made, and ſuch alſo as are in poſſibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neuertheleſſe the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did periſh with the Admirall: wherefore in the deſcription following, I muſt omit the particulars of ſuch things.

A briefe relation of the *New found lande*, and the commodities thereof.

New found land is al Ilands or broken lands

That which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of ſome) it conſiſteth of ſundry Ilands and broken lands, ſituate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfe and entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North ſide of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuits) vnto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, ſafe roads for ſhips, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

Goodly roads and harbours.

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that ſhould be in this countrey, as of ſome part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the ſame eleuation: euen ſo it cannot ſtand with reaſon and nature of the clime, that the South parts ſhould be ſo intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the ſame doe lie vnder the climats of Britaine, Anjou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, ſo can they not ſo much differ from the temperature of thoſe countries: vnleſſe vpon the out coaſt lying open vnto the Ocean and ſharpe windes, it muſt in deede be ſubiect to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interpoſed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to reſiſt the aſperitie and rigor of the ſea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more ſubiect to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere vnto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, euen vnder the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and ſeeldome vncouered of ſnow, in their culme and higheſt tops, which commeth to paſſe by the ſame reaſon that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. Euen ſo all hils hauing their diſcents, the valleis alſo and low grounds muſt be likewiſe hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be ſo forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnall courſe from Eaſt to Weſt, paſſeth ouer (for the moſt part) dry land and ſandy countries, before he arriueth at the Weſt of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaſeth heate, with little or no qualification by moyſt vapours. Where, on the contrarie he paſſeth from Europe and Afrike vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyſt vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being ſo much to the Northward. Neuertheleſſe (as I ſayd before) the cold cannot be ſo intollerable vnder the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (eſpeciall within land) that it ſhould be vnhabitable, as ſome doe ſuppoſe, ſeeing alſo there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in theſe South parts there be certaine beaſtes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we haue ſeene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldneſſe. Beſides, as in the monethes of Iune, Iuly, Auguſt and September, the heate is ſomewhat more then in England at thoſe ſeaſons: ſo men remaining vpon the South parts neere vnto Cape Rece, vntill after Hollandtide, haue not found the cold ſo extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Thoſe which haue arriued there after Nouember and December, haue found the ſnow exceeding deepe, whereat no maruaile, conſidering the ground vpon the coaſt, is rough and vneuen, and the ſnow is driuen into the places moſt declyning, as the like is to be ſeene with vs. The like depth of ſnow happily ſhall not be found within land vpon the playner countries, which alſo are defended

New found land is habitable.

Cold by accidentall meanes

by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of windes and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in thoſe South parts, aboue that with vs here: it can not be ſo great as in Swedland, much leſſe in Moſcouia or Ruſſia: yet are the ſame countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is diſpenſed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meats and drinkes: all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

Commodities.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood haue abandoned thoſe coaſtes, the ſame being ſo much frequented by Chriſtians: But in the North are ſauages altogether harmeleſſe. Touching the commodities of this countrie, ſeruing either for ſuſtentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made diuers: ſo ỹ it ſeemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of ſome ſharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no leſſe varietie of kindes of fiſh in the ſea and freſh waters, as Trouts, Salmons and other fiſh to vs vnknowen: Alſo Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the moſt famous fiſhing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which alſo is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Trane oiles of the Whale: Herring the largeſt that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Malſtrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fiſhing. There are ſundry other fiſh very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobſters, Turbut, with others infinite not ſought after: Oyſters hauing pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reaſon they were not gathered in ſeaſon.

Fiſh of ſea and freſh water.

Concerning the inland commodities, aſwel to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adioyning: there is nothing which our Eaſt and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like alſo may be made in them as plentifully by time and induſtrie: Namely, roſen, pitch, tarre, ſopeaſhes, dealboord, maſtes for ſhips, hides, furres, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will afoord, and the ſoyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the moſt in thoſe South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypreſſe, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger then a ſmall peaſe. Alſo peare trees, but fruitleſſe. Other trees of ſome ſorts to vs vnknowen.

The ſoyle along the coaſt is not deepe of earth, bringing foorth abundantly peaſon ſmall, yet good feeding for cattel. Roſes paſſing ſweet, like vnto our muſke roſes in forme, raſpaſes, a berry which we call Hurts, good and holeſome to eat. The graſſe and herbe doth fat ſheepe in very ſhort ſpace, proued by Engliſh marchants which haue caried ſheepe thither for freſh victuall and had them raiſed exceeding fat in leſſe then three weekes. Peaſon which our countreymen haue ſowen in the time of May, haue come vp faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of Auguſt, of which our Generall had a preſent acceptable for the rareneſſe, being the firſt fruits comming vp by art and induſtrie in that deſolate and diſhabited land.

Lakes or pooles of freſh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are ſaid to be muſkles not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by miſchance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diuerſitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Buſtards, yet not the ſame. A great white foule called of ſome a Gaunt.

Vpon the land diuers ſorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges moſt plentifull larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doues, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were ſo fat and vnable to flie. Birds ſome like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very ſmall. Beaſts of ſundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beaſt, as it ſeemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, ſome greater & ſome leſſer, wolues, foxes, which to the Northward a litle further are black, whoſe furre is eſteemed in ſome Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, marternes: And in the opinion of moſt men that ſaw it, the Generall had brought vnto him a Sable aliue, which he ſent vnto his brother ſir Iohn Gilbert knight of Deuonſhire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderſtood. We could not obſerue the hundreth part of creatures in thoſe vnhabited lands: but theſe mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath ſuperabundantly repleniſhed the earth with creatures ſeruing for the vſe of man, though man hath not vſed the fift part of the ſame, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and fooliſh ſlouth in many of our nation, chuſing rather to liue indirectly, and very miſerably to liue & die within this realme peſtered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in thoſe remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth miniſter vnto mens endeuours, and for art to worke vpon.

Newfound land doth miniſter commodities abundantly for art & induſtrie.

For beſides theſe alreadie recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make ſhew of minerall ſubſtance: Iron very common, lead, and ſomewhere copper. I will not auerre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumſtances following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

For amongſt other charges giuen to inquire out the ſingularities of this countrey, the Generall was moſt curious in the ſearch of metals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, eſpecially to be diligent. The ſame was a Saxon borne, honeſt, and religious, named Daniel. Who after ſearch brought at firſt ſome ſort of Ore, ſeeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no ſmal ſhew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General, vſing proteſtation, that if ſiluer were the thing which might ſatiſfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, aduiſing him to ſeeke no further: the perill whereof he vndertooke vpon his life (as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maieſtie, that I may vſe his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Siluer Ore brought vnto the Generall.

My ſelfe at this inſtant liker to die then to liue, by a miſchance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne ſatiſfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein and to haue ſome part of the Ore, he replied: Content your ſelfe, I haue ſeene ynough, and were it but to ſatiſfie my priuate humor, I would proceede no further. The promiſe vnto my friends, and neceſſitie to bring alſo the South countries within compaſſe of my Patent neere expired, as we haue alreadie done theſe North parts, do only perſwade me further. And touching the Ore, I haue ſent it aboord, whereof I would haue no ſpeech to be made ſo long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biſcains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom muſt be kept any bruit or muttering of ſuch matter. When we are at ſea proofe ſhalbe made: if it be to our deſire, we may returne the ſooner hither againe. Whoſe anſwere I iudged reaſonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and deſcription of the Newfound land, and proceede to the reſt of our voyage, which ended tragically.

Reaſons why no further ſearch was made for the ſiluer mine.

While the better ſort of vs were ſeriouſly occupied in repairing our wants, and contriuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another ſort & diſpoſition were plotting of miſchiefe. Some caſting to ſteale away our ſhipping by night, watching opportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the ſhore: whoſe conſpiracies diſcouered, they were preuented. Others drew togither in company, and caried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ſhip laden with fiſh, ſetting the poore men on ſhore. A great many more of our people ſtole into the woods to hide themſelues, attending time and meanes to returne home by ſuch ſhipping as daily departed from the coaſt. Some were ſicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminiſhed, and many by the Generall licenſed to returne home. Inſomuch as after we had reuiewed our people, reſolued to ſee an end of our voyage, we grewe ſcant of men to furniſh all our ſhipping: it ſeemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallowe with ſuch prouiſion as might be ſpared for tranſporting home the ſicke people.

Miſdemeanor in our companie.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whoſe ſtead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who alſo brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fiſhermen there met at ſea.

God brought together thoſe men into the ſhip ordained to periſh, who before had committed ſuch outrage.

The Generall made choiſe to goe in his frigate the Squirrell (whereof the Captaine alſo was amongſt them that returned into England) the ſame Frigate being moſt conuenient to diſcouer vpon the coaſt, and to ſearch into euery harbor or creeke, which a great ſhip could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fights, and ouercharged with baſes and ſuch ſmall Ordinance, more to giue a ſhew, then with iudgement to foreſee vnto the ſafetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occaſion alſo of their ouerthrow.

Why ſir Humf. Gilbert went in the Frigate.

Now hauing made readie our ſhipping, that is to ſay, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboord our prouiſion, which was wines, bread or ruſke, fiſh wette and drie, ſweete oiles: beſides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and ſuch like: Alſo we had other neceſſary prouiſions for trimming our ſhips, nets and lines to fiſh withall, boates or pinneſſes fit for diſcouery. In briefe, we were ſupplied of our wants commodiouſly, as if we had bene in a Countrey or ſome Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

Liberalitie of the Portugals.

We departed from this harbour of S. Iohns vpon Tueſday the twentieth of Auguſt, which we found by exact obſeruation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the ſame harborough.

Auguſt 20. S. Iohns in 47 deg. 40 min.

This Cape lyeth South Southweſt from S. Iohns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the ſea riſeth vp a rocke againſt the point of the Cape, which thereby is eaſily knowen: It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Cape Race in 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Vnder this Cape we were becalmed a ſmall time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in leſſe then two houres, fiſh ſo large and in ſuch abundance, that many dayes after we fed vpon no other prouiſion.

Fiſh large and plentifull.

From hence we ſhaped our courſe vnto the Iſland of Sablon, if conueniently it would ſo fall out, alſo directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the ſea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Iohns) who was himſelfe preſent, when the Portugals (aboue thirty yeeres paſt) did put into the ſame Iſland both Neat and Swine to breede, which were ſince exceedingly multiplied. This ſeemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Iſland lying ſo neere vnto the maine, which we intended to plant vpon, ſuch ſtore of cattell, whereby we might at all times conueniently be relieued of victuall, and ſerued of ſtore for breed.

Cattel in the Iſle of Sablon.

In this courſe we trended along the coaſt, which from Cape Race ſtretcheth into the Northweſt, making a bay which ſome called Trepaſſa. Then it goeth out againe toward the Weſt, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner Eaſt and Weſt. But this point inclineth to the North: to the Weſt of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We ſent men on land to take view of the ſoyle along this coaſt, whereof they made good report, and ſome of them had wil to be planted there. They ſaw Peaſe growing in great abundance euery where.

Good ſoile.

The diſtance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Nauigation we ſpent 8 dayes, hauing many times the wind indifferent good: yet could we neuer attaine ſight of any land all that time, ſeeing we were hindred by the current. At laſt we fell into ſuch flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs eſcaped: where neuertheleſſe we loſt our Admiral with al the men and prouiſion, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of ſkill to make coniecture, by our courſe and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inſerted in ſea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the ſame courſe hereafter) I haue ſet downe the beſt reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Maſter of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouſe.

Reckonings kept in our courſe from Cape *Race* towards *Cape Briton*, and the Iſland of *Sablon*, to the time and place where we loſt our Admirall.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt,	14. leagues.
	Weſt and by South,	25.
	Weſtnorthweſt,	25.
	Weſtnorthweſt,	9.
	Southſouthweſt,	10.
	Southweſt,	12.
	Southſouthweſt,	10.
Auguſt 29.	Weſtnorthweſt.	12. Here we loſt our Admiral.

Summe of theſe leagues, 117.

The reckoning of *Iohn Paul* Maſters mate from *Cape Race*.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt,	14. leagues.
23	Northweſt and by Weſt,	9.
24	Southweſt and by South,	5.
25	Weſt and by South,	40.
26	Weſt and by North,	7.
27	Southweſt,	3.
28	Southweſt,	9.
	Southweſt,	7.
	Weſtſouthweſt,	7.
29	Northweſt and by Weſt,	20. Here we loſt our Admirall.

Summe of all theſe leagues, 122

Our courſe we held in clearing vs of theſe flats was Eaſtſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt, and South 14 leagues with a marueilous ſcant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was loſt.

August 27.

VPon Tewſday the 27 of Auguſt, toward the euening, our Generall cauſed them in his frigat to ſound, who found white ſande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wedneſday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Weſtnorthweſt, contrary to the mind of maſter Cox: neuertheleſſe wee followed the Admirall, depriued of power to preuent a miſchiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other courſe, alleaging they could not make the ſhip to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

Predictions before the wracke.

The euening was faire and pleaſant, yet not without token of ſtorme to enſue, and moſt part of this Wedneſday night, like the Swanne that ſingeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in ſounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: alſo winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the end of their iolitie, left with the battell and ringing of doleful knels.

Towards the euening alſo we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpoſe, with a harping yron, hauing firſt ſtriken diuers of them, and brought away part of their fleſh, ſticking vpon the yron, but could recouer onely that one. Theſe alſo paſſing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend ſtorme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of ſtrange voyces, the ſame night, which ſcarred ſome from the helme.

Thurſday the 29 of Auguſt, the wind roſe, and blew vehemently at South and by Eaſt, bringing withal raine, and thicke miſt, ſo that we could not ſee a cable length before vs. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongſt flats and ſands, amongſt which we found ſhoale and deepe in euery three or foure ſhippes length, after wee began to ſound: but firſt we were vpon them vnawares, vntill maſter Cox looking out, diſcerned (in his iudgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withall, though we could not afterward deſcrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the ſea white, which ſeemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Loſſe of our Admirall.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to caſt about to ſeaward, which, being the greater ſhip, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formoſt vpon the breach, keeping ſo ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the ſame, too late to recouer it: for preſently the Admirall ſtrooke a ground, and had ſoone after her ſterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the reſt (that is to ſay, the Frigat, in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) caſt about Eaſtſoutheaſt, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, becauſe that way caried vs to the ſeaward. Making out from this danger, wee ſounded one while ſeuen fadome, then fiue fadome, then foure fadome and leſſe, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the ſea going mightily and high. At laſt we recouered (God be thanked) in ſome deſpaire, to ſea roome enough.

In this diſtreſſe, wee had vigilant eye vnto the Admirall, whom wee ſawe caſt away, without power to giue the men ſuccour, neither could we eſpie any of the men that leaped ouerboord to ſaue themſelues, either in the ſame Pinneſſe or Cocke, or vpon rafters, and ſuch like meanes, preſenting themſelues to men in thoſe extremities: for we deſired to ſaue the men by euery poſſible meanes. But all in vaine, ſith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat vp and downe as neere vnto the wracke as was poſſible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might eſpie any of them.

This was a heauy and grieuous euent, to loſe at one blow our chiefe ſhippe fraighted with great prouiſion, gathered together with much trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the loſſe of our men, which periſhed to the number almoſt of a hundreth ſoules. Amongſt whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the geſts and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this diſcouerie, to the honour of our nation, the ſame being adorned with the eloquent ſtile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Stephanus Parmenius a learned Hungarian.

Here alſo periſhed our Saxon Refiner and Diſcouerer of ineſtimable riches, as it was left amongſt ſome of vs in vndoubted hope.

Daniel a refiner of mettals.

No leſſe heauy was the loſſe of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honeſt, and diſcrete Gentleman, ouerſeene onely in liberty giuen late before to men, that ought to haue bene reſtrained, who ſhewed himſelfe a man reſolued, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his laſt act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that eſcaped this wracke miraculouſly, as ſhall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was paſt of recouering the ſhip, and that men began to giue ouer, and to ſaue themſelues, the Captaine was aduiſed before to ſhift alſo for his life, by the Pinneſſe at the ſterne of the ſhip: but refuſing that counſell, he would not giue example with the firſt to leaue the ſhippe, but vſed all meanes to exhort his people not to deſpaire, nor ſo to leaue off their labour, chooſing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forſaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue periſhed through his default, ſhewing an ill preſident vnto his men, by leauing the ſhip firſt himſelfe. With this mind hee mounted vpon the higheſt decke, where hee attended imminent death, and vnauoidable: how long, I leaue it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his ſeruants at ſuch times.

In the meane ſeaſon, certaine, to the number of foureteene perſons, leaped into a ſmall Pinneſſe (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themſelues to Gods mercy, amiddeſt the ſtorme, and rage of ſea and windes, deſtitute of foode, not ſo much as a droppe of freſh water. The boate ſeeming ouercharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant ſouldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the leſſer, thought better that ſome of them periſhed then all, made this motion to caſt lots, and them to bee throwen ouerboord vpon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes ſeemed impoſſible to liue, offred himſelfe with the firſt, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuertheles Richard Clarke, that was Maſter of the Admirall, and one of this number, refuſed, aduiſing to abide Gods pleaſure, who was able to ſaue all, as well as a few.

A wonderfull ſcape and deliuerance.

A great diſtreſſe.

A deſperate reſolution.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing ſixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arriued at laſt with the men (aliue, but weake) vpon the New found land, ſauing that the foreſayd Headly, (who had bene late ſicke) and another called of vs Braſile, of his trauell into thoſe Countreys, died by the way, famiſhed, and leſſe able to holde out, then thoſe of better health. For ſuch was theſe poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to haue no better ſuſtenance then their owne vrine, for ſixe dayes together.

Two men famiſhed.

Thus whom God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to be famiſhed, who doth giue limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumſtance of dying: whom againe he will preſerue, neither Sea, nor famine can confound. For thoſe that arriued vpon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coaſt.

After this heauie chance, wee continued in beating the ſea vp and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere vp, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or ſome Iſland. For we many times, and in ſundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and leſſe. The ground comming vpon our lead, being ſometimes oazie ſand, and otherwhile a broad ſhell, with a little ſand about it.

Our people loſt courage dayly after this ill ſucceſſe, the weather continuing thicke and bluſtering, with increaſe of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendement, ſetling an aſſurance of worſe weather to grow vpon vs euery day. The Leeſide of vs lay full of flats and dangers ineuitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coaſt full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknowen. But aboue all, prouiſion waxed ſcant, and hope of ſupply was gone, with loſſe of our Admirall.

Cauſes inforcing vs to returne home againe.

Thoſe in the Frigat were already pinched with ſpare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they beſought the Generall to returne for England, before they all periſhed. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made ſignes of their diſtreſſe, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they alſo of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the ſame opinion and deſire to returne home.

The former reaſons hauing alſo moued the Generall to haue compaſſion of his poore men, in whom he ſaw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, reſolued vpon retire: and calling the Captaine and Maſter of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reaſons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, withall proteſting himſelfe greatly ſatiſfied with that hee had ſeene, and knew already.

Reiterating theſe words, Be content, we haue ſeene enough, and take no care of expence paſt: I will ſet you foorth royally the next Spring, if God ſend vs ſafe home. Therefore I pray you let vs no longer ſtriue here, where we fight againſt the elements.

Omitting circumſtance, how vnwillingly the Captaine & Maſter of the Hinde condeſcended to this motion, his owne company can teſtifie: yet comforted with the Generals promiſes of a ſpeedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reaſons, prouing an impoſſibilitie, to accompliſh the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

August 31.

A monſter of the ſea.

So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of Auguſt, we changed our courſe, and returned backe for England, at which very inſtant, euen in winding about, there paſſed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forſooke a very lion to our ſeeming, in ſhape, hair and colour, not ſwimming after the maner of a beaſt by moouing of his feete, but rather ſliding vpon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in ſight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe riſing aboue the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porpoſes, and all other fiſh: but confidently ſhewing himſelfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithſtanding, we preſented our ſelues in open view and geſture to amaſe him, as all creatures will be commonly at a ſudden gaze and ſight of men. Thus he paſſed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonſtration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde vs a farewell (comming right againſt the Hinde) he ſent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which ſpectacle wee all beheld ſo farre as we were able to diſcerne the ſame, as men prone to wonder at euery ſtrange thing, as this doubtleſſe was, to ſee a lion in the Ocean ſea, or fiſh in ſhape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himſelfe, I forbeare to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre againſt ſuch an enemie, if it were the deuill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the ſea rough, inſomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almoſt ſwalowed vp.

September 2.

Munday in the afternoone we paſſed in the ſight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ſhip periſhed. Which hindrance thitherward, and ſpeed back againe, is to be imputed vnto the ſwift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This munday the Generall came aboord the Hind, to haue the Surgeon of the Hind to dreſſe his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard ſucceſſe to be all paſt, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his ſecurity. Immediatly after followed a ſharpe ſtorme, which we ouerpaſſed for that time. Prayſed be God.

Our laſt conference with our Generall.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Maſter, and company, which was the laſt meeting, and continued there from morning vntill night. During which time there paſſed ſundry diſcourſes, touching affaires paſt, and to come, lamenting greatly the loſſe of his great ſhip, more of the men, but moſt of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of meaſure grieued, the ſame doubtles being ſome matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumſtance I gathered, the ſame to be yͤ Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought vnto him in the Mew found land. Whatſoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him ſo deepe, as not able to containe himſelfe, he beat his boy in great rage, euen at the ſame time, ſo long after the miſcarying of the great ſhip, becauſe vpon a faire day, when wee were becalmed vpon the coaſt of the New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he ſent his boy aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongſt which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could neuer conueniently ſend againe aboord the great ſhip, much leſſe hee doubted her ruine ſo neere at hand.

Circumſtances to be well obſerued in our Generall, ſuppoſing the Ore to be of a Siluer Mine.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuerſly, and by ſundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had neuer before good conceit of theſe North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed vpon the Mew found land. And as before he refuſed not to grant aſſignements liberally to them that required the ſame into theſe North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refuſing to make any ſo large grants, eſpecially of S. Iohns, which certaine Engliſh merchants made ſuite for, offering to imploy their money and trauell vpon the ſame: yet neither by their owne ſuite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he ſeemed willing to pleaſure, it could be obtained.

Alſo laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for diſpoſing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he aſſigned the Captaine & Maſter of the Golden Hind, vnto the South diſcouery, and reſerued vnto himſelfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Laſt, being demanded what meanes he had at his arriuall in England, to compaſſe the charges of ſo great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leaue that to mee (hee replied) I will aſke a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maieſty, who wil be ſo gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing vs therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he ſayd) with al his heart, for that he had ſeene, the ſame being enough for vs all, and that we needed not to ſeeke any further. And theſe laſt wordes he would often repeate, with demonſtration of great feruencie of mind, being himſelfe very confident, and ſetled in beliefe of ineſtimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheles miſtruſted altogether, not being made partakers of thoſe ſecrets, which the Generall kept vnto himſelfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witneſſes of his wordes and proteſtations, which ſparingly I haue deliuered.

Wilfulnes in the Generall.

Leauing the iſſue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleaſure bring the ſame to light: I will haſten to the end of this tragedie, which muſt be knit vp in the perſon of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen ſo the vehement perſwaſion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaile, to diuert him from a wilfull reſolution of going through in his Frigat, which was ouercharged vpon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and ſmall artillerie, too cumberſome for ſo ſmall a boate, that was to paſſe through the Ocean ſea at that ſeaſon of the yere, when by courſe we might expect much ſtorme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

A token of a good mind.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Maſter, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his anſwere: I will not forſake my little company going homeward, with whom I haue paſſed ſo many ſtormes, and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be ſo ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the ſea, albeit this was rather raſhnes, then aduiſed reſolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reaſon, he had prouiſion out of the Hinde, ſuch as was wanting aboord his Frigat. And ſo we committed him to Gods protection, & ſet him aboord his Pinneſſe, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Iſlands of Açores South of vs, yet wee then keeping much to the North, vntil we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible ſeas, breaking ſhort and high Pyramid wiſe. The reaſon whereof ſeemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the ſea, (as we ſee hilles and dales vpon the land) vpon which the ſeas doe mount and fall: or elſe the cauſe proceedeth of diuerſitie of winds, ſhifting often in ſundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not preſently ſetled, ſo many ſeas do encounter together, as there had bene diuerſitie of windes. Howſoeuer it commeth to paſſe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, neuer ſaw more outragious Seas. We had alſo vpon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which ſeamen doe call Caſtor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill ſigne of more tempeſt: the ſame is vſuall in ſtormes.

A reſolute and Chriſtianlike ſaying in a diſtreſſe.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere caſt away, oppreſſed by waues, yet at that time recouered: and giuing foorth ſignes of ioy, the Generall ſitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind (ſo oft as we did approch within hearing) We are as neere to heauen by ſea as by land. Reiterating the ſame ſpeech, well beſeeming a ſouldier, reſolute in Ieſus Chriſt, as I can teſtifie he was.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert drowned.

The ſame Monday night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, ſuddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we loſt the ſight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was caſt away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and ſwallowed vp of the Sea. Yet ſtill we looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vpon the coaſt of England: Omitting no ſmall ſaile at ſea, vnto which we gaue not the tokens betweene vs, agreed vpon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if we ſhould at any time be ſeparated.

Arriuall in England of the Golden Hinde.

In great torment of weather, and peril of drowning, it pleaſed God to ſend ſafe home the Golden Hinde, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sonday, not without as great danger eſcaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeaſt, with ſuch thicke miſt, that we could not diſcerne land, to put in right with the Hauen.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which ſayling well, might happily haue bene before vs. Alſo to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall of our

hard

A fit motion of the Captaine vnto ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

hard ſucceſſe, whom the Captaine deſired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witneſſes of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might pleaſe him to take the examination of euery perſon particularly, in diſcharge of his and their faithfull endeuour. Sir Iohn Gilbert refuſed ſo to doe, holding himſelfe ſatiſfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether diſpairing of his brothers ſafetie, offered friendſhip and curteſie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to haue his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was ſent to helpe to tow her in.

Neuertheleſſe, when the Captaine returned aboord his ſhip, he found his men bent to depart, euery man to his home: and then the winde ſeruing to proceede higher vpon the coaſt: they demanded money to carie them home, ſome to London, others to Harwich, and elſe where, (if the barke ſhould be caried into Dartmouth, and they diſcharged, ſo farre from home) or elſe to take benefite of the wind, then ſeruing to draw neerer home, which ſhould be a leſſe charge vnto the Captaine, and great eaſe vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

An ill recompenſe.

Reaſon accompanied with neceſſitie perſwaded the Captaine, who ſent his lawfull excuſe and cauſe of his ſudden departure vnto ſir Iohn Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediouſnes of ſo vnprofitable a voiage to their ſeeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was vnrecompenſed: their Captaine neuertheleſſe by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies thoſe at other times, whoſoeuer haue confidence in him alone. Yet haue we more neere feeling and perſeuerance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one ſame peril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Euen ſo, amongſt very many difficulties, diſcontentments, mutinies, conſpiracies, ſickneſſe, mortalitie, ſpoylings, and wracks by ſea, which were afflictions, more then in ſo ſmall a Fleete, or ſo ſhort a time may be ſuppoſed, albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and ſome I ſuppreſſed with ſilence for their ſakes liuing, it pleaſed God to ſupport this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infected: the reſt kept together in reaſonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accompliſh, either not pleaſed with the action, or impatient of wants, or preuented by death.

Conſtancie in ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterpriſe and laſt action of ſir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for ſo much as I thought meete to be publiſhed: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguiſhed) ſome ſparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and reſolute in a purpoſe by all pretence honeſt and godly, as was this, to diſcouer, poſſeſſe, and to reduce vnto the ſeruice of God, and Chriſtian pietie, thoſe remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually poſſeſſed by Chriſtians, and moſt rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the which, as his zeale deſerueth high commendation: euen ſo, he may iuſtly be taxed of temeritie and preſumption (rather) in two reſpects.

His temeritie and preſumption.

Firſt, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation ſelected, neither any demonſtration of commoditie there in eſſe, to induce his followers: neuertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their ſubſtance vpon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his aſſociates were promiſed, and made it their beſt reckoning to bee ſalued ſome other way, which pleaſed not God to proſper in his firſt and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his deſignements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raiſe, he thruſt himſelfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, preſuming the cauſe pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the deſired ende. Into which, hauing thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though hee ſawe no encouragement to proceed, leſt his credite foyled in his firſt attempt, in a ſecond ſhould vtterly be diſgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worſt, refuſed not to entertaine euery perſon and meanes whatſoeuer, to furniſh out this expedition, the ſucceſſe whereof hath bene declared.

Afflictions needfull in the children of God.

But ſuch is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For beſides that fruite may growe in time of our trauelling into thoſe Northweſt lands, the croſſes, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate hu-

mors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made vnſauorie, and leſſe delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: ſo it pleaſed the diuine will to reſume him vnto himſelfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwayes aſpired.

Ornatiſsimo viro, Magiſtro *Richardo Hakluyto Oxonij* in *Collegio ædis Chriſti*, Artium & Philoſophiæ Magiſtro, amico, & fratri ſuo.

S. Non ſtatueram ad te ſcribere, cùm in mentem veniret promiſſum literarum tuarum. Putabas te ſuperiore iam Iunio nos ſubſecuturum. Itaque de meo ſtatu ex doctore Humfredo certiorem te fieri iuſſeram. Verùm ſic tibi non eſſet ſatisfactum. Itaque ſcribam ad te ijſdem ferè verbis, quia noua meditari & [illegible] mihi hoc tempore non vacat. Vndecimo Iunij ex Anglia reuera tandem & ſeriò ſoluimus, portu & terra apud Plemuthum ſimul relictis. Claſſis quinque nauibus conſtabat: maxima, quam * frater Amiralij accommodauerat, ignotum quo cõſilio, ſtatim tertio die à nobis ſe ſubduxit. Reliqui perpetuò coniunctim nauigauimus ad 23. Iulij, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aſpectu alij aliam viam tenuimus: nobis ſeorſim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Auguſti, ad gradum circiter 50. cùm vltrà 41. paucis ante diebus deſcendiſſemus ſpe Auſtralium ventorum, qui tamen nobis ſuo tempore nunquam ſpirauêre. Inſula eſt ea, quam veſtri Penguin vocant, ab auium eiuſdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aues vidimus, nec inſulam acceſſimus, ventis aliò vocantibus. Cæterùm conuenimus omnes in eundem locum paulò ante portum in quem communi conſilio omnibus veniendum erat, idque intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate & noſtro gaudio. Locus ſitus eſt in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. & 48. gradum, Diuum Ioannem vocant. Ipſe Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum & anguſtiam nauis paulò afflictiorem comitatum habuit, & iam duos dyſentericis doloribus amiſit: de cæteris bona ſpes eſt. Ex noſtris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoſo iuueni me coniunxeram) duo etiam caſu quodam ſubmerſi ſunt. Cæteri ſalui & longè firmiores. Ego nunquam ſanior. In hunc locum tertio Auguſti appulimus: quinto autem ipſe Admiralius has regiones in ſuam & regni Angliæ poſſeſſionem poteſtatemque vendicauit, latis quibuſdam legibus de religione & obſequio Reginæ Angliæ. Reficimur hoc tempore paulò hilariùs & lautiùs. Certè enim & qualibus ventis vſi ſimus, & quàm feſſi eſſe potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20 circiter naues Luſitanicas & Hiſpanicas nacti in hoc loco ſumus: eæ nobis impares non patientur nos eſurire. Angli etſi ſatis firmi, & à nobis tuti, authoritate regij diplomatis omni obſequio & humanitate proſequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, & populi. Cæterùm quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter ſolitudinem nihil video? Piſcium inexhauſta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quæſtus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò inſigni aliquo onuſtus eſt. Terra vniuerſa * montana & ſylueſtris: arbores vt plurimùm pinus: eæ partim conſenuêre, partim nunc adoleſcunt: magna pars vetuſtate collapſa, & aſpectum terræ, & iter euntium ita impedit, vt nuſquam progredi liceat. Herbæ omnes proceræ; ſed rarò à noſtris diuerſæ. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina, & ſpicas in ſimilitudinem ſecales: & facilè cultura & ſatione in vſum humanum aſſuefieri poſſe videntur. Rubi in ſyluis vel potiùs fraga arboreſcentia magna ſuauitate. Vrſi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, & conficiuntur: ſed albi ſunt, vt mihi ex pellibus conijcere licuit, & minores quàm noſtri. Populus an vllus ſit in hac regione incertum eſt: Nec vllum vidi qui teſtari poſſet. Et quis quæſo poſſet, cùm ad longum progredi non liceat? Nec minùs ignotum eſt an aliquid metalli ſubſit montibus. Cauſa eadem eſt, etſi aſpectus eorũ mineras latentes præ ſe ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus ſyluas incendere, quo ad inſpiciendam regionẽ ſpaciũ pateret: nec diſplicebat illi conſilium, ſi non magnũ incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum eſt enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum caſu quopiam in alia neſcio qua ſtatione id accidiſſet, ſeptẽnium totũ piſces non comparuiſſe, ex acerbata maris vnda ex terebynthina, quæ cõflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum eſt, vt niſi piſces, qui areſiunt ad ſolem, aſſiduè inuertantur, ab aduſtione defendi non poſſint. Hyeme quàm frigidum ſit, magnæ moles glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum eſt à comitibus menſe Maio ſexdecim totos dies interdum ſe inter tantam glaciem hæſiſſe, vt 60. orgyas altæ eſſent inſulæ: quarum latera ſoli appoſita cum liqueſcerent, libratione quadam vniuerſam molem ita inuerſam, vt quòd ante pro[illegible] ſupinum caderet, magno præſentium diſcrimine,

* Dominus Ralegh.

Inſula Penguin.

* In the ſouth ſide of Newe found land, there is ſtore of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clarke found.

The great heate of the ſunne in ſummer.

O

vt conſentaneum eſt. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus eſt: ad orientem ſupra mare perpetuæ nebulæ: Et in ipſo mari circa Bancum (ſic vocant locum vbi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, & piſces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies abſque pluuia. Expeditis noſtris neceſſitatibus in hoc loco, in Auſtrum (Deo iuuante) progrediemur, tantò indies maiori ſpe, quò plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hæc de noſtris. Cupio de vobis ſcire: ſed metuo ne incaſſum. Imprimis autem quomodo Vitonus meus abſentiam meam ferat, præter modum intelligere velim: Habebit noſtrum obſequium & officium paratum, quandiu vixerimus. Reuera autem ſpero, hanc noſtram peregrinationem ipſius inſtituto vſui futuram. Nunc reſtat, vt me tuum putes, & quidem ita tuum, vt neminem magis. Iuuet dei filius labores noſtros eatenus, vt tu quoque participare poſſis. Vale amiciſſime, ſuauiſſime, ornatiſſime Hakluyte, & nos ama. In Newfundlandia apud portum Sancti Iohannis 6. Auguſti 1583.

STEPHANVS PARMENIVS
Budeus, tuus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

To the worſhipfull, Maſter *Richard Hakluit* at *Oxford* in *Chriſtchurch* Maſter of Arts, and Philoſophie, his friend and brother.

I Had not purpoſed to write vnto you, when the promiſe of your letters came to my minde: You thought in Iune laſt to haue followed vs your ſelfe, and therefore I had left order that you ſhould be aduertiſed of my ſtate, by Maſter Doctor Humfrey: but ſo you would not be ſatisfied: I will write therefore to you almoſt in the ſame words, becauſe I haue no leaſure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of Iune we ſet ſaile at length from England in good earneſt, and departed, leauing the hauen and land behind vs at Plimmouth: our Fleete conſiſted of fiue ſhippes: the greateſt, which the Admirals brother had lent vs, withdrew her ſelfe from vs the third day, wee know not vpon what occaſion: with the reſt we ſailed ſtill together till the 23. of Iuly: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the the great miſts, ſome of vs ſailed one way, and ſome another: to vs alone the firſt land appeared, the firſt of Auguſt, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had deſcended beyond 41. degrees in hope of ſome Southerly windes, which notwithſtanding neuer blew to vs at any fit time.

It is an Iland which your men call Penguin, becauſe of the multitude of birdes of the ſame name. Yet wee neither ſawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the windes ſeruing for our courſe directed to another place, but wee meete altogether at that place a little before the Hauen, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the ſpace of two houres by the great goodneſſe of God, and to our great ioy. The place is ſituate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and 48. degrees, called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall himſelfe by reaſon of the multitude of the men, and the ſmalneſſe of his ſhip, had his company ſomewhat ſickly, and had already loſt two of the ſame company, which died of the Flixe: of the reſt we conceiue good hope. Of our company (for I ioyned my ſelfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two perſons by a miſchance were drowned, the reſt are in ſafetie, and ſtrong, and for mine owne part I was neuer more healthy. Wee arriued at this place the third of Auguſt: and the fift the Admirall tooke poſſeſſion of the Countrey, for himſelfe and the kingdome of England: hauing made and publiſhed certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is ſomewhat better, and daintier, then it was before: for in good ſooth, the experience of ſo long time hath taught vs what contrary windes wee haue found, and what great trauell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take ſuch order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spaniſh ſhippes, beſides the ſhippes of the Engliſh: which being not able to match vs, ſuffer vs not to bee hunger ſtarued: the Engliſh although they were of themſelues ſtrong ynough, and ſafe from our force, yet ſeeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they ſhewed vs all maner of dutie and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be ſpoken of. But what ſhall I ſay, my good Hakluyt, when I ſee nothing but a very wilderneſſe? Of fiſh here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that trauell to theſe parts: the hooke is no ſooner throwne out, but it is eftſoones drawne vp with ſome goodly fiſh: the whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the moſt part are Pynes and of them ſome are very olde, and ſome yong: a great part of them being fallen by reaſon of their age, doth ſo hinder the ſight of the land, and ſtoppe the way of thoſe that ſeeke to trauell, that they can goe no whither: all the graſſe here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It ſeemeth alſo that the nature of this ſoyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, ſo that it appeareth that by manuring and ſowing, they may eaſily be framed for the vſe of man: here are in the woodes buſh berries, or rather ſtraw berries growing vp like trees, of great ſweeteneſſe. Beares alſo appeare about the fiſhers ſtages of the Countrey, and are ſometimes killed, but they ſeeme to bee white, as I coniectured by their ſkinnes, and ſomewhat leſſe then ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither haue I ſeene any to witneſſe it. And to ſay trueth, who can, when as it is not poſſible to paſſe any whither? In like ſort it is vnknowne, whither any metals lye vnder the hilles: the cauſe is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles ſeeme to haue ſome Mynes in them: we moued the Admirall to ſet the woods a fire, that ſo wee might haue ſpace, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing diſpleaſe him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof inſue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible perſons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fiſh neuer came to the place about it, for the ſpace of 7. whole yeeres after, by reaſon of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Roſen of the trees, which ranne into the riuers vpon the firing of them. The weather is ſo hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fiſh, which is layd out to be dryed by the ſunne, be euery day turned, it cannot poſſibly bee preſerued from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the middeſt of the Sea haue taught vs: ſome of our company report, that in May, they were ſometimes kept in, with ſuch huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Iſlands thereof were threeſcore fathoms thicke, the ſides whereof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole maſſe or heape was ſo inuerted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward roſe vpward, to the great perill of thoſe that are neere them, as by reaſon wee may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the Eaſt there is nothing els but perpetuall miſts, and in the Sea it ſelfe, about the Banke (for ſo they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues diſtant from the ſhore, and where they beginne to fiſh) there is no day without raine. When We haue ſerued, and ſupplied our neceſſitie in this place, we purpoſe by the helpe of God to paſſe towards the South, with ſo much the more hope euery day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of thoſe Countreys, which we go to diſcouer. Thus much touching our eſtate.

Now I deſire to know ſomewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but ſpecially I deſire out of meaſure to know how my Patrone maſter Henry Vmpton doth take my abſence: my obedience, and duetie ſhall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I liue: but in deede I hope, that this iourney of ours ſhalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be ſtill yours, and ſo yours as no mans more. The ſonne of God bleſſe all our labors, ſo farre, as that you your ſelfe may be partaker of our bleſſing. Adieu, my moſt friendly, moſt ſweete, moſt vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Iohns Port, the 6. of Auguſt. 1583.

STEVEN PARMENIVS of
Buda, yours.

A relation of *Richard Clarke* of *Weymouth*, maſter of the ſhip called the *Delight*, going for the diſcouery of *Norembega*, with Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* 1583. Written in excuſe of that fault of caſting away the ſhip and men, imputed to his ouerſight.

DEparting out of Saint Iohns Harborough in the Newfound land the 20. of Auguſt vnto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our courſe vnto the Ile of Sablon or the Iſle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly haue ſeene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Iſle of Sablon, we fell to controuerſie of our courſe. The Generall came vp in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke maſter of the Admirall what courſe was beſt to keepe: I ſaid that Weſtſouthweſt was beſt: becauſe the wind was at South and night at hand and vnknowen ſands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Weſtnorthweſt. I told him againe that the Iſle of Sablon was Weſtnorthweſt

20. Leagues from the Iſle of Sablon.

15. Leagues from the Iſle of Sablon.

Herein Clarke vntruely chargeth ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

The ſhip caſt away on Thurſday being the 29 of Auguſt 1583

Sixteene gate into the ſhips boate.

Maſter Hedlyes vngodly propoſition.

They came on land the 7. day after their ſhipwracke.

The fruitfulneſſe of the ſouth part of Newfoundland.

and but 15. leagues off, and that he ſhould be vpon the Iſland before day, if hee went that courſe. The Generall ſayd, my reckoning was vntrue, and charged me in her Maieſties name, and as I would ſhewe my ſelfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I fearing his threatnings, becauſe he preſented her Maieſties perſon, did follow his commaundement, and about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning the ſhip ſtroke on ground, where ſhee was caſt away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the courſe that I would haue had them gone before, and ſaw the ſhip caſt away men and all, and was not able to ſaue a man, for there was not water vpon the ſand for either of them much leſſe for the Admirall that drew fourteene foote. Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ſhip had killed ſome foule with his piece, and ſome of the company deſired me that they might hoyſe out the boat to recouer the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboord they did not hoyſe it in againe that night. And when the ſhip was caſt away the boate was a ſterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could ſwimme, and recouered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coulde: among the reſt they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Maſter: They happened on my ſelfe being the maſter, but could neuer ſee the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whoſe names hereafter I will rehearſe. And when the 16. were in the boate, ſome had ſmall remembrance, and ſome had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleaſed God, and looked euery moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate being ſo little and ſo many men in her, and ſo foule weather, that it was not poſſible for a ſhippe to brooke halfe a coarſe of ſayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee ſaw it pleaſed God our boate liued in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe vs withall but one oare, which we kept vp the boate withall vpon the Sea, and ſo went euen as the Sea would driue vs) there was in our company one maſter Hedly that put foorth this queſtion to me the Maſter. I doe ſee that it doth pleaſe God, that our boate liueth in the Sea, and it may pleaſe God that ſome of vs may come to the land if our boate were not ouerladen. Let vs make ſixteene lots, and thoſe foure that haue the foure ſhorteſt lots we will caſt ouerboord preſeruing the Maſter among vs all. I replied vnto him, ſaying, no, we will liue and die together. Maſter Hedly aſked me if my remembrance were good: I anſwered I gaue God prayſe it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three dayes, and ſayde they were but threeſcore leagues from the lande, (when they were ſeuentie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any ſuſtenance, ſaue onely the weedes that ſwamme in the Sea, and ſalt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then wee deſired all to die: for in all theſe fiue dayes and fiue nights we ſaw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was ſo foule weather. Thus we did remaine the ſixt day: then we were very weake and wiſhed all to die ſauing onely my ſelfe which did comfort them and promiſed they ſhould come ſoone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they ſhould neuer come to land, but that I promiſed them the ſeuenth day they ſhould come to ſhore, or els they ſhould caſt me ouer boord: which did happen true the ſeuenth day, for at eleuen of the clocke wee had ſight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All theſe ſeuen dayes and ſeuen nights the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time ſhifted vpon any other point, wee had neuer come to land: we were no ſooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arriuall. But we were ſo weake that one could ſcarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on ſhore we kneeled downe vpon our knees and gaue God praiſe that he had dealt ſo mercifully with vs. Afterwards thoſe which were ſtrongeſt holpe their fellowes vnto a freſh brooke, where we ſatiſfied our ſelues with water and berries very well. There were of al ſorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as euer I ſaw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might ſee very farre euery way: by the Sea ſide was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as euer I ſaw any in Norway, able to maſt any ſhippe, of pyne trees, ſpruſe trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little houſe with boughes, where we reſted all that night. In the morning I deuided the company three and three to goe euery way to ſee what foode they could find to ſuſtaine themſelues, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with ſuch foode as they could get. As we went about we found great ſtore of peaſon as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had bene ſowed there. We reſted there three dayes and three nights and liued very well with peaſe and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, becauſe it was a very goodly riuer like the riuer of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had well reſted our ſelues wee rowed our boate along the ſhore, thinking to haue gone to the Grande Bay to haue come home with ſome Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirſt we put our boate on land and gathered peaſe and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the ſhore fiue dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly riuer that ranne farre vp into the Countrey and ſaw very goodly growen trees of all ſortes. There we happened vpon a ſhip of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ſhip brought vs into Biskay to an Harborough called The Paſſage. The Maſter of the ſhippe was our great friend, or elſe we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counſayle. For when the viſitors came aboord, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he ſayd we were poore fiſhermen that had caſt away our ſhip in Newfound land, and ſo the viſitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Aſſoone as night was come he put vs on land and bad vs ſhift for our ſelues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And ſo ſhortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.

Fourteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ſhip of S. Iohn de Luz.

A true Report of the late diſcoueries, and poſſeſſion taken in the right of the Crowne of *England* of the *Newfound Lands*, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* Knight.

VVherein is alſo briefly ſet downe, her highneſſe lawfull Title thereunto, and the great and manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Aduenturers in particular: Together with the eaſineſſe and ſhortneſſe of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Peckham *Knight, the chiefe aduenturer, and furtherer* of Sir *Humfrey Gilberts* voyage to *Newfound Land.*

The firſt Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes paſt, to meete with a right honeſt and diſcreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this laſt iourney for the Weſterne diſcoueries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely veſſell which is as yet returned from thence.

Maſter Edward Hays.

By him I vnderſtand that Sir Humfrey departed the coaſt of England the eleuenth of Iune laſt paſt, with fiue ſayle of Shippes, from Cauſhen bay neere Plimmouth, whereof one of the beſt forſooke his company, the thirteenth day of the ſame moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (through the aſſiſtance of Almighty God) did arriue at Saint Iohns Hauen, in Newfound land, the 3. of Auguſt laſt. Upon whoſe arriuall all the Maſters and chiefe Mariners of the Engliſh Fleet, which were in the ſaid Hauen before, endeuoring to fraight themſelues with fiſh, repaired vnto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commiſſion: which being done, he promiſed to intreat them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Maieſties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the beſt ſort that they could, and ſhewed him and his all ſuch curteſies as the place could affoord or yeelde.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arriue at Saint Iohns Hauen in Newfound land, the 3. of Auguſt. Anno 1583.

Then he went to view the Countrey, being well accompanied with moſt of his Captaines and ſouldiers. They found the ſame very temperate, but ſomewhat warmer then England at that ſeaſon of the yeere, repleniſhed with Beaſts and great ſtore of Foule of diuers kinds: And Fiſh of ſundry ſortes, both in the ſalt water, and in the freſh, in ſo great plentie as might ſuffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very eaſily taken. What ſundry other commodities for this Realme right neceſſarie, the ſame doeth yeelde, you ſhall vnderſtand in this treatiſe hereafter, in place more conuenient.

Among these there was found the tract of a beaſt of 7. inches and a halfe ouer.

On Munday being the fift of Auguſt, the Generall cauſed his tent to be ſet vpon the ſide of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of Engliſh men and ſtrangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie ſayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Maſters, Gentlemen and other ſouldiers, he cauſed all the Maſters, and principall Officers of the ſhips, aſwell Engliſh men as Spanyards, Portingales, and of other nations, to repayre vnto his tent: And then and there, in the preſence of them all, he did cauſe his Commiſſion vnder the great Seale of England to bee openly and ſolemnely read vnto them, whereby were granted vnto him, his

Sir Humfrey tooke poſſeſſion of the New-found land in right of the Crowne of England.

heires, and aſſignes, by the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priuiledges. The effect whereof being ſignified vnto the ſtrangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke poſſeſſion of the ſayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and receiuing the ſame with an Haſell wand, deliuered vnto him, after the maner of the law and cuſtome of England.

Then he ſignified vnto the company both ſtrangers and others, that from thenceforth, they were to liue in that land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be gouerned by ſuch Lawes as by good aduiſe ſhould be ſet downe, which in all points (ſo neere as might be) ſhould be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the ſame in execution, preſently he ordained and eſtabliſhed three Lawes.

Three lawes eſtabliſhed there by Sir Humfrey.

Firſt, that Religion publiquely exerciſed, ſhould be ſuch, and none other, then is vſed in the Church of England.

The ſecond, that if any perſon ſhould bee lawfully conuicted of any practiſe againſt her Maieſtie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adiudged as traitors according to the Lawes of England.

The third, if any ſhould ſpeake diſhonourably of her Maieſtie, the partie ſo offending, to looſe his eares, his ſhip and goods, to be confiſcate to the vſe of the Generall.

Sundry perſons became Tenants to Sir Humfrey, and doe maintaine poſſeſſion for him in diuers places there.

All men did very willingly ſubmit themſelues to theſe Lawes. Then he cauſed the Queenes Maieſties Armes to be ingraued, ſet vp, and erected with great ſolemnitie. After this, diuers Engliſhmen made ſute vnto Sir Humfrey to haue of him by inheritance, their accuſtomed ſtandings & drying places, in ſundry places of that land for their fiſh, as a thing that they doe make great accompt of, which he granted vnto them in fee farme. And by this meanes he hath poſſeſſion maintained for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, ſet, giue and diſpoſe of many things, as abſolute Gouernor there, by vertue of her Maieſties letters patents.

And after their ſhips were repaired, whereof one he was driuen to leaue behind, both for want of men ſufficient to furniſh her, as alſo to carrie home ſuch ſicke perſons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20. of Auguſt, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edward Hays: and the little Frigat where the Generall himſelfe did goe, ſeeming to him moſt fit to diſcouer and approch the ſhore.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound land, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coaſt Weſt, toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall ſent certaine men a ſhore, to view the Countrey, which to them as they ſayled along, ſeemed pleaſant. Whereof his men at their returne gaue great commendation, liking ſo well of the place, as they would willingly haue ſtayed and wintred there. But hauing the wind faire and good, they proceeded on their courſe towards the firme of America, which by reaſon of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere eſpecially, they could neuer ſee, till Cox Maſter of the Golden Hinde did diſcerne land, and preſently loſt ſight thereof againe, at what time they were all vpon a breach in a great and outragious ſtorme, hauing vnder 3. fathome water. But God deliuered the Frigat and the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the preſence of them all was loſt, to their vnſpeakeable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other neceſſary prouiſions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reaſon alſo that Winter was come vpon them, and foule weather increaſed with fogs and miſts that ſo couered the land, as without danger of periſhing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and M. Hays were compelled much againſt their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were after by tempeſtuous weather ſeparated the one from the other, the ninth of September laſt, ſince which time M. Hays with his Barke is ſafely arriued, but of Sir Humfrey as yet they heare no certaine newes.

Plutarch.

Upon this report (together with my former intent, to write ſome briefe diſcourſe in the commendation of this ſo noble and worthy an enterpriſe) I did call to my remembrance, the Hiſtorie of Themyſtocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) ſignified vnto his Countreymen the Citizens of Athens, that he had inuented a deuiſe for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of ſuch importance and ſecrecie, that it ought not to be reuealed, before priuate conference had with ſome particular prudent perſon of their choyſe.

The Athenians knowing Ariſtides the Philoſopher, to be a man indued with ſingular wiſedome and vertue, made choyſe of him to haue conference with Themyſtocles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the ſayd deuiſe: which was, that they might ſet on fire the Nauie of their enemies, with great facilitie, as he had layde the plot: Ariſtides made relation to the Citizens, that the ſtratageme deuiſed by Themyſtocles was a profitable practiſe for the common wealth but it was diſhoneſt. The Athenians (without further demaund what the ſame was, did by common conſent reiect and condemne it, preferring honeſt and vpright dealing before profite.

By occaſion of this Hiſtorie, I drewe my ſelfe into a more deepe conſideration of this late vndertaken Voyage, whether it were as well pleaſing to almightie God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it ſeemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages, as gainefull to the Chriſtians. And vpon mature deliberation I found the action to be honeſt and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Ariſtides if he were now aliue: which being by me herein ſufficiently prooued, (as by Gods grace I purpoſe to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes will endeuour themſelues to be aſſiſtants to this ſo commendable an enterpriſe, by the valiant and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and vndertaken.

Now whereas I doe vnderſtand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, aſſociates and friends doe meane with a conuenient ſupply (with as much ſpeede as may be) to maintaine, purſue and follow this intended voyage already in part performed, and (by the aſſiſtance of almightie God) to plant themſelues and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of ſeptentrionall latitude: Within which degrees by computation Aſtronomicall and Coſmographicall are doubtleſſe to bee found all things that be neceſſarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The clymate milde and temperate, neyther too hote nor too colde, ſo that vnder the cope of heauen there is not any where to be found a more conuenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both of our owne nation and ſtrangers, (who haue bene trauailers) can teſtifie: and that thoſe Countries are at this day inhabited with Sauages (who haue no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I ſay) to be lamented, that theſe poore Pagans, ſo long liuing in ignorance and idolatry, and in ſort thirſting after Chriſtianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of ſuch as haue trauailed in thoſe partes) that our hearts are ſo hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themſelues to the relieuing of the miſerable and wretched eſtate of theſe ſillie ſoules?

Engliſhmen.
Maſter Iohn Hawkins.
Sir Francis Drake.
M. William Winter.
M. Iohn Cheſter.
M. Martin Frobiſher.
Anthony Parkhurſt.
William Batten.
Iohn Louel.
Dauid Ingram.
Strangers
French.
Iohn Ribault.
Iaques Cartier.
Andrew Theuet.
Monſieur Gourgues.
Monſieur Laudonniere.
Italians.
Chriſtopher Columbus.
Iohn Verarzanus.

Whoſe Countrey doeth (as it were with armes aduanced) aboue the climates both of Spaine and France, ſtretch out it ſelfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onely ſet forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is alſo found to be true by the diſcouerie of our nation, and other ſtrangers, who haue oftentimes trauailed vpon the ſame coaſts.

Chriſtopher Columbus of famous memorie, the firſt inſtrument to manifeſt the great glory and mercy of Almightie God in planting the Chriſtian faith, in thoſe ſo long vnknowen regions, hauing in purpoſe to acquaint (as he did) that renowmed Prince, the Queenes Maieſties grandfather King Henry the ſeuenth, with his intended voyage for the Weſterne diſcoueries, was not onely derided and mocked generally euen here in England, but afterward became a laughing ſtocke to the Spaniards themſelues, who at this day (of all other people) are moſt bounden to laude and prayſe God, who firſt ſtirred vp the man to that enterpriſe.

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Caſtile (that then was) with his intended purpoſe, by how many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some ſcorned the pildneſſe of his garments, ſome tooke occaſion to ieſt at his ſimple and ſilly lookes, others asked if this were he that lowts ſo lowe, which did take vpon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious ſtones? If hee were any ſuch man (ſayd they) he would carry another maner of countenance with him, and looke ſomewhat loftier. Thus ſome iudged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the conſideration of the inward man.

God doeth not alwayes bring his greateſt workes by the greateſt perſons.

His cuſtome was to bowe himſelfe very lowe in making of courteſie.

In the ende, what ſucceſſe his Voyage had, who liſt to reade the Decades, the Hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, the conqueſt of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and thoſe of Franciſco Pizarro in Peru about Caſamalcha and Cuſco, may know more particularly. All which their diſcoueries, trauailes and conqueſts are extant to be had in the Engliſh tongue. This deuiſe was then accompted a fantaſticall imagination, and a drowſie dreame.

Hernando Cortes.
Franciſco Pizarro.

But the ſequele thereof hath ſince awaked out of dreames thouſands of ſoules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath ſince made ſufficient proofe, neither to be fantaſticke, nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightily it hath inlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly inriched the ſubiects of the ſame, let all men conſider. Beſides, it is well knowen, that ſithence the

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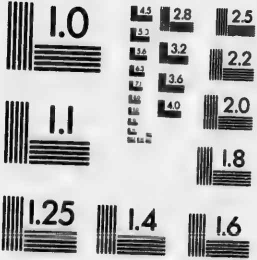

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the time of Columbus his firſt diſcouerie, through the planting, poſſeſſing, and inhabiting thoſe partes, there hath bene tranſported and brought home into Europe greater ſtore of Golde, Siluer, Pearle, and Precious ſtones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages ſince the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore heartily wiſh, that ſeeing it hath pleaſed almightie God of his infinite mercy, at the length to awake ſome of our worthy Countrey men out of that drowſie dreame, wherein we haue ſo long ſlumbered:

A reaſonable requeſt.

That wee may now not ſuffer that to quaile for want of maintenance, which by theſe valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is ſo nobly begun & enterpriſed. For which purpoſe, I haue taken vpon me to write this ſimple ſhort Treatiſe, hoping that it ſhall be able to perſwade ſuch as haue bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this iourney, (by reaſon perhaps that they haue not deliberately and aduiſedly entred into the iudgement of the matter) that yet now vpon better conſideration they will become fauourable furtherers of the ſame. And that ſuch as are already well affected thereunto, will continue their good diſpoſition: And withall, I moſt humbly pray all ſuch as are no nigards of their purſes in buying of coſtly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in ſetting forth of games, paſtimes, feaſtings and banquets, (whereof the charge being paſt, there is no hope of publique profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will beſtowe and employ their liberality (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of theſe ſo commendable purpoſed proceedings.

The argument of the booke.

And to this ende haue I taken pen in hand, as in conſcience thereunto mooued, deſiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nouriſh, farre better able to handle this matter then I my ſelfe am, it would haue pleaſed ſome one of them to haue vndertaken the ſame. But ſeeing they are ſilent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeuour my ſelfe, and doe ſtand in good hope (though my ſkill and knowledge bee ſimple, yet through the aſſiſtance of almightie God) to prooue that the Voyage, lately enterpriſed for trade, traffique, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maieſties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the aduenturers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be atteined without any great danger or difficultie.

And laſtly, (which is moſt of all) A thing likewiſe tending to the honour and glory of Almightie God. And for that the lawfulneſſe to plant in thoſe Countreyes in ſome mens iudgements ſeemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the proofe of the lawfulneſſe of trade, traffique, and planting.

The ſecond Chapter ſheweth, that it is lawfull and neceſſarie to trade and traffique with the Sauages: And to plant in their Countries: And diuideth planting into two ſorts.

AND firſt for traffique, I ſay that the Chriſtians may lawfully trauell into thoſe Countries and abide there: whom the Sauages may not iuſtly impugne and forbidde in reſpect of the mutuall ſocietie and fellowſhippe betweene man and man preſcribed by the Law of Nations.

For from the firſt beginning of the creation of the world, and from the renewing of the ſame after Noes flood, all men haue agreed, that no violence ſhould be offered to Ambaſſadours: That the Sea with his Hauens ſhould be common: That ſuch as ſhould fortune to be taken in warre, ſhould be ſeruants or ſlaues: And that ſtrangers ſhould not bee driuen away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were ſo then, I demaund in what age, and by what Law is the ſame forbidden or denied ſince? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Chriſtians to vſe trade and traffique with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither ſuch commodities as they want, and bringing from thence ſome part of their plentie?

A thing ſo commonly and generally practiſed, both in theſe our dayes, and in times paſt, beyond the memorie of man, both by Chriſtians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And foraſmuch as the vſe of trade and traffique (be it neuer ſo profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Chriſtian faith: I will therefore ſomewhat intreate of planting, (without which, Chriſtian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer ſo carefull and diligent) which I meane to diuide into two ſortes.

The principall cauſes why this voyage is vndertaken.

The firſt, when Chriſtians by the good liking and willing aſſent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet poſſeſſion.

The ſecond, when Chriſtians being vniuſtly repulſed, doe ſeeke to attaine and manteine the right for which they doe come.

And though in regard of the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion, eyther of both may be lawfully and iuſtly exerciſed: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyſes and Ioſua, and other Rulers before the birth of Chriſt, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings ſithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wiſh, that before the ſecond be put in practiſe, a proofe may be made of the firſt, ſauing that for their ſafetie as well againſt the Sauages, as all other forreigne enemies, they ſhould firſt well and ſtrongly fortifie themſelues: which being done, then by all fayre ſpeeches, and euery other good meanes of perſwaſion to ſeeke to take away all occaſions of offence.

As letting them to vnderſtand, how they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongſt them, and to trade and traffique with them for their owne commoditie, without moleſting or grieuing them any way: which muſt not be done by wordes onely but alſo by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell iniury, be a iuſt cauſe of warre: yet muſt there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and fond otherwiſe, the Chriſtians ſhould doe their beſt endeuour to take away ſuch feare as may growe vnto them by reaſon of their ſtrange apparell, Armour, and weapon, or ſuch like, by quiet and peaceable conuerſation, and letting them liue in ſecuritie, and keeping a meaſure of blameleſſe defence, with as little diſcommoditie to the Sauages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defenſiue and not offenſiue.

And queſtionleſſe there is great hope and likelyhoode, that by this kinde of meanes we ſhould bring to paſſe all effects to our deſired purpoſes: Conſidering that all creatures, by conſtitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and eaſier wonne for all aſſayes, by courteſie and mildneſſe, then by crueltie or roughneſſe: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reaſon, it is firſt to be put in vre.

For albeit as yet the Chriſtians are not ſo throughly furniſhed with the perfectneſſe of their language, eyther to expreſſe their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the preſent opportunitie, ſuch policie may be vſed by friendly ſignes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Sauages may eaſily perceiue (were their ſences neuer ſo groſſe) an aſſured friendſhip to be offered them, and that they are encountered with ſuch a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquilitie and ſafetie. To further this, and to accompliſh it in deedes, there muſt bee preſented vnto them gratis, ſome kindes of our pettie marchandizes and trifles: As looking glaſſes, Belles, Beades, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Chryſtall, Amber, Iet, or Glaſſe &c. For ſuch be the things, though to vs of ſmall value, yet accounted by them of high price and eſtimation: and ſooneſt will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutuall ſocietie with vs.

Moreouer, it ſhall be requiſite eyther by ſpeeche, if it be poſſible, either by ſome other certaine meanes, to ſignifie vnto them, that once league of friendſhip with all louing conuerſation being admitted betweene the Chriſtians and them: that then the Chriſtians from thenceforth will alwayes be ready with force of Armes to aſſiſt and defend them in their iuſt quarrels, from all inuaſions, ſpoyles and oppreſſions offered them by any Tyrants, Aduerſaries, or their next borderers: and a benefite is ſo much the more to be eſteemed, by how much the perſon vpon whom it is beſtowed ſtandeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a Countryman of ours, namely Dauid Ingram, (who trauelled in thoſe countries xi. Moneths and more) That the Sauages generally for the moſt part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and eſpecially the Cannibals, being a cruell kinde of people, whoſe foode is mans fleſh, and haue teeth like dogges, and doe purſue them with rauenous mindes to eate their fleſh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Chriſtians may in this caſe iuſtly and lawfully ayde the Sauages againſt the Cannibals. So that it is very likely, that by this meanes we ſhall not only mightily ſtirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Chriſtians, proffering vnto them both commodities, ſuccour, and kindneſſe: But alſo by their franke conſents ſhall eaſily enioy ſuch competent quantity of Land, as euery way ſhall be correſpondent to the Chriſtians expectation and contentation, conſidering the great abundance that they haue of Land, and how ſmall account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then ſuch as the ground of it ſelfe doeth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the firſt ſort of planting, which as I aſſuredly hope, ſo I moſt heartily pray may take effect and place.

But

The ſeconde kinde of planting.

But if after theſe good and fayre meanes vſed, the Sauages neuertheleſſe will not bee herewithall ſatiſfied, but barbarouſly will goe about to practiſe violence eyther in repelling the Chriſtians from their Ports & ſafelandings, or in withſtanding them afterwards to enioy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themſelues thither:

Then in ſuch a caſe I holde it no breach of equitie for the Chriſtians to defend themſelues, to purſue reuenge with force, and to doe whatſoeuer is neceſſarie for the atteining of their ſafetie: For it is allowable by all Lawes in ſuch diſtreſſes, to reſiſt violence with violence: And for their more ſecuritie to increaſe their ſtrength by building of Forts for auoyding the extremitie of iniurious dealing.

Wherein if alſo they ſhal not be ſuffered in reaſonable quietneſſe to continue, there is no barre (as I iudge) but that in ſtoute aſſemblies the Chriſtians may iſſue out, and by ſtrong hand purſue their enemies, ſubdue them, take poſſeſſion of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, and (in auoyding murtherous tyrannie) to vſe the Law of Armes, as in like caſe among all Nations at this day is vſed: and moſt eſpecially to the ende they may with ſecuritie holde their lawfull poſſeſſion, leſt happily after the departure of the Chriſtians, ſuch Sauages as haue bene conuerted, ſhould afterwards through compulſion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Iſrael, after the deceaſe of Ioſhua) and continue their wicked cuſtome of moſt vnnaturall ſacrificing of humane creatures.

And in ſo doing, doubtleſſe the Chriſtians ſhall no whit at all tranſgreſſe the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie, foraſmuch as in former ages, (yea, before the incarnation of Chriſt) the like hath bene done by ſundry Kings and Princes, Gouernours of the children of Iſrael: chiefly in reſpect to begin their planting, for the eſtabliſhment of Gods worde: as alſo ſince the Natiuitie of Chriſt, mightie and puiſſant Emperours and Kings haue performed the like, I ſay to plant, poſſeſſe, and ſubdue. For proofe whereof, I will alleage you examples of both kindes.

Wee reade in the olde Teſtament, how that after Noes flood was ceaſed, reſtauration of mankinde began onely of thoſe fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to bee ſaued in the Arke with him, whoſe ſeede in proceſſe of time, was multiplyed to infinite numbers of Nations, which in diuers ſortes diuided themſelues to ſundry quarters of the earth. And foraſmuch as all their poſteritie being mightily encreaſed, followed not the perfect life of Noe their predeceſſour, God choſe out of the multitude a peculiar people to himſelfe, to whom afterwardes being vnder the gouernment of Moyſes in Mount Sinay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the Land of promiſe, with all the other rich and fertile Countries next adioyning thereunto. Neuertheleſſe, before they came to poſſeſſion thereof, hauing bene afflicted with many grieuous puniſhments and plagues for their ſinnes, they fell in deſpayre to enioy the ſame.

But being encouraged and comforted by their Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themſelues with all patience, to ſuffer whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend: and at laſt attaining to the Land, they were encountered with great numbers of ſtrong people, and mighty Kings.

Ioſua 4. Notwithſtanding, Ioſua their Leader repleniſhed with the Spirite of God, being aſſured of the iuſtneſſe of his quarell, gathered the chiefe ſtrength of the children of Iſrael together, to the number of 40000. with whom he ſafely paſſed the huge riuer Iordan, and hauing before ſent priuie ſpies for the diſcouerie of the famous citie Ierico, to vnderſtand the certaintie of the Citizens eſtate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it round about with his whole power the ſpace of ſeuen dayes.

Ioſua 6.

In which reſpite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles diſpoſed to [illegible] or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Ierico ſhould be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell ſhould be deſtroyed, onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, becauſe ſhee before had hid ſecretly the meſſengers of Ioſua, that were ſent thither as ſpies. As for all their golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, or veſſels of braſſe, they were reſerued and conſecrated to the Lords treaſurie.

Ioſua 8. In like maner he burned the citie Hay, ſlew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged vp their King. But for ſo much as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Ioſua to intreate for grace, fauour, and peace: hee commaunded that all their liues ſhould bee ſaued, and that they ſhould be admitted to the company of the children of Iſrael. Yet vnderſtanding afterwards they wrought this by a policie, he vſed them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie water, and other neceſſaries for his people. Thus beganne this valiant Captaine his conqueſt, which he purſued and neuer left till hee had ſubdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, Pereſites,

Ioſua 9.

Iudg. 11. 13.

Heuites, and Iebuſites, with all their princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, & diuers other ſtrange nations, beſides whoſe lands & dominions he wholy diuided among Gods people.

After that Ioſua was deceaſed, Iuda was conſtituted Lord ouer the armie, who receiuing like charge from God, purſued the proceedings of the holy captaine Ioſua, and vtterly vanquiſhed many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduerſaries to the children of Iſrael, with all ſuch Rulers or Kings as withſtoode him, and namely Adonibezek the moſt cruell tyrant: whoſe thumbes and great toes he cauſed to be cut off, for ſo much as hee had done the like before vnto ſeuentie Kings, whom being his priſoners, he forced to gather vp their victuals vnderneath his table. In this God ſhewed his iuſtice to reuenge tyrannie. We reade likewiſe, that Gedeon a moſt puiſſant and noble warriour ſo behaued himſelfe in following the worthy acts of Ioſua and Iuda, that in ſhort time he not only deliuered the children of Iſrael from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but alſo ſubdued them and their Tyrants, whoſe landes he cauſed Gods people to poſſeſſe and inherite.

Iudg. 1.

A good note for al Conquerers to be mercifull.

Iudg. 6. 7.

I could recite diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applyed hereunto, were it not I doe indeuour my ſelfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge ſome fewe Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtoriographers, all tending to the like argument. And firſt to begin withall, we doe reade: That after our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt had ſuffered his paſſion, the Apoſtles being inſpired with the holy Ghoſt, and the knowledge of all ſtrange languages, did immediatly diſperſe themſelues to ſundry parts of the world, to the preaching of the Goſpel. Yet not in ſo generall a maner, but that there remayned ſome farre remote Countries vnviſited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the vttermoſt India, as yet had receiued no light of the word. But it came to paſſe, that one Metrodorus a very learned and wiſe Philoſopher in that age, being deſirous to ſearch out vnknowen lands, did firſt diſcouer the ſame, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his returne being publiſhed, and for certaine vnderſtood, there was another graue Philoſopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a Chriſtian, who did reſolue himſelfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a ſhort time aſſiſted but with a fewe, in a ſmall Veſſel arriued there, hauing in his company two yong youths, Edeſius and Frumentius, whom (being his ſchollers) he had throughly inſtructed both in liberall Sciences, and chriſtian Religion. Now after that Meropius ſome while ſtaying there, had (as hee thought) ſufficient vnderſtanding of the Indians whole eſtate: He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whom he meant to exhort to the conqueſt of the ſame.

Ruffinus lib. 1. cap. 9.

But by miſfortune he was preuented, for being in the middeſt of his courſe on the Sea homeward, a ſore tempeſt aroſe, and perforce droue him backe againe, to an vnknowen Port of the ſayd land: where he by the moſt cruell barbarous Indians on the ſudden was ſlaine with all his company, except the two young ſchollers aforeſayde, whom the barbarous Indians, by reaſon they were of comely ſtature and beautifull perſonages, tooke, and forthwith preſented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteouſly entreated, and ordeined Edeſius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeeres by reaſon of their learning and ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and eſtimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her yong ſonne to gouerne, and gaue free ſcope and libertie to the two Chriſtians, at their beſt pleaſure to paſſe to their natiue ſoyles, allowing them all neceſſaries for the ſame. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured them was very ſorowfull they ſhould depart, and therefore moſt earneſtly intreated them to tarie and aſſiſt her in the gouernment of her people, till ſuch time as her young ſonne grewe to ripe yeeres, which requeſt they fulfilled.

Meropius ſlaine.

Edeſius and Frumentius preſerued by the Indians.

And Frumentius excelling Edeſius farre in all wiſedome, ruled both the Queene and her ſubiects at his diſcretion, whereby he tooke occaſion to put in practiſe priuily that the foundation of Chriſtian religion might be planted in the hearts of ſuch as with whom he thought his perſwaſion might beſt preuaile, and that ſooneſt would giue eare vnto him: which being brought to paſſe accordingly, hee then with his fellow Edeſius tooke leaue of the Queene to returne to his natiue countrey. And ſo ſoone as he was arriued there, he reuealed to the Emperour Conſtantine, the effect of all thoſe euents: who both commending his deedes and wholy allowing thereof, by the aduiſe and good liking of Athanaſius then Biſhop of Alexandria, did arme and ſet forth a conuenient power for the ayde of Frumentius, in this his ſo godly a purpoſe. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promiſes, and by force of armes together, vnto the poſſeſſion of all the Indians countrey. The author of this ſtorie Ruffinus receiued the trueth hereof from the very mouth of Edeſius companion to Frumentius.

Frumentius in great fauour with yͤ Queene of the Indiãs.

An other great worke of God begunne by a man of meane birth.

Ruffinus the Author of this ſtorie.

Moreouer

Euſeb. in his eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie teſtifieth how that Conſtantine the great did enlarge his dominions by ſubduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations.
Euſebius lib. 1. de vita Conſtant. cap. 4 et cap. 9.
Euſeb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

Moreouer Euſebius in his Hiſtorie Eccleſiaſticall in preciſe termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Conſtantine the great not onely enlarged his Empire by the ſubduing of his next neighbours, but alſo endeuoured by all meanes to ſubiect all ſuch remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quaters of the worlde. For (as it is written) the Emperour throughly ayded with a puiſſant armie of valiant ſouldiers whom he had before perſwaded to Chriſtian religion, in proper perſon himſelfe came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Iſland of Britaines, bending from him full Weſt, which he wholy conquered, made tributarie, and ſetled therein Chriſtian faith, and left behinde him ſuch Rulers thereof, as to his wiſedome ſeemed beſt. From thence hee turned his force towardes the North coaſt of the world, and there vtterly ſubdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perſwaſions, part by maine ſtrength, hee reduced the whole to Chriſtian faith. Afterwards he determined with himſelfe to ſearch out what ſtrange people inhabited in the vttermoſt parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at laſt became victour ouer them all, euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Æthiopians, that now are the people of Presbyter Iohn, who yet till this day continue and beare the name of Chriſtians.

In the Eaſt likewiſe, what Nation ſoeuer at that time he could haue notice of, he eaſily wonne and brought in ſubiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitants whereof being Gentiles, though vnknowen vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquiſhed.

Theodoret. in eccle lib. 5. cap. 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

This worthy beginning of Conſtantine, both his ſonnes ſucceeding his roome, and alſo diuers other Emperours afterward to their vttermoſt endeuour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Euſebius more at large ſet foorth. Theodoretus likewiſe in his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie maketh mention how Theodoſius the vertuous Emperour imployed earneſtly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy Goſpel, vtterly ſubuerting their prophane Temples and abominable Idolatry, as alſo in extinguiſhing of ſuch vſurping tyrants as with Paganiſme withſtood the planting of Chriſtian religion. After whoſe deceaſe his ſonnes Honorius and Arcadius were created Emperours, the one of the Eaſt, the other of the Weſt, who with all ſtout godlineſſe moſt carefully imitated the foreſteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging their territories, or increaſing the chriſtian flocke.

Moreouer, it is reported by the ſayd author, that Theodoſius Iunior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great ſtudie and zeale purſued and proſecuted the Gentiles, ſubdued their tyrants and countries, and vtterly deſtroyed all their idolatry, conuerting their ſoules to acknowledge their onely Meſſias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who ſo liſteth to read Euſebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholaſticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, and Euagrius Scholaſticus, which all were moſt ſage Eccleſiaſticall writers, ſhall finde great ſtore of examples of the worthy liues of ſundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former ſpeeches.

And for like examples of later time, (yea euen in the memorie of man) I ſhall not neede to recite any other then the conqueſt made of the Weſt and Eaſt Indies by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mention made in the laſt Chapter of this booke. Herein haue I vſed more copy of examples then otherwiſe I would haue done, ſauing that I haue bene in place, where this maner of planting the Chriſtian faith hath bene thought of ſeme to be ſcarce lawfull, yea, ſuch as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To theſe examples could I ioyne many moe, but whoſoeuer is not ſatiſfied with theſe fewe, may ſatiſfie himſelfe in reading at large the Authors laſt aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I truſt) prooued that we may iuſtly trade and traffique with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth ſhew the lawfull title which the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie hath vnto thoſe Countries, which through the ayde of Almighty God are meant to be inhabited.

1170.
Owen Gwyneth was then Prince of Northwales.
Nullum tempus occurrit Regi.

AND it is very euident that the planting there ſhal in time right amply enlarge her Maieſties Territories and Dominions, or (I might rather ſay) reſtore her to her Highneſſe ancient right and intereſt in thoſe Countries, into the which a noble and worthy perſonage, lineally deſcended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coaſt of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arriued and there planted himſelfe and his Colonies, and afterward returned himſelfe into England, leauing certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an ancient Welſh Chronicle, where he then gaue to certaine Ilands, beaſtes, and foules ſundry Welſh names, as the Iland of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the ſame.

This Iland was diſcouered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his laſt iourney.

There is likewiſe a foule in the ſaide countreys called by the ſame name at this day, and is as much to ſay in Engliſh, as Whitehead, and in trueth the ſaid foules haue white heads. There is alſo in thoſe countreis a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewiſe a Welſh word. Moreouer, there are diuers other Welſh wordes at this day in vſe, as Dauid Ingram aforeſaid reporteth in his relations. All which moſt ſtrongly argueth, the ſayd prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the ſame in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mightie Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his ſubiects for the better pacifying of them, made in the preſence of Hernando Cortes vſed theſe ſpeeches following.

MY kinſmen, friends, and ſeruants, you doe well know that eighteene yeres I haue bene your King, as my fathers and grandfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient ſubiects, and ſo I hope you will remaine vnto mee all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your fathers, or elſe our diuines haue inſtructed you, that wee are not naturally of this countrey, nor yet our kingdome is durable, becauſe our forefathers came from a farre countrey, and their King and Captaine, who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, ſaying that he would ſend ſuch as ſhould rule and gouerne vs, if by chance he himſelfe returned not, &c.

Mutezuma his Oration to his ſubiects in preſence of Hernando Cortes, which Oration was made about the yeere 1520.

Theſe be the very wordes of Mutezuma ſet downe in the Spaniſh Chronicles, the which being throughly conſidered, becauſe they haue relation to ſome ſtrange noble perſon, who long before had poſſeſſed thoſe countreys, doe all ſufficiently argue the vndoubted title of her Maieſtie: foraſmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make preſcription of time for themſelues, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Beſides all this, for further proofe of her highneſſe title ſithence the arriuall of this noble Briton into thoſe parts (that is to ſay) in the time of the Queenes grandfather of worthy memory, King Henry the ſeuenth, Letters patents were by his Maieſtie granted to Iohn Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebaſtian and Sancius, his three ſonnes, to diſcouer remote, barbarous and heathen Countreys, which diſcouery was afterwardes executed to the vſe of the Crowne of England, in the ſayde Kings time, by Sebaſtian and Sancius his ſonnes, who were borne here in England: in true teſtimony whereof there is a faire hauen in Newfoundland, knowen, and called vntill this day by the name of Sancius hauen, which proueth that they firſt diſcouered vpon that coaſt from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

M. Oliuer Dalbony.
M. Edward Reow.
M. R. H.
M. I. A.

And this may ſtand for another title to her Maieſty: but any of the foreſayd titles is as much or more then any other Chriſtian Prince can pretend to the Indies, before ſuch time as they had actuall poſſeſſion thereof, obtained by the diſcouery of Chriſtopher Columbus, and the conqueſt of Vaſques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Franciſco Pizarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needleſſe to write any more touching the lawfulneſſe of her Maieſties title.

The fourth chapter ſheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in thoſe countreys, is likely to proue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOw to ſhew how the ſame is likely to proue very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: it is very certaine, that the greateſt iewell of this realme, and the chiefeſt ſtrength and force of the ſame, for defence or offence in marſhall matter and maner, is the multitude of ſhips, maſters and mariners, ready to aſſiſt the moſt ſtately and royall nauy of her Maieſty, which by reaſon of this voyage ſhall haue both increaſe and maintenance. And it is well knowen that in ſundry places of this realme ſhips haue beene built and ſet forth of late dayes, for the trade of fiſhing onely: yet notwithſtanding the fiſh which is taken and brought into England by the Engliſh nauy of fiſhermen, will not ſuffice for the expenſe of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of ſtrangers. And the chiefeſt cauſe why our Engliſh men doe not goe ſo farre Weſterly as the eſpeciall fiſhing places doe lie, both for plenty and greatneſſe of fiſh, is for that they haue no ſuccour and knowen ſafe harbour in thoſe parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts; whereas they now fiſh but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fiſh ſo long as pleaſed themſelues, or rather at their comming finde ſuch plenty of fiſh ready taken, ſalted, and dried, as might be ſufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that ſalt may be found there) whereof Dauid Ingram (who trauelled in thoſe

Cox the maſter.

countreys as aforeſayd) ſayth that there is great plenty: and withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might as well be made there by art, as it is both at Rochel and Bayon, or elſewhere. Which being brought to paſſe, ſhall increaſe the number of our ſhippes and mariners, were it but in reſpect of fiſhing onely: but much more in regard of the ſundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found, and had in great abundance.

Moreouer, it is well knowen that all Sauages, aſwell thoſe that dwell in the South, as thoſe that dwell in the North, ſo ſoone as they ſhall begin but a little to taſte of ciuility, will take maruelous delight in any garment, be it neuer ſo ſimple; as a ſhirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten caſſocke, a cap, or ſuch like, and will take incredible paines for ſuch a trifle.

Clothiers. Woolmen, Carders. Spinners. Weauers. Fullers. Sheermen. Diers. Drapers. Cappers. Hatters, &c. and many decayed townes repaired.

For I my ſelfe haue heard this report made ſundry times by diuers of our countreymen, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the Weſt Indies, ſome twelue yeeres together, and ſome of leſſe time; that the people in thoſe parts are eaſily reduced to ciuility both in maners and garments. Which being ſo, what vent for our Engliſh clothes will thereby enſue, and how great benefit to all ſuch perſons and artificers, whoſe names are quoted in the margent, I do leaue to the iudgement of ſuch as are diſcreet.

And queſtionleſſe, hereby it will alſo come to paſſe, that all ſuch townes and villages as both haue beene, and now are vtterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not ſet on worke, by reaſon of the tranſportation of raw wooll of late dayes more exceſſiuely then in times paſt) ſhal by this meanes be reſtored to their priſtinate wealth and eſtate: all which doe likewiſe tend to the inlargement of our nauy, and maintenance of our nauigation.

To what end need I endeuour my ſelfe by arguments to proue that by this voyage our nauie and nauigation ſhalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reaſon then the manifeſt & late example of the neere neighbours to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portugall, who ſince the firſt diſcouery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themſelues and their ſubiects: but haue alſo by iuſt account trebled the number of their ſhippes, maſters and mariners, a matter of no ſmall moment and importance.

The idle perſons of this realme ſhall by occaſion of this iourney bee well imployed & ſet on worke.

Beſides this, it will prooue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occaſion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idlely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & vnprofitable to this realme, ſhall hereby be ſet on worke, but alſo children of twelue or fourteene yeeres of age, or vnder, may bee kept from idleneſſe, in making of a thouſand kindes of trifling things, which wil be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreouer, our idle women (which the Realme may well ſpare) ſhall alſo be imployed on plucking, drying, and ſorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right neceſſary for dying. All which things are to be found in thoſe countreys moſt plentifully. And the men may imploy themſelues in dragging for pearle, woorking for mines, and in matters of huſbandry, and likewiſe in hunting the Whale for Trane, and making caskes to put the ſame in: beſides in fiſhing for cod, ſalmon, and herring, drying ſalting and barrelling the ſame, and felling of trees, hewing and ſawing of them, and ſuch like worke, meete for thoſe perſons that are no men of Art or ſcience.

Hempe doeth grow neere S. Laurence riuer naturally.

Many other things may bee found to the great reliefe and good employments of no ſmall number of the naturall Subiects of this Realme, which doe now liue here idlely to the common annoy of the whole ſtate. Neither may I here omit the great hope and likelyhood of a paſſage beyond the Grand Bay into the South Seas, confirmed by ſundry authours to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccas and Spiceries, whereby may enſue as generall a benefite to the Realme, or greater then yet hath bene ſpoken of, without either ſuch charges, or other inconueniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary paſſage to thoſe parts at this day doeth miniſter.

Read the beginning of the booke intituled, Diuers voyages touching the diſcouery of America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowen to all men of ſound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vſe and trade amongſt vs.

The fift chapter ſheweth, that the trading and planting in thoſe countreis is likely to proue to the particular profit of all aduenturers.

I Muſt now according to my promiſe ſhew foorth ſome probable reaſons that the aduenturers in this iourney are to take particular profit by the ſame. It is therefore conuenient that I doe diuide the aduenturers into two ſorts: the noblemen and gentlemen by themſelues, and the Merchants by themſelues. For, as I doe heare, it is meant that there ſhall be one ſocietie of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and another ſocietie of the merchants. And yet not ſo diuided, but that eche ſociety may freely and frankely trade and traffique one with the other.

And firſt to bend my ſpeech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who doe chiefly ſeeke a temperate climate, wholeſome ayre, fertile ſoile, and a ſtrong place by nature whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themſelues, or ſuch other perſons as they ſhall thinke good to ſend to bee lords of that place and countrey: to them I ſay, that all theſe things are very eaſie to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforeſaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Iſlands thereunto adioyning at their choiſe: but the degree certaine of the eleuation of the pole, and the very climate where theſe places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for ſuch regard as the wiſer ſort can eaſily coniecture: the rather becauſe I doe certainly vnderſtand, that ſome of thoſe which haue the managing of this matter, knowe it as well or better then I my ſelfe, and do meane to reueale the ſame, when cauſe ſhall require, to ſuch perſons whom it ſhall concerne, and to no other: ſo that they may ſeat & ſettle themſelues in ſuch climate as ſhall beſt agree with their owne nature, diſpoſition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the deſcription of as many as haue bene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all ſorts, and in very many places, both ſtones of price, pearle and chriſtall, and great ſtore of beaſts, birds, and fowles both for pleaſure and neceſſary vſe of man are to be found.

Beaſts for pleaſure.

And for ſuch as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde bores, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers other ſuch like for pleaſure. Alſo for ſuch as haue delight in hauking, there are haukes of ſundry kinds, and great ſtore of game, both for land and riuer, as Fezants, Partridges, Cranes, Heronſhawes, Ducks, Mallards, and ſuch like. There is alſo a kinde of beaſt much bigger then an Oxe, whoſe hide is more then eighteene foote long, of which ſort a countreyman of ours, one Walker a ſea man, who was vpon that coaſt, did for a trueth report in the preſence of diuers honourable and worſhipfull perſons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage aboue two hundred and fortie hides, which they brought away and ſolde in France for fortie ſhillings an hide: and with this agreeth Dauid Ingram, and deſcribeth that beaſt at large, ſuppoſing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe; there are likewiſe beaſts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities ſake, great ſtore of fiſh both in the ſalt water and in the freſh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the moſt delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be diuers of good credit in this realme that haue taſted: and there is alſo a kind of graine called Maiz, Potato rootes, and ſundry other fruits naturally growing there: ſo that after ſuch time as they are once ſetled, they ſhall neede to take no great care for victuall.

Hides ſolde for forty ſhillings a piece.

Great grapes: Wine of the Palme tree.

And now for the better contentation and ſatiſfaction of ſuch worſhipfull, honeſt minded, and well diſpoſed Merchants, as haue a deſire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will firſt ſay vnto them, as I haue done before to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, that within the degrees aboueſayde, is doubtleſſe to bee found the moſt wholeſome and beſt temperature of ayre, fertilitie of ſoyle, and euery other commoditie or merchandize, for the which, with no ſmall perill we doe trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portugall, France, Italie, Moſcouie and Eaſtland. All which may be either preſently had, or at the leaſt wiſe in very ſhort time procured from thence with leſſe danger then now we haue them. And yet to the ende my argument ſhall not altogether ſtand vpon likelihoods and preſumptions, I ſay that ſuch perſons as haue diſcouered and trauelled thoſe parets, doe teſtifie that they haue found in thoſe countreyes all theſe things following, namely:

Of beaſts for furres.
Marterns.
Beauers.
Foxes, blacke and white.
Leopards.

Of wormes.
Silke wormes great & large.

Of Birds.
Hawkes.
Bitters.
Curlewes.
Herons.
Partridges.
Cranes.
Mallards.
Wilde geeſe.
Stocke dooues.
Margaus.
Blacke birds.
Parrots.
Pengwins.

Of Fiſhes.
Codde.
Salmon.
Seales.
Herrings.

Of Trees.
Palme trees yeelding ſweet wines.
Cedars.
Firres.
Saſafras.
Oake.
Elme.
Popler.

And ſundry other ſtrange Trees, to vs vnknowen.

Of fruites.
Grapes very large.
Muskemellons.
Limons.
Dates great.
Orrenges.
Figges.
Prunes.
Raiſins great and ſmall.
Pepper.
Almonds,
Citrons.

Of Mettals.
Golde.
Siluer
Copper.
Lead.
Tinne.

Of Stones.
Turkeis.
Rubies.
Pearls great & faire.
Marble, of diuers kindes.
Iaſpen.
Chriſtall.

Sundry other commodities of all ſorts.
Roſen.
Pitch.
Tarre.
Turpentine.
Frankincenſe.
Honny.
Waxe.
Rubarbe.
Oyle Oliue.
Traine oyle.
Muske codde.
Salt.
Tallow.
Hides.
Hempe.
Flaxe.
Cochenello & dies of diuers ſorts.
Feathers of ſundrie ſorts, as for pleaſure and filling of Featherbeds.

And ſeeing that for ſmall coſts, the trueth of theſe things may be vnderſtood (whereof this intended ſupply will giue vs more certaine aſſurance) I doe finde no cauſe to the contrary, but that all well minded perſons ſhould be willing to aduenture ſome competent portion for the furtherance of ſo good an enterpriſe.

Now for the triall hereof, conſidering that in the articles of the ſocietie of the aduenturers in this voyage, there is prouiſion made, that no aduenturer ſhall be bound to any further charge then his firſt aduenture: and yet notwithſtanding keepe ſtill to himſelfe his children, his apprentiſes and ſeruants, his and their freedome for trade and traffique, which is a priuiledge that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the ſaid articles it is likewiſe prouided, that none other then ſuch as haue aduentured in the firſt voyage, or ſhal become aduenturers in this ſupply, at any time hereafter are to be admitted in the ſaid ſociety, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I ſay vnto all ſuch according to the old prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do ſo fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had, (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre countries, ſhal by this trade returne with leſſe charge, greater gaine, and more ſafety: Leſſe charge, I ſay, by reaſon of the ample and large deepe riuers at the very banke, whereof there are many, whereby both eaſily and quietly they may tranſport from the innermoſt parts of the main land, all kind of merchandize, yea in veſſels of great burden, and that three times, or twiſe in the yere at the leaſt. But let vs omit all preſumptions how vehement ſoeuer, and dwel vpon the certainty of ſuch commodities as were diſcouered by S. Humfrey Gilbert, & his aſſiſtants in Newfound land in Auguſt laſt. For there may be very eaſily made Pitch, Tarre, Roſen, Sope aſhes, in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to ſerue the whole realme of euery of theſe kindes: And of Traine oyle ſuch quantity, as if I ſhould ſet downe the value that they doe eſteeme it at, which haue bene there, it would ſeeme incredible.

Commodities found in Auguſt laſt.

It is hereby intended, that theſe commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and ſetling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more ſorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewiſe diſcouered there) I doe holde them for ſome reſpects, more meete for a time to be concealed then vttered.

Of the fiſhing I doe ſpeake nothing, becauſe it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Sauages doe require in exchange of theſe commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, ſiluer, and precious ſtones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it ſhould ſo fall out, that the aboue ſpecified commodities ſhall not happily be found out within this firſt yeere: Yet it is very cleere that ſuch and ſo many may be found out as ſhall miniſter iuſt occaſion to thinke all coſt and labour well beſtowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one ſeat fit for fortification, of great ſafety, wherein theſe commodities following, eſpecially are to be had, that is to ſay, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other neceſſary things, and fiſh of farre greater ſiſe and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all theſe ſo great ſtore, as may ſuffice to ſerue our whole realme.

Beſides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the ſame ſoile, a certaine riuer doth thereunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich ſubſtance: I doe not hereby meane the paſſage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeeres paſt, certaine merchants of S. Malo in France, did hyre a ſhip out of the Iland of Ierſey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade ſecret from their Countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ſhip boy belonging to the ſayd ſhip, to goe with them, which ſhippe was about 70. tunne. I doe know the ſhippe and the boy very well,and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage prooued very beneficiall.

To conclude,this which is already ſayd, may ſuffice any man of reaſonable diſpoſition to ſerue for a taſte,vntill ſuch time as it ſhall pleaſe almighty God through our owne induſtrie, to ſend vs better tydings. In the meane ſeaſon, if any man well affected to this iourney, ſhall ſtand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the ſame, he may ſatiſfie himſelfe with the iudgement and liking of ſuch of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers herein. For it is not neceſſary in this treatiſe,publikely to ſet forth the whole ſecrets of the voyage.

The ſixt Chapter ſheweth that the traffique and planting in thoſe countries, ſhall be vnto the Sauages themſelues very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOw to the end it may appeare that this voyage is not vndertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our ſelues and our country(as generally other trades and iourneis be) it ſhall fall out in proofe, that the Sauages ſhall hereby haue iuſt cauſe to bleſſe the houre when this enterpriſe was vndertaken.

Firſt and chiefly,in reſpect of the moſt happy and gladſome tidings of the moſt glorious Goſpel of our Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, whereby they may be brought from falſhood to trueth,from darkneſſe to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from ſuperſtitious idolatrie to ſincere Chriſtianity,from the deuill to Chriſt, from hell to heauen. And if in reſpect of all the commodities they can yeelde vs (were they many moe) that they ſhould but receiue this onely benefit of Chriſtianity,they were more then fully recompenced.

But heereunto it may bee obiected, that the Goſpel muſt bee freely preached, for ſuch was the example of the Apoſtles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alledged of Emperors,Kings and Princes,aſwel before Chriſts time as ſince,might ſufficiently ſatiſfie: yet for further anſwere, we may ſay with S.Paul, If wee haue ſowen vnto you heauenly things, doe you thinke it much that we ſhould reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hire. Theſe heauenly tidings which thoſe labourers our countreymen (as meſſengers of Gods great goodneſſe and mercy) will voluntarily preſent vnto them,doe farre exceed their earthly riches. Moreouer, if the other inferiour worldly and temporall things which they ſhall receiue from vs,be weighed in equall ballance,I aſſure my ſelfe,that by equal iudgement of any indifferent perſon,the benefits which they then receiue,ſhall farre ſurmount thoſe which they ſhall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put their land to ſome vſe: yet being brought from brutiſh ignorance to ciuilitie and knowledge, and made then to vnderſtand how the tenth part of their Land may be ſo manured and employed,as it may yeeld more commodities to the neceſſary vſe of mans life,then the whole now doeth: What iuſt cauſe of complaint may they haue? And in my priuate opinion,I do verily thinke that God did create land,to the end that it ſhould by culture and huſbandry yeeld things neceſſary for mans life.

2.Corinth.9.

But this is not all the benefit which they ſhall receiue by the Chriſtians: for,ouer and beſide the knowledge how to till and dreſſe their grounds,they ſhal be reduced from vnſeemely cuſtomes to honeſt maners, from diſordered riotous routs and companyes to a well gouerned common wealth,and withall,ſhalbe taught mechanicall occupations, arts, and liberall ſciences: and which ſtandeth them moſt vpon,they ſhalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood ſucking neighbors the Canibals,whereby infinite number of their liues ſhalbe preſerued. And laſtly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children ſhall be preſerued from the bloody knife of the ſacrificer, a moſt horrible and deteſtable cuſtome in the ſight of God and man, now and euer heretofore vſed amongſt them. Many other things could I heere alledge to this purpoſe,were it not that I doe feare leſt I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

This bargen cannot be vniuſt, where both parties are gainers.

The ſeuenth Chapter ſheweth that the planting there,is not a matter of ſuch charge or difficultie,as many would make it ſeeme to be.

NOw therefore for proofe, that the planting in theſe parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purſe, contrary to the allegation of many malicious perſons,who wil neither be actors in any good action themſelues,nor ſo much as afoord a good word to the ſetting forward thereof: and that worſe is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles ſeeme mountaines,and flies elephants,to the end they may diſcourage others,that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Eſops dogge, which neither would eate Hay himſelfe,nor ſuffer the poore hungry aſſe to feede thereon:

I ſay and affirme that God hath prouided ſuch meanes for the furtherance of this enterpriſe, as doe ſtand vs in ſtead of great treaſure: for firſt by reaſon that it hath pleaſed God of his great goodneſſe, of long time to hold his merciful hand ouer this realme, in preſeruing the people of the ſame, both from ſlaughter by the ſword, and great death by plague, peſtilence, or otherwiſe, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in ſuch penurie & want, as they could be contented to hazard their liues, and to ſerue one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their eſtates: which is a matter in ſuch like iourneyes, of no ſmall charge to the prince. Moreouer, things in the like iourneyes of greateſt price and coſt, as victuall (whereof there is great plentie to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corſlets are not needefull in ſo plentifull and chargeable maner, as the ſhew of ſuch a iourney may preſent: for a ſmall quantitie of all theſe, to furniſh the Fort only, will ſuffice vntill ſuch time as diuers commodities may be found out in thoſe parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Alſo the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath bleſſed this land withall before all other nations, will ſtand vs in great ſtead amongſt thoſe naked people.

Another helpe we haue alſo, which in ſuch like caſes is a matter of maruellous coſt, and will be in this iourney procured very eaſily (that is to ſay) To tranſport yeerely aſwell our people, as all other neceſſaries needfull for them into thoſe parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fiſh in Newfound land, being not farre diſtant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly goe with emptie veſſels in effect, ſauing ſome litle fraight with ſalt. And thus it appeareth that the ſouldiers wages, and the tranſportation may be defrayed for farre leſſe ſummes of money then the detractors of this enterpriſe haue giuen out. Againe, this intended voyage for conqueſt, hath in like maner many other ſingular priuiledges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand bleſſed the ſame before all others. For after once we are departed the coaſt of England, wee may paſſe ſtraightway thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countries of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde ſerueth to bring vs thither, which ſeldome faileth from the middle of Ianuarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleaſure that they haue in few or none of other iourneyes. Alſo the paſſage is ſhort, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the moſt, hauing but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in twenty or foure and twentie dayes at the moſt. And in the ſame our iourney, by reaſon it is in the Ocean, and quite out of the way from the intercourſe of other countreyes, we may ſafely trade and traffique without peril of piracy: neither ſhall our ſhips, people, or goods there, be ſubiect to arreſt or moleſtation of any Pagan potentate, Turkiſh tyrant, yea, or Chriſtian prince, which heretofore ſometimes vpon ſlender occaſion in other parts haue ſtayed our ſhips and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countreymen haue bene vtterly vndone, diuers put to ranſome, yea, and ſome loſt their liues: a thing ſo freſh in memorie as it needeth no proufe, and is well worthy of conſideration.

Beſides, in this voyage we doe not croſſe the burnt line, whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impayred, neither doe we paſſe the frozen ſeas, which yeelde ſundry extreme dangers: but haue a temperate climate at all times of the yeere, to ſerue our turnes. And laſtly, there neede no delayes by the way for taking in of freſh water and fewell, (a thing vſually done in long iournies) becauſe, as I ſayd aboue, the voyage is not long, and the freſh waters taken in there, our men here in England at their returne home haue found ſo wholſome and ſweete, that they haue made choiſe to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Behold heere, good countreymen, the manifold benefits, commodities and pleaſures heretofore vnknowen, by Gods eſpeciall bleſſing not onely reueiled vnto vs, but alſo as it were infuſed into our boſomes, who though hitherto like dormice haue ſlumbered in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for their prey to wet their feet: yet if now therefore at the laſt we would awake, and with willing mindes (ſetting friuolous imaginations aſide) become induſtrious inſtruments to our ſelues, queſtionleſſe we ſhould not only hereby ſet forth the glory of our heauenly father, but alſo eaſily attaine to the end of all good purpoſes that may be wiſhed or deſired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good ſucceſſe in the countrey of theſe Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the diſcipline of warre, ſeeing that a noble man, being but a ſubiect in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the ſecond) by name Strangbow, then earle of Chepſtow in South Wales, by himſelfe and his allies and aſſiſtants, at their owne proper charges paſſed ouer into Ireland, and there made conqueſt of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lyneſter, at which time it was very populous and ſtrong, which Hiſtory our owne chronicles do witneſſe? And why ſhould we be diſmayed more then were the Spanyards, who haue bene able within theſe few yeeres to conquer, poſſeſſe and enioy ſo large a tract of the earth, in the Weſt Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820. Engliſh miles at the leaſt, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall poſſeſſion, beſides many goodly and rich Iſlands, as Hiſpaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other, which are both beautifull and full of treaſure, not ſpeaking any whit at all, how large the ſaid land is from Eaſt to Weſt, which in ſome places is accounted to be 1500. Engliſh miles at the leaſt from Eaſt to Weſt, betweene the one Sea and the other.

Or why ſhould our noble nation be diſmaid, more then was Vaſques Nunnes de Valboa, a priuate gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70. Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an ouerthrow vnto that mighty king Chemacchus, hauing an armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the ſaid Vaſques Nunnes not long after, with his ſmall number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

1. Decad.lib.3. fol.77. of the Weſt Indies in Engliſh.
Canoa is a kind of boat.

Likewiſe Hernando Cortes, being alſo but a priuate gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Iſlands of Cuba and Acuzamil, and entring into the firme of America, had many moſt victorious & triumphant conqueſts, as that at Cynela, where being accompanied with leſſe then 500. Spaniſh footmen, thirteene horſemen, and ſixe pieces of Ordinance only, he ouerthrew 40000. Indians. The ſame Cortes with his ſayd number of Spanyards, tooke priſoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his moſt chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that inſtant had in it aboue the number of 50000. Indians at the leaſt, and in ſhort time after obteined not onely the quiet poſſeſſion of the ſaid citie, but alſo of his whole Empire.

3. Decad lib.1. fol 97.
About the yeere of our Lord 1511.
Conqueſt of the Weſt Indies. fol.43. and 45. Engliſh.

And in like maner in the Countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall poſſeſſion, Franciſco Pyſarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but priuate gentlemen, was the principall perſon that firſt attempted diſcouerie and conqueſt of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayd of the almighty, he brought to paſſe and atchieued in the Tambo of Caxamalca, (which is a large place of ground, encloſed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Atabalipa priſoner, amidſt the number of 60000. Indians his ſubiects, which were euer before that day accounted to bee a warlike kind of people, which his great victorie it pleaſed God to grant vnto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533. he not hauing in his company aboue the number of 210. Spanyards, whereof there were not paſt threeſcore horſemen in all: after the taking of which prince Atabalipa, he offered vnto Pyzarro for his ranſome, to fill a great large hall full of gold and ſiluer, and ſuch golde and ſiluer veſſels as they then vſed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme. And the ſayd prince cauſed the ſame hall to be marked round about at the ſayd height, which ranſome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after, when as this mighty prince had ſent to his vaſſals & ſubiects to bring in gold and ſiluer for the filling of the hall, as aforeſaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cuſco, as alſo to the Calao of Lima, in which towne, as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire houſe, all ſlated and couered with gold: and when as the ſaid hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie aroſe amongſt the Spanyards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the ſaid prince had politikely offered this great ranſome vnder pretence to raiſe a much more mightie power, whereby the Spanyards ſhould be taken, ſlaine and ouerthrowen: whereupon they grew to this reſolution, to put the ſayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and ſiluer already brought in, which they preſently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inuentorie of the ſame, as wel for the Emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwiſe, there was found to be already brought in into the ſayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of ſiluer, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches neuer before that nor ſince ſeene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift part of ſiluer 26485. pound waight, and to euery horſeman eight thouſand pezos of gold, and 67. pound waight of ſiluer. Euery ſouldiour had 4550. pezos of gold, and 280. pound waight of ſiluer. Euery Captaine had ſome 30000, ſome 20000. pezos of gold and ſiluer, proportionally anſwerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongſt them.

A marueilous victorie.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his decree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the reſt, ouer and beſides the maſſie table of gold which Atabalipa had in his Litter, which waighed 25000. pezos of gold: neuer were there before that day ſouldiers ſo rich in ſo ſmall a time, and with ſo little danger. And in this iourney for want of yron, they did ſhooe their horſes, ſome with gold, and ſome with ſiluer. This is to bee ſeene in the generall hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, and the conqueſt of Peru is more at large ſet forth.

To this may I adde the great diſcoueries and conqueſts which the princes of Portugall haue made round about the Weſt, the South, and the Eaſt parts of Africa, and alſo at Calicut, and in the Eaſt Indies, and in America, at Braſile and elſewhere in ſundry Iſlands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the ſayd coaſtes and Iſlands, euer as they diſcouered: which being rightly weyed and conſidered, doth miniſter iuſt cauſe of incouragement to our Countreymen, not to account it ſo hard and difficult a thing for the ſubiects of this noble realme of England, to diſcouer, people, plant and poſſeſſe the like goodly lands and rich countreys not farre from vs, but neere adioyning & offring themſelues vnto vs (as is aforeſayd) which haue neuer yet heretofore bene in the actuall poſſeſſion of any other Chriſtian prince, then the princes of this Realme. All which (as I thinke) ſhould not a little animate and encourage vs to looke out and aduenture abroad, vnderſtanding what large Countreys and Iſlands the Portugals with their ſmall number haue within theſe few yeeres diſcouered, peopled and planted, ſome part whereof I haue thought it not amiſſe, briefly in particular to name both the Townes, Countreys & Iſlands, ſo neere as I could vpon the ſudden call them to remembrance: for the reſt I doe referre the Reader to the hiſtories, where more at large the ſame is to be ſeene. Firſt, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbary the Iſland of Geiſera & towne of Arzila, not paſt an 140. mile diſtant from their Metropolitane & chiefe city of Feſſe: and after that they wonne alſo from the ſaid princes the townes of Tanger, Ceuta, Mazigam, Azamor, and Azaffi, all alongſt the Sea coaſts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadomoſta a Gentleman Venetian, was hee that firſt diſcouered for their vſe Cape Verd, with the Iſlands adioyning, of which he then peopled and planted thoſe of Bonauiſta and Sant Iago diſcouering alſo the riuer Senega, otherwiſe called Niger, and Cape Roxo & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did diſcouer the coaſt of Guinea, and there peopled and built the caſtle of Mina: then diſcouered they further to the countreys of Melegettes, Benin, and Congo, with the Ilands of Principe, da Nobon, S. Matthewe, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled, and built in the ſaid Iſland of S. Thomas the hauen towne or port of Pauoſan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was ſent foorth, who was the firſt man that diſcouered and doubled that great and large Cape called de Bon Eſperanze, & paſſing the currents that run vpon the ſaid coaſt, on the Southeaſt part of Africa, between the ſaid maine land & the Iſland of S. Laurence, otherwiſe called of the ancients, Madagaſcar, he diſcouered to yͤ harbor named the Riuer of yͤ Infant. After that ſince the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accompliſhment of the yeere of Chriſt, 1510. through the trauailes and diſcoueries of Vaſques de Gama, Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corſale, Iohn de Empoli, Peter Sintra, Sancho de Toar, and that noble and worthy gentleman Alonſo de Albuquerque, they did diſcouer, people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the Eaſt ſide of Africa, in the twenty degrees of latitude of the ſouth Pole, and direct Weſt from the Iland of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as alſo vpon the ſaid Eaſt ſide of Africa, they did afterward diſcouer, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiola, Monbaza and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and ſo vp to the ſtreight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red ſea, all vpon the Eaſt coaſt of Africa, from whence they put off at the Cape of Guarda Fu, and paſt the great gulfe of Arabia, and the Indian Sea Eaſt to Sinus Perſicus, and the Iſland of Ormus, and ſo paſſing the large and great riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrional latitude, they made their courſe againe directly towards the South, and began to diſcouer, people, and plant vpon the Weſt ſide of the hither India at Goa, Mangalor, Cananor, Calecut and Cochin, and the Iſland of Zeilam.

Ceffala accounted to be the place where the noble and wiſe king Salomon did fetch his gold.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting vpon this coaſt, their forces grew ſo great that they were able to compell all the Moores, the ſubiectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute vnto them, euer as they paſſed the gulfe of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia Fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the ſayd land, euer as they paſſed to and from the hauens of Cochin, Calecut and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of diſcipline practiſed in thoſe partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Perſians, and profeſſed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and vſe of the Caliuer ſhot, and to enterlace and ioyne footemen with his horſemen, ſithence which time the Perſians haue growen to that ſtrength and force, that they haue giuen many mightie and great ouerthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Chriſtendome.

And from the Iſland of Zeilam aforeſayd, they alſo diſcouered more Eaſt in paſſing the gulfe of Bengala, and ſo paſſed the notable and famous riuer of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, vnder the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and vnto the great and large Iſlands of Sumatra, Iaua maior, Iaua minor, Mindanao, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneo, Machian, Terenate, and all other the Iſlands of Molucques and Spiceries, and ſo Eaſt alongſt the coaſts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinſay, and to the Iſland of Zipango and Iapan, ſituate in the Eaſt, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. Theſe are their noble and worthie diſcoueries. Here alſo is not to bee forgotten, that in the yere of our Lord, 1501. that famous and worthy gentleman Americus Veſpucius did diſcouer, people, and plant to their vſe the holdes and forts which they haue in Braſill, of whom (he being but a priuate gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the Weſt Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

These are the furtheſt parts of the world from England. At theſe Ilands hath ſir Francis Drake bene, where the fame of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie was renowmed.

I doe greatly doubt leaſt I ſeeme ouer tedious in the recitall of the particular diſcoueries and conqueſts of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, wherein I was the more bold to vrge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might moſt manifeſtly and at large appeare, to all ſuch as are not acquainted with the hiſtories, how the king of Portugall, whoſe Countrey for popularity and number of people, is ſcarce comparable to ſome three ſhires of England, and the king of Spaine likewiſe, whoſe natural Countrey doth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by means of their diſcoueries within leſſe then 90. yeeres paſt, haue as it appeareth both mightily and marueilouſly enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne induſtrie by the aſſiſtance of the omnipotent, whoſe aid we ſhall not need to doubt, ſeeing the cauſe and quarell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Chriſtian faith.

To conclude, ſince by Chriſtian dutie we ſtand bound chiefly to further all ſuch acts as do tend to the encreaſing the true flock of Chriſt by reducing into the right way thoſe loſt ſheepe which are yet aſtray: And that we ſhall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predeceſſors of renowmed memorie, and leaue vnto our poſteritie a diuine memoriall of ſo godly an enterpriſe: Let vs I ſay for the conſiderations alledged, enter into iudgement with our ſelues, whether this action may belong to vs or no, the rather for that this voyage through the mighty aſſiſtance of the omnipotent God, ſhall take our deſired effect (whereof there is no iuſt cauſe of doubt.) Then ſhal her Maieſties dominions be enlarged, her highneſſe ancient titles iuſtly confirmed, all odious idleneſſe from this our Realme vtterly baniſhed, diuers decayed townes repaired, and many poore and needy perſons relieued, and eſtates of ſuch as now liue in want ſhall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Chriſt, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolicall cuſtome of ſacrificing humane creatures aboliſhed.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the ſight of our Sauiour Chriſt, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for hee that cannot erre hath ſayd: That before the ende of the world, his word ſhall bee preached to all nations. Which good worke I truſt is reſerued for our nation to accompliſh in theſe parts: Wherefore my deere countreymen, be not diſmayed: for the power of God is nothing diminiſhed, nor the loue that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Goſpell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be leſſe ready moſt mightily and miraculouſly to aſſiſt our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally vndertaken for the enlargement of the Chriſtian faith abroad, and the baniſhment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vaſques Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the Weſt: and Vaſques de Gama, Peter Aluares, & Alonſo de Albuquerque in the Eaſt? Let vs therefore with cheerefull minds and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the ſequell to almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who bee againſt vs? Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatſoeuer is in this treatiſe too much or too little, otherwiſe vnperfect, I take leaue, and ſo end.

A letter of Sir *Francis VValſingham* to M. *Richard Hakluyt* then of *Chriſtchurch* in *Oxford*, incouraging him in the ſtudy of Coſmographie, and of furthering new diſcoueries, &c.

I Vnderſtand aſwel by a letter I long ſince receiued from the Maior of Briſtoll, as by conference with ſir George Pekham, that you haue endeuoured, & giuen much light for the diſcouery of the Weſterne partes yet vnknowen: as your ſtudie in theſe things is very cōmendable, ſo I thanke you much for the ſame; wiſhing you to continue your trauell in theſe and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in priuate, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And ſo I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend,
FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter of Sir *Francis VValſingham* to Maſter *Thomas Aldworth* merchant,and at that time Maior of the Citie of *Briſtoll*, concerning their aduenture in the Weſterne diſcouerie.

After my heartie commendations,I haue for certaine cauſes deferred the anſwere of your letter of Nouember laſt till now,which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Weſterne diſcouerie I cannot but much commend. And for that ſir Humfrey Gilbert,as you haue heard long ſince,hath bene preparing into thoſe parts being readie to imbarke within theſe 10.dayes, who needeth ſome further ſupply of ſhipping then yet he hath,I am of opinion that you ſhall do well if the ſhip or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readineſſe to goe alongſt with him,or ſo ſoone after as you may. I hope this trauell wil proue profitable to the Aduenturers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with theſe bearers,M.Richard Hackluyt,and M.Thomas Steuenton, to whome I referre you: And ſo bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11.of March. 1582.

Your louing Friend.

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

A letter written from M.*Thomas Aldworth* merchant and Maior of the Citie of *Briſtoll*,to the right honourable Sir *Francis Walſingham* principall Secretary to her Maieſtie,concerning a Weſterne voyage intended for the diſcouery of the coaſt of *America*,lying to the Southweſt of Cape *Briton*.

Right honourable,vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto me and deliuered by the bearers hereof M.Richard Hakluyt and M.Steuenton,bearing date the 11.of March, I preſently conferred with my friends in priuate,whom I know moſt affectionate to this godly enterpriſe,eſpecially with M.William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my ſelfe being as then ſicke, with as conuenient ſpeede as he could,hee cauſed an aſſembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable diſpoſition for the benefite of this citie,he by my appointment cauſed your letters being directed vnto me priuatly,to be read in publike,and after ſome good light giuen by M.Hakluyt vnto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterpriſe,and were deſirous to be reſolued, the motion grew generally ſo well to be liked,that there was eftſoones ſet downe by mens owne hands then preſent,& apparently knowen by their own ſpeach,and very willing offer, the ſumme of 1000.markes and vpward: which ſumme if it ſhould not ſuffice, we doubt not but otherwiſe to furniſh out for this Weſterne diſcouery,a ſhip of threeſcore,and a barke of 40.tunne, to bee left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your ſonne in law M.Carlile,of whom we haue heard much good,if it ſhall ſtand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are alſo willing to haue M.Steuenton your honours meſſenger, and one well knowen to vs,as captaine. And here in humble maner,deſiring your honour to vouchſafe vs of your further direction by a generall letter to my ſelfe,my brethren,and the reſt of the merchants of this city,at your honors beſt and moſt conuenient leiſure, becauſe we meane not to deferre the ſmall proceeding in this voyage,any further then to the end of April next comming,I ceaſe,beſeeching God long to bleſſe and proſper your honourable eſtate. Briſtoll. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and ſummary diſcourſe vpon the intended voyage to the hithermoſt parts of *America*: written by Captaine *Carlile* in April,1583.for the better inducement to ſatiſfie ſuch Merchants of the Moſcouian companie and others,as in disburſing their money towards the furniture of the preſent charge, doe demand forthwith a preſent returne of gaine,albeit their ſaid particular diſburſements are required but in very ſlender ſummes, the higheſt being 25.li. the ſecond at 12.li. 10.s. and the loweſt at 6.pound fiue ſhillings.

When the Goldſmith deſireth to finde the certaine goodneſſe of a piece of golde, which is newly offered vnto him,he preſently bringeth the ſame to the Touchſtone,where,by comparing the ſhewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or ſhew of that which he knoweth of old,he forthwith is able to iudge what the value is of that,which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make ſome briefe repetition of the particular eſtate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen vnto vs, whereby we may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage, which is preſently recommended vnto your knowledge and reſolution.

Moſcouia.

And firſt to lay downe that of Moſcouia, whoſe beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the firſt diſcouery, and by the great gifts beſtowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, together with the lewd dealing of ſome of their ſeruants, who thought themſelues ſafe enough from orderly puniſhment, it coſt the company aboue fourescore thouſand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after ſo long a patience and ſo great a burthen of expences, the ſame began to frame to ſome good courſe and commoditie: It falleth to very tickliſh termes, and to as ſlender likelihood of any further goodneſſe, as any other trade that may be named.

For firſt the eſtate of thoſe Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euery body vnderſtood.

Dutchmen.

Next, the Dutchmen are there ſo crept in, as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that vncertainty of the Emperors diſpoſition to keepe promiſe with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, ſuch as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambaſſadours betweene that Prince and her Maieſty, are alwayes borne by the merchants ſtocke.

Denmarke.

And laſtly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who beſides that preſently he is like to enforce a tribute on vs, hath likewiſe an aduantage vpon the ſhips in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whenſoeuer he liſteth to take the opportunitie.

Eaſterlings.

The badde dealings of the Eaſterlings are ſufficiently knowen to be ſuch towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many iniuries ouerlong to bee written, but doe ſeeke all the meanes they can, to depriue them wholy of their occupying that way: and to the ſame purpoſe haue of late cleane debarred them their accuſtomed and ancient priuiledges in all their great townes.

Turkie.

The traffique into Turkie, beſides that by ſome it is thought a hard point to haue ſo much familiaritie with the profeſſed and obſtinate enemie of Chriſt: It is likewiſe a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the danger of many ſtates, who for ſundry reſpects are apt to quarell with vs vpon ſudden occaſions, and the preſents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, coſt little leſſe then two thouſand pounds.

Leuant.

As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may eaſily be conſidered by euery one of iudgement, that the ſame ſtands in the like termes touching the paſſages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our ſhippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger, our poore Mariners after the loſſe of their goods and trauell, are ſet at ſuch exceſſiue ranſoms before they can bee freed of their ſlauerie, as for the moſt part they are no way able to diſcharge. As for example, at this inſtant there are ſome priſoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whoſe releaſing there muſt be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for ſome three hundred, yea, foure or fiue hundred Duckets the man for ſome of them. And how enuiouſly the Venetians doe already oppoſe themſelues againſt our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late cuſtoms which they haue impoſed as well vpon our Engliſh merchandize which we bring them, as alſo vpon ſuch their merchandize which we fetch from them.

Barbarie.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewiſe to worſe termes then before times, and when it was at the beſt, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whenſoeuer it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were choſen, the libertie of all diſordered perſons is ſuch, as they ſpoile and wrong whom they liſt, without any redreſſe at all.

Spaine.
Portugall.

Remember the great arreſt of the Hollanders. An. 1598

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee haue very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in their Indies, as alſo of the prouiſion they haue from the ſame, wherewith are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twiſe the yeere ordinarily we ſend our Fleetes into thoſe parts: So that whenſoeuer the king of Spaine liſteth to take the opportunitie, hee may at theſe ſeaſons depriue vs not onely of a great number of our very good ſhips, but alſo of our honeſteſt and ableſt ſort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no ſmall conſequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee ſhall take a quarell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well thoſe our ſhippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as alſo all others which ſhall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whoſoeuer hee bee that is but meanely affected in Religion, as of neceſſitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Chriſtian to be, cannot but be agrieued in his heart to conſider, that his children and ſeruants whom hee deſireth to haue well brought vp, are in theſe trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profeſſion, and made to acquaint themſelues with that which the Parents and Maſters doe vtterly deny and refuſe, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a deteſtable and moſt wicked doctrine.

But who ſhall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermoſt part of America, ſhal find it hath as many points of good moment belonging vnto it, as may almoſt be wiſhed for.

Commodities of this voyage in ſhortneſſe.

1 As firſt it is to be vnderſtood, that it is not any long courſe, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the firſt diſcouerie thereof.

2 Secondly, that one wind ſufficeth to make the paſſage, whereas moſt of your other voyages of like length, are ſubiect to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the paſſage is vpon the high ſea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coaſt, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that thoſe parts of England and Ireland, which lie apteſt for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage, are very well ſtored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or ſtate, when it is compared with any the beſt of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their ſeruants or children, ſhall haue no inſtruction or confeſſions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily ſhall be at their free libertie of conſcience, and ſhall find the ſame Religion exerciſed, which is moſt agreeable vnto their Parents and Maſters.

Commodities of the countrey more then thoſe of Moſcouie.

As for the merchandiſing, which is the matter eſpecially looked for, albeit that for the preſent we are not certainely able to promiſe any ſuch like quantitie, as is now at the beſt time of the Moſcouian trade brought from thence: So likewiſe is there not demanded any ſuch proportion of daily expences, as was at the firſt, and as yet is conſumed in that of Moſcouia and other.

But when this of America ſhall haue bene haunted and practiſed thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne ſhippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moſcouia, there ſhall in this voyage twiſe tenne be imployed well, twiſe the yeere at the leaſt. And if for the preſent time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fiſhing, yet doubt I not after the firſt yeeres planting, but by that matter onely to ſerue halfe a dozen of your beſt ſort of ſhips, although my ſupply of people doe not follow in ſo ſubſtantially, as in all reaſon may be well looked for.

The ſeuerall merchandiſe.

But when it is asked what may be hoped from thence after ſome yeeres, it is firſt to be conſidered, that this ſituation in fourtie degrees, ſhall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of thoſe parts which ſtand to the Southward of it, as alſo of thoſe which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely an eſpeciall good fiſhing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but alſo any other ſuch commodities, as the Eaſterne Countreys doe yeeld vs now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Maſts, Loſſhe hides, rich Furres, and other ſuch like, without being in any ſort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or ſtate that ſhall be in ſuch ſort able to command our ſhippes at their pleaſure, as thoſe doe at this day, by meanes of their ſtrait paſſages and ſtrong ſhipping.

As for thoſe partes which lie Weſt and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a ſmall helpe, ſince the grapes doe growe there of themſelues alreadie very faire and in great abundance. Oliues being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will giue them ſuch trifling things as they deſire of vs, and ſhewing them once the meanes how to prouide the ſame, the labour thereof being ſo light, no doubt but in ſhort time they will earneſtly care to haue the ſame in good quantitie for vs. Beſides what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may ſerue for the fiſhing of thoſe partes, may well enough appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of ſuch places as are required to make the ſame in.

[illegible] of ſalte by Verarzanus his voyage.

Thus much for the beginning, becauſe they may bee had with an eaſie kinde of trauell: but when it may haue pleaſed God to eſtabliſh our people there any ſuch time as they may haue planted amongſt them in ſundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to ſee what is better for them then they doe as yet vnderſtand of, and that in ſo many ſorts of occaſions as were infinite to be ſet downe: It is to bee aſſuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forſake their barbarous and ſauage liuing, and growe to ſuch order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may be well expected from thence no leſſe quantitie and diuerſitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the apteſt to fall out with vs, ſo theſe parts being ſomewhat remote, are the liker to take, or giue leſſe occaſion of diſquiet. But when it is conſidered that they are our own kindred, and eſteemed our own countrey nation which haue the gouernment, meaning by thoſe who ſhall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of moſt louing and moſt aſſured friends?

There are further to be conſidered theſe two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good proſpering of this action, there muſt of neceſſitie fall out a very liberall vtterance of our Engliſh Clothes into a maine Country, deſcribed to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, ſhall haue wonderfull great vſe of our ſayde Engliſh Clothes, after they ſhall come once to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will bee alſo of many other things, ouer many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of neceſſitie muſt bee prouided from hence.

The other is, if there be any poſſible meanes to finde a ſea paſſage or other freſh water courſe, which may ſerue in ſome reaſonable and conuenient ſort, to tranſport our marchandize into the Eaſt Indian Sea, through any of theſe Northerly partes of America, it ſhall be ſooneſt and moſt aſſuredly perfourmed by theſe who ſhall inhabite and firſt grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in ſuſpence, vntill ſome better knowledge, becauſe there be many men, who hauing long ſince expected ſome profits herein, vpon the great promiſes that haue bene made them, and being as yet in no point ſatiſfied, doe thereupon conceiue that they be but wordes purpoſely caſt out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and willing to furniſh their money towards the charge of the firſt diſcouerie.

But nowe to anſwere ſome others who begin with an other obiection, ſaying: That it is not for the Marchants purſe to continue the charges of tranſporting and planting: and that ſince theſe hundred men which are nowe to bee planted, will coſt foure thouſand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee alſo a farre greater ſumme of money.

Obiection.

Whereunto I anſwere, that in all attemptes vnknowen, eſpecially ſuch a one as this is, wherewith wee are preſently in hand, the firſt charges are commonly aduentured in more deſperate kinde, then thoſe that followe vpon ſome better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the firſt enterpriſe, an hundred for that one will of themſelues bee willing and deſirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer ſo little more appearance, that the intended matter is by ſome knowledge of our owne, found true in ſome poynts of our firſt preſumption.

Anſwere.

The examples are many, and may eaſily bee remembred by thoſe who be Marchants, euen in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres haue fallen into thoſe termes of ſome likelyhood, as is aforeſayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reports ſhall bee brought by them who directly come from thence, that ſuch a Countrey and people they haue themſelues ſeene, as is by vs ſpoken of, but that then there will come forwarde a greater number of thoſe, who nowe neither haue heard any thing of the matter, as alſo of others, who preſently make ſuch friuolous ſcruple, and will not otherwiſe be ſatiſfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I ſpeake not this by the Marchants whom for their freedoms of trade I would not haue preſſed to any further charge then this firſt preparation, but rather by ſuch as haue great affection to hazard the changing of their eſtates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be aſſured that there is ſuch a Countrey, & that their money ſhould not be waſted to nothing in the preparations.

The ewer of metal brought by M. Frobiſher, cauſed two ſeuerall ſupplies, the two yeeres next following, whereof the latter was of thirteene tall ſhips.

The right examination of this point muſt bee the contrary ſequell of the common Prouerbe that is vſed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: ſo on the other ſide by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale, and to thoſe eſpecially in priuate, who take on them the hazard of their life and trauell, or ſubſtance in the firſt attempts: and therefore I would wiſh that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to ſpare that which is required of each one towardes the vndertaking of this aduenture, be well content and willing to imploy the ſame, ſince the ſequell in good and ſubſtantiall reaſon doth promiſe, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who ſhall here at home exerciſe the trade of Marchandiſe: but alſo to an infinite number of other, who preſently liue in poore eſtate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this diſcouerie, alter the ſame to a far better degree. Wherefore to make ſome concluſion vpon this point of the Marchants miſdoubt, who ſuſpecteth leſt this firſt diſburſſement without returne of preſent gaine, ſhould not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be vrged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the diſcouery of the Moſcouian trade: It may ſuffice to conſider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall ſort of people throughout all England: And that when ſuch relation ſhall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie wil not refuſe to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it ſhould ſinke for want of any reaſonable ſupply.

But as it is a very little time, ſince I haue beene throughly reſolued to trie my fortune in the matter, ſo it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to vnderſtand with reaſon the circumſtance that belongeth to a matter of ſo great conſideration and importance.

To thoſe who haue any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I ſay thus much more, that Chriſtian charitie doth as greatly perſwade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before vs, in as much as thereby wee ſhall not onely doe a moſt excellent worke, in reſpect of reducing the ſauage people to Chriſtianitie and ciuilitie, but alſo in reſpect of our poore ſorte of people, which are very many amongſt vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great diſquiet of the better ſort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and bleſſed plentifulneſſe, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is ſo mightily encreaſed, as a great number being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houſes, without any inſtruction how to get their liuings after their parents deceaſe, are driuen to ſome neceſſitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into ſundry diſorders, and ſo the good ſort of people, as I ſayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themſelues led on to one ſhamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found ſome ſuch kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into ſuch vile deedes: and in ſteade thereof, prooue greatly ſeruiceable in thoſe affaires, where they might be ſo imployed.

Maſter Carliles owne experience.

This I ſpeake of mine owne experience, hauing ſeene diuers come ouer to the warres of the lowe Countreys during my reſidence in the ſame, who here had beene very euill and idle liuers, and by ſome little continuance with vs, haue growen to be very induſtrious in their facultie, which I can aſſure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpoſe of farre leſſe value, in reſpect of their particular recompence, then with an aſſured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you ſee in euery point that may bee wiſhed for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reaſon enough to ſatiſfie the well diſpoſed. But nowe to growe ſomewhat neerer the quicke, and to ſhewe you ſome greater appearance, then hath beene yet ſpoken of touching the trade which is the onely ſubiect wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, becauſe my addreſſe hereby is chiefly to men of ſuch like facultie: you may vnderſtande by that which followeth, the circumſtance of a little diſcourſe, which doeth concerne theſe matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. Iames Carthier of S.Malo made his firſt diſcouerie of thoſe partes of America, which lie to the Weſtwardes, and as it were on the backeſide of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to ſeeke out the paſſage, which hee preſumed might haue beene found out into the Eaſt Indian Sea, otherwiſe called the paſſage to Cathaya, but this yere he went no higher then the Iſland of the Aſſumption in the great bay of S.Laurence, and ſo returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouiſion into the Grand bay againe, where he keping the Northerly ſhoare, ran vp the great Riuer that comes downe from Canada and other places, vntill at laſt with his ſmall pinneſſes, (hauing left his great ſhipping by the way) he arriued at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which trauaile hee had ſpent ſo much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient, for the better enforming himſelfe at large in this diſcouerie, to winter it out in thoſe partes, which he did at a place called by himſelfe Holy Croſſe. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in theſe partes, and the ſauage people, who for the moſt part make but a ſlender kinde of prouiſion, euen as it were from hande to mouth, fell into ſome ſcarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuſe to ſerue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at ſomewhat higher prices towardes the ende when the neede was moſt, as with our ſelues the like happeneth at ſuch times.

But when the French had their wants ſerued all the yeere, and that as yet they ſawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the diſcouerie of the paſſage, and yet imagining by the ſignes wherewith the willing people endeuoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that ſome good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue beene well vnderſtoode, they reſolued with themſelues to take ſome of the ſufficienteſt men of that countrey home into France, and there to keepe them ſo long, as that hauing once atchieued the French tongue, they might declare more ſubſtantially their minde, and knowledge in the ſayde paſſage, concluding this to be the meane of leaſt charge, of leaſt trauaile, and of leaſt hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themſelues, who might bee meeteſt for it, they determined to take the King, as the perſon who might bee beſt infourmed of ſuch partes as were ſomewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as alſo that for the reſpect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further ſeruice, when it ſhould happen them to returne thither againe about the diſcouerie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French ſhippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterouſly caryed away into France, where hee liued foure yeeres, and then dyed a Chriſtian there, as Theuet the French Kings Coſmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into ſuch diſlike with the French, as neuer ſince they would admit any conuerſation or familiaritie with them, vntill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by gifts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I ſayde) within theſe two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres ſince was begunne with a ſmall barke of thirtie tunnes, whoſe returne was found ſo profitable, as the next yeere following, being the laſt yeere, by thoſe Marchants, who meant to haue kept the trade ſecret vnto themſelues, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a ſhippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Iſle of Ierſey, but not any one Mariner of that place, ſauing a ſhipboy. This ſhippe made her returne in ſuch ſorte, as that this yeere they haue multiplyed three ſhippes, to wit, one of nine ſcore tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of foure ſcore tunnes: which report is giuen by very ſubſtantiall and honeſt men of Plimmouth, who ſawe the ſayd ſhippes in readineſſe to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of ſome of them.

The Frenchmens trade renewed in Canada, in the yeere 1581.

Here is at this inſtant in the towne a man of Gerneſey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this laſt yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got foureteene or fifteene hundreth for euery one hundreth: But how ſoeuer it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of ſome notable profite, in aſmuch as they doe ſo greatly, and thus ſuddenly encreaſe the burthen and number of their ſhips this preſent yeere.

Nowe, if in ſo little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to ſuch good paſſe as hath beene declared vnto you: it is worth the thinking on to conſider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reaſon may promiſe a great deale more. And ſo, as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I preſume to wiſh and perſwade you to ſome better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more aſſured commoditie, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of ſo ſhort and ſafe a courſe as this hath: dealing herein no otherwiſe with you for your ſeuerall ſmall ſummes, then I doe with my ſelfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: beſides the hazard and trauaile of my perſon, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto paſſed cleare and vnſpotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter betweene you and me.

The South part beſt for inhabiting and traffique.

Articles ſet downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moſcouian Marchants, to conferre with M. *Carlile*, vpon his intended diſcouerie and attempt into the hithermoſt parts of *America*.

The names of the Committies.

Maſter Alderman Hart.
Maſter Alderman Spencer.
Maſter Hoddeſden.
Maſter William Burrough.
Maſter Slany.
Maſter Towerſon.
Maſter Staper.
Maſter Iohn Caſtelin.
Maſter Leake.

First the Committies are well perſwaded, that the Countrey whereunto this action is intended, is very fruitfull, inhabited with ſauage people of a milde and tractable diſpoſition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the onely moſt fit and moſt commodious for vs to intermeddle withall.

The conuenienteſt maner of attempting this enterpriſe is thought to bee thus: That there ſhould be one hundreth men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yeere: who with friendly intreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular eſtate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or preſently looked for.

The furniſhing foorth of 100.men for one yeere will coſt 4000.li.

The charge to tranſport theſe hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furniſh them of munition and other needefull things, will not be leſſe then foure thouſand poundes: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Briſtoll one thouſand poundes, the reſidue being three thouſande poundes, remaineth to bee furniſhed by this Citie of London, or any others who will aduenture their money in this firſt preparation.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a Priuilege ſhould be procured by Maſter Carlile from her Maieſty, by vertue whereof theſe conditions and Articles following may be effectually prouided for.

Firſt, that they who ſhall diſburſſe their money for the firſt preparation, ſhall be named Aduenturers, and ſhall haue the one halfe of all ſuch landes, territories, townes, mines of gold and ſiluer, and other metals whatſoeuer, as ſhall bee found, gotten, obtained, as conquered by this diſcouery: yeelding to her Maieſtie the fift part of all ſuch gold and ſiluer, as ſhall happen to be had out of any mines that ſo ſhall be found.

That thoſe parties which doe employ themſelues perſonally in the preſent diſcouerie, ſhall be named Enterpriſers, and ſhall haue the other halfe of all the Lands, Territories, Townes, Mines of Gold and Siluer, and other mettals, yeelding to her Maieſtie the fift part of the Gold and Siluer as the Aduenturers do: The ſame to bee diſtributed by the Generall, with the conſent of the greateſt part of twelue diſcreete perſons to bee choſen out of the whole number of the Enterpriſers.

Alſo, that all trade of Marchandiſe which ſhall bee vſed to and from thoſe partes, which by this diſcouerie ſhall bee found out, ſhall appertaine onely to the Aduenturers which firſt ſhall diſburſſe their money for this diſcouery, with prohibition to all other her Maieſties ſubiects, and other Marchants to deale in the ſayd parts, without the conſent of the firſt Aduenturers, vpon loſſe of ſhippe and goods, and puniſhment of their perſons, that ſo ſhall aduenture in trade of marchandiſe: or otherwiſe by impriſonment at the Companies pleaſure.

That no perſon ſhall hereafter aduenture in this diſcouerie as Aduenturers for the profits mentioned in the firſt Articles, but ſuch onely as doe diſburſſe their money in this firſt preparation: and they ſhall not aduenture hereafter any greater ſumme, then ratably according to their proportion of this their firſt aduenture.

Alſo, the profite which by this diſcouerie ſhall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwiſe gotten: as alſo ſuch profite which by this diſcouerie ſhall bee obtained by mines, or otherwiſe gotten, that eche one ſhall haue his part rate and rate like, according to the proportion of their firſt aduenture, and not otherwiſe.

The Aduenturers in this firſt preparation ſhall, at their owne free will and libertie, chooſe whether they will ſupply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any ſuch occaſion to require the ſame. And yet withall ſhall for euer holde to them the freedome of the trade which ſhall growe in any of theſe partes: notwithſtanding their ſayd refuſall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to bee obteined, be graunted, that all her Maieſties ſubiects may tranſport themſelues thither that ſhall be contented to goe. And that the Patentee or his aſſignes may ſhippe thither from time to time, ſo many and ſuch perſons, men, women, and children, as they ſhall thinke meete. And the ſame perſons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleaſure, any law to the contrary notwithſtanding, with expreſſe prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, againſt all others, which ſhall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his aſſignes firſt obteined.

That it ſhall not be lawful for any of her Maieſties ſubiects, or any other to inhabite or traffique within one hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall ſhall haue ſetled his chiefeſt being or reſidence.

A relation of the firſt voyage and diſcouerie of the Iſle *Ramea*, made by for *Monſieur de La court Pre Rauillon*, and *Grand Pre*, with the ſhip called the *Bonauenture*, to kill and make Traine oyle of the beaſts called the Morſes with great teeth, which we haue perfourmed by Gods helpe this yeere 1591.

FOr the performance of our ſaid voyage, we departed from S.Malo with the fleete that went for Canada, and kept companie with the ſhips called The Soudil and the Charles halfe the way, and then loſt them; a violent wind ariſing at Northweſt, which ſeparated vs.

1591.

The fleete of Canada.

After which we had faire wether, and came to to the coaſt of Cape Raſe, & had no further knowledge thereof, becauſe the winde was at the Southweſt but a ſcarce gale: and we came to the ſounding Southweſt of the Iſles of S. Peter about 10. leagues, where we found 30. fathoms water, and we ſayled Northweſt one quarter of the North, and came within 12. leagues of Cape de Rey.

Cape Raſe.

The Iſles of S.Peter.

The next day being the 6. of May 1591. we were come to Cape de Rey, & ſaw a ſhip Southweſt off vs, and ſtayed there that night.

Cape de Rey.

The next day being the ſeuenth of the ſayd moneth, we came to the Iſles of Aponas, where we put foorth our boat, becauſe we had not paſt 8. leagues to our hauen, which we kenned very clearly, although the coaſts lay very low: and becauſe the night approched, and the wind grew very high, we ſought not to ſeeke our port, becauſe it is very hard to find it when the wind is lofty, becauſe of the ſhoalds that are about it. And we thought to keepe our courſe vntill the next morning between the Iſle of Brion & the Iſle of Aponas. But there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt at the Southweſt, that without the helpe of God we had bene in great danger among theſe Iſles. And we trauerſed vp and downe eleuen dayes, making our prayers vnto God to ende the tempeſt and to ſend vs faire weather, that we might obteine our hauen: which of his goodneſſe he gaue vs. The laſt of May we ranged the Iſle Ramea on the Northnorthweſt ſide, vnto the contrary part of the land, where it trendeth to the Southſoutheaſt: and ſeeing no land on the Weſt ſide, wee ranged the ſayd land to the Eaſt one quarter to the North at the leaſt 15. leagues, and being from the ſhore ſome eight leagues, we found 15. fathoms water, and paſſed betweene the Iſle of Duoron and the Iſle of Ramea, where goeth a chanell of 3. leagues bredth; in the midſt whereof you ſhall haue 7.8. and 9. fathoms water. And the lowe poynt of the Iſle Ramea, and the Iſle Duoron lie Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt. And take heede you come not neere the low point of the Iſle Ramea by a great league, for I haue ſounded it at 3. fathoms water. The Iſle is marked. And the harbour of the Iſle Ramea lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt, one quarter to the Eaſt and Weſt. And if you would enter the ſayd harbour, keepe you a league off the ſhoare: for often times there is great danger.

The Iſles of Aponas.

The Iſle of Brion.

The Iſle Ramea.

The Iſle of Duoron.

And that you may know the ſayd hauen, to the Eaſtnortheaſt of the ſayde Iſle there are high lands appearing to them that are without on all ſides like a number of Iſlands, but in very deede they are all firme land: and if you come on the South and Southweſt ſide, you ſhall ſee a hill diuided into 3. parts, which I called The three hillockes, which is right within the hauen. And for another better marke of the ſayd harbour, you ſhall ſee an Iſle like vnto a Floure de lice, diſtant from the ſayd hauen 6. leagues at the leaſt: and this Iſle and the ſayd hauen lie Northeaſt and Southweſt, a quarter to the North and South. And on the ſayd Iſle there is good pebble ſtone to drie fiſh vpon: But to the Weſt thereof there is a very faire countrey: and there is a banke of ſand, which runneth the length of a cable, hauing not paſt one fathom water vpon it. From the

The markes of the harbour of the Iſle Ramea.

An Iſle like a Floure de lice.

A banke of ſand.

Cape du Chapt.
The maine a ſhold coaſt.
Liſle Blanche.
The place where they killed 1500. Morſes.
The Iſle Hupp.

ſayde Iſle along the firme land the coaſt lyeth Eaſt and Weſt, and you ſhall ſee as it were a great forreſt running Eaſtward: and the Eaſterne Cape is called Cape du Chapt, and is great and red toward the Sea. And betweene the ſayd lands you ſhall ſee as it were a ſmall Iſland, but it ioyneth to the firme land on the Southweſt part: and there is good ſhingle to drie fiſh on. And you muſt coaſt the ſhore with boates and not with ſhips, by reaſon of the ſhallowes of the ſayd coaſt. For I haue ſeene without Cape du Chapt in faire weather the ground in two fathoms water, neere a league and an halfe from ſhore, and I iudged by reaſon of the highneſſe of the land, that there had bene aboue thirtie fathoms water, which was nothing ſo: and I haue ſounded comming neere the ſhore, in more or leſſe depth. The coaſt ſtretcheth three leagues to the Weſt from Liſle Blanch or the white Iſle, vnto the entrance of a riuer, where we ſlewe and killed to the number of fifteene hundred Morſes or Sea oxen, accounting ſmall and great, where at full ſea you may come on ſhoare with boates, and within are two or three fathoms water. From thence the coaſt trendeth foure leagues to the Weſt; to the Northweſt vnto the Iſle Hupp, which is twentie leagues in circuit, and is like the edge of a knife: vpon it there is neither wood nor graſſe: there are Morſes vpon it, but they bee hard to be taken. From thence the coaſt trendeth to the Northweſt and Northnorthweſt; which is all that I haue ſeene, to wit, the two ſides and one ende of the Iſle. And if I had had as good lucke as my Maſters, when I was on the Northweſt ſide with my ſhippe, I would haue aduentured to haue ſayled South-ſoutheaſt, to haue diſcouered the Eaſterne ſhoare of the ſayd Iſle.

Sands and ſholds.
A ſmal Iſland conteining a league of ground.
A hard hauen.
Markes to come into the hauen.
The Barre
The beſt anchorage.
Another entrance.
The Iſle of Cormorants.

In your returne to the Eaſt, as you come from the hauen of Cape du Chapt vnto the ſayde hauen, are ſandes and ſholds. And three good leagues from Cape du Chapt there is a ſmall Iſland conteining about a league of ground: where there is an hauen toward the Southeaſt: and as you enter into the ſayd hauen on the ſtarrebord ſide, a dented Cape all of redde land. And you cannot enter into the ſaid hauen but with the flood, becauſe of a barre which lieth halfe a league without the poynts of the ſayd hauen. The tydes are there at Southeaſt and Northweſt; but when the wind is very great, it bloweth much into the hauen at halfe flood. But ordinarily it floweth fiue foote and an halfe. The markes to enter into the ſayd hauen are to leaue the Iſle Blanche or White Iſland at your comming in on the ſtarrebord; and the poynt of the hauen towarde the Weſt hath a thick Iſland, which you ſhall ſee on the other ſide, and it hath a little round Buttreſſe, which lyeth on the Eaſt ſide of the Iſland. There are alſo two other buttreſſes more eaſie to bee ſeene then hidden: theſe are not to the Eaſt but to the Weſt, and they haue markes on them. Here you ſhall not haue aboue two fathom and an halfe at a full ſea vpon this barre. And the ſounding is ſtone and rough ground. At your entring in, when you ſhall finde white ſand which lyeth next the Southeaſt of the Cape, then you are vpon the barre: and bee not afrayd to paſſe vp the chanell. And for markes towarde the Weſt athwart the barre, when you haue brought an Iſland euen, which lyeth to the weſtward without, with the thicke part of the high land which lyeth moſt to the Weſt, you ſhall bee paſt the barre: and the chanell runneth due North. And for your anchoring in the ſayd hauen, ſee that you carefully ſecke the middeſt of the ſayd thicke land which lyeth in the bottome of the ſayd hauen: for you muſt anchor betweene two bankes of ſand, where the paſſage is but narrow. And you muſt anker ſurely: for there goeth a great tyde: for the Sea runneth there as ſwiftly and more then in . There is good ground and ankorage here: and you ſhall ride in three fathom water. And within the ſayde hauen there is nothing to hurt you, for you are free from all winds. And if by chance you ſhould be driuen Weſtward of the ſayd hauen, you may ſeeke an entrance, which is right ouer againſt the ſmall Iſland named before, which is called The Iſle of Cormorants; and you may enter in there as at the other hauen at a full ſea: And you muſt paſſe vp on the Weſt ſide, and you ſhall finde on the Barre at a full ſea fourteene foote water, and great depth when you are entred in: for the Sea runneth very ſwiftly in that place: and the entrie thereof lyeth Southeaſt and Northweſt.

Right ouer againſt you on the other ſide, you may paſſe with boates at a full ſea. And all theſe entrances make all but one hauen, which is good within. I ſay this becauſe I haue paſſed into the maine Sea by the one and the other paſſage. And the ſaid Iſle is not paſt two leagues ouer in the middeſt. It is but two bankes of ſande, whereof one is like to that of S. Malo which let the Sea from paſſing through the middeſt of all the Iſle: But the two endes are high mountaines with Iſlands altogether cut and ſeparated with ſtreames and riuers.

To anker in the ſayd harbour, you muſt not ride farther then fiue or ſixe cables length from the ſayd hauen.

A letter

A letter ſent to the right Honorable Sir *VVilliam Cecill* Lord *Burghley*, Lord high Treaſurer of *England* &c. From M. *Thomas Iames* of *Briſtoll*, concerning the diſcouerie of the Iſle of *Ramea*, dated the 14 of September. 1591.

Right Honourable, my humble duetie to your good Lordſhip done, I thought good humbly to aduertiſe your honour of the diſcouery of an Iſland made by two ſmal ſhippes of Saint Malo; the one 8 daies paſt being priſed neare Silley, by a ſhip of which I am part owner, called the Pleaſure, ſent by this citie to my Lord Thomas Howard, for her Maieſties ſeruice. Which priſe is ſent backe to this Port by thoſe of the ſayd ſhippes, with vpwards of fortie tunnes of Traine. The Iſland lyeth in 47 degrees, ſome fiftie leagues from the grand Bay, neere Newfoundland: and is about twentie leagues about, and ſome part of the Iſland is flat Sands and ſhoulde: and the fiſh commeth on banke (to do their kinde) in April May & Iune, by numbers of thouſands, which fiſh is very big; and hath two great teeth: and the ſkinne of them is like Buffes leather: and they will not away from their yong ones. The yong ones are as good meat as Veale. And with the bellies of fiue of the ſaide fiſhes they make a hogſhead of Traine, which Traine is very ſweet, which if it will make ſope, the king of Spaine may burne ſome of his Oliue trees. Humbly praying your Lorſhip to pardon herein my boldnes, betaking your Honour to the keeping of the Almightie. From Briſtoll, this 14 of September. 1591.

Your Honours moſt humbly at commandement.
THOMAS IAMES.

A briefe note of the Morſſe and the vſe thereof.

In the firſt voyage of Iaques Carthier, wherein he diſcouered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the ſaid Iſle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534, as you may reade in pag. 205 of this preſent volume, he met with theſe beaſts, as he witneſſeth in theſe words. About the ſaid Iſland are very great beaſts as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouthes like vnto Elephants teeth, and liue alſo in the ſea. Wee ſaw one of them ſleeping vpon the banke of the water, and thinking to take it, we went to it with our boates, but ſo ſoone as he heard vs, he caſt himſelfe into the ſea. Touching theſe beaſts which Iaques Carthier ſaith to be as big as Oxen and to haue teeth in their mouthes like Elephants teeth: True it is that they are called in latine Boues Marini, or Vaccæ Marinæ, & in the Ruſſiā tongue Morſſes, the hides whereof I haue ſeene as big as any Oxe hide, and being dreſſed I haue yet a piece of one thicker then any two Oxe or Buls hides in England. The Leatherdreſſers take them to be excellent good to make light targets againſt the arrowes of the Sauages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores vſe in Barbarie againſt arrowes and lances, whereof I haue ſeene diuers in her Maieſties ſtately Armorie in the towre of London. The teeth of the ſayd fiſhes, whereof I haue ſeene a dryfat full at once, are a foote and ſome times more in length: & haue bene ſold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 ſhillings the pound weight, whereas the beſt Iuory is ſold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is ſomewhat more yellow then the Iuorie. One M. Alexander Woodſon of Briſtoll my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and ſkilful Phiſition, ſhewed me one of theſe beaſts teeth which were brought from the Iſle of Ramea in the firſt prize, which was half a yard long or very litle leſſe: and aſſured mee that he had made tryall of it in miniſtring medicine to his patients, and had found it as ſoueraigne againſt poyſon as any Unicornes horne.

The voyage of the ſhip called the *Marigold* of M. *Hill* of *Redriſe* vnto Cape *Briton* and beyond to the latitude of 44 degrees and an half, 1593

Written by *Richard fiſher* Maſter *Hilles* man of *Redriffe*.

The ſhip called the Marigold of 70 tunnes in burthen furniſhed with 20 men, whereof 10 were Mariners, the Maſters name being Richard Strong of Apſham, the Maſters mate Peter Langworth of Apſham, with 3 coopers, 2 butchers to flea the Morſſes or ſea Oxen (whereof diuers haue teeth aboue a cubit long & ſkinnes farre thicker then any buls hide) with other neceſſary people, departed out of Falmouth the 1 of Iune 1593 in conſort of another ſhip of M. Drakes of Apſham, which vpon ſome occaſion was not ready ſo ſoone as ſhee ſhould haue bene by two moneths. The place for which theſe two ſhips were bound was an Iſland within the ſtreightes of Saint Peter on the backe ſide of Newfoundland to the Southweſt in the latitude of fortie ſeuen degrees, called by the

The voyage of M. Drake of Apſham to Ramea.

Britons

The Iſle of Ramea, or Menquit.

Britons of Saint Malo the Iſle of Ramea, but by the Sauages and naturals of the Continent next adioyning, Menquit: On which Iſle are ſo great abundance of the huge and mightie Sea Oxen with great teeth in the moneths of April, May and Iune, that there haue bene fifteene hundreth killed there by one ſmall barke, in the yeere 1591. The two Engliſh ſhipps aforeſayde, left companie before they came to Newfounland: and neuer came after together in all their voyage.

The ſhip of M. George Drake fell firſt with New-foundland, and afterward very directly came to the Iſle Ramea, though too late in the yeere to make her voyage: where ſhee found a ſhippe of Saint Malo three parts fraighted with theſe fiſhes: the men whereof enquiring whence that ſhippe was and who was the Maſter thereof, being anſwered that ſhee was belonging to Maſter George Drake of Apſham, fearing to bee taken as good prize being of a Leaguer towne, and at that time out of league with England, fled ſo haſtily that preſent night that they left there two and twentie men and three Shallops behinde them, all which our men ſeazed vpon and brought away as good priſes home.

Here our men tooke certaine Sea-oxen, but nothing ſuch numbers as they might haue had, if they had come in due ſeaſon, which they had neglected. The ſhippe called the Marigolde fell with Cape Saint Francis in Newfounland the eleuenth of Iulie, and from thence wee went into the Bay Rogneuſe, and afterward doubled Cape Razo, and ſayling toward the ſtraight of Saint Peter (which is the entrance betweene Newfoundland and Cape Briton,) being vnacquainted with the place, beate vp and downe a very long time, and yet miſſed it, and at length ouer ſhot it, and fell with Cape Briton.

The Engliſh men land vpon Cape Briton

Here diuerſe of our men went on land vpon the very Cape, where, at their arriuall they found the ſpittes of Oke of the Sauages which had roaſted meate a litle before. And as they veiwed the countrey they ſawe diuers beaſtes and foules, as blacke Foxes, Deere, Otters, great Foules with redde legges, Pengwyns, and certaine others. But hauing found no people here at this our firſt landing wee went againe on ſhipboorde, and ſayled farther foure leagues to the Weſt of Cape Briton, where wee ſawe many Seales. And here hauing neede of freſh water we went againe on ſhore. And paſſing ſomewhat more into the land, wee founde certaine round pondes artificially made by the Sauages to keepe fiſh in, with certaine weares in them made to take fiſh. To theſe pondes wee repayred to fill our caske with water. Wee had not bene long here, but there came one Sauage with blacke long hayre hanging about his ſhoulders, who called vnto vs, weauing his handes downewarde towardes his bellie, vſing theſe wordes, Calitogh Calitogh: as wee drewe towardes him one of our mens musket vnawares ſhot off: whereupon hee fell downe, and riſing vp ſuddenly againe hee cryed thriſe with a loude voyce Chiogh, Chiogh, Chiogh. Thereupon nine or tenne of his fellowes running right vp ouer the buſhes with great agilitie and ſwiftneſſe came towardes vs with white ſtaues in their handes like halfe pikes, and their dogges of colour blacke not ſo bigge as a greyhounde followed them at the heeles; but wee retired vnto our boate without any hurt at all receiued. Howbeit one of them brake an hogſhead which wee had filled with freſh water, with a great branche of a tree which lay on the ground. Vpon which occaſion we beſtowed halfe a douſen muskets ſhotte vpon them, which they auoyded by falling flatte to the earth, and afterwarde retired themſelues to the woodes. One of the Sauages, which ſeemed to bee their Captaine, ware a long mantle of beaſtes ſkinnes hanging on one of his ſhoulders. The reſt were all naked except their priuities, which were couered with a ſkinne tyed behinde. After they had eſcaped our ſhotte they made a great fire on the ſhore, belike to giue their fellowes warning of vs.

They goe on ſhore in another place.

The people of the countrey came downe to our men.

Blacke dogs.

The kindes of trees that wee noted to bee here, were goodly Okes, Firre trees of a great height, a kinde of tree called of vs Quickbeame, and Cherie trees, and diuerſe other kindes to vs vnknowne, becauſe wee ſtayed not long with diligence to obſerue them: and there is great ſhewe of roſen, pitch, and tarre. Wee found in both the places where wee went on land abundance of Raſpeſes, Strawberies, Hurtes, and herbes of good ſmell and diuers good for the ſkuruie, and graſſe very ranke and of great length. Wee ſawe fiue or ſixe boates ſayling to the Southweſtwardes of Cape Briton, which wee iudged to bee Chriſtians, which had ſome trade that way. Wee ſawe alſo, while wee were on ſhore, the maner of their hanging vp of their fiſh and fleſh with withes to dry in the ayre: they alſo lay them vpon raftes and hurdles and make a ſmoake vnder them, or a ſofte fire, and ſo drie them as the Sauages vſe to doe in Virginia.

A ſecret trade to the Southweſt of Cape Briton.

Soundings to the South and Southweſtward of Cape Briton.

While wee lay foure leagues South of Cape Briton wee ſounded and had ſixtie fathomes blacke ozie ground. And ſayling thence Weſtwarde nine or ten leagues off the ſhore, we had twenty foure fathomes redde ſande, and ſmall whitiſh ſtones. Wee continued our courſe ſo farre to the Southweſt, that wee brought our ſelues into the latitude of fourtie foure degrees and an half, hauing ſayled fiftie or ſixtie leagues to the Southweſt of Cape Briton. We found the current betweene this Cape Briton and Cape Rey to ſet out toward the Eaſtſoutheaſt. In our courſe to the Weſt of Cape Briton we ſaw exceeding great ſtore of ſeales, and abundance of Porpoſes, whereof we killed eleuen. We ſawe Whales alſo of all ſortes aſwell ſmall as great: and here our men tooke many berded Coddes with one teate underneath, which are like to the Northeaſt Cods, and better then thoſe of Newfoundland.

They ſayle 50 or 60 leagues to the Southweſt of Cape Briton.

Great ſtore of Seales Porpoſes, Whales and Cods.

From our arriuall at the hauen of Saint Francis in Newfoundland, (which was as is aforeſayde the eleuenth of July) we continued beating vp and downe on the coaſt of Arambec to the Weſt and Southweſt of Cape Briton vntill the twentie eight of September, fully by the ſpace of eleuen weekes: and then by the perſwaſion of our Maſter and certaine others wee ſhaped our courſe homeward by the Iſles of the Açores, and came firſt to Coruo and Flores, where beating vp and downe, and miſſing of expected prayes, we ſayled by Tercera, and from thence to Saint Michael, where we ſought to boorde a Portugall ſhippe, which we found too well appointed for vs to bring along with vs, and ſo being forced to leaue them behinde and hauing waſted all our victuals, wee were conſtrained againſt our willes to haſten home vnto our narrowe Seas: but it was the two and twentieth of December before wee could get into the Downes: where for lacke of winde wee kept our Chriſtmas with dry breade onely for dropping of our clothes. One thing very ſtrange hapened in this voyage: to witte, that a mightie great Whale followed our ſhippe by the ſpace of many dayes as we paſſed by Cape Razo, which by no meanes wee could chaſe from our ſhip, vntill one of our men fell ouerboord and was drowned, after which time ſhee immediatly forſooke vs, and neuer afterward appeared vnto vs.

They continue on the coaſt from Cape Briton Weſtwards full eleuen weekes.

An huge Whale purſued their ſhip by the ſpace of many dayes, till one of their men fell ouerboord.

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. *George Drake* of *Apſham* to the Iſle of *Ramea* in the aforeſayd yere 1593.

IN the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fiſher ſeruant to the worſhipfull Maſter Hill of Redriffe is, as you reade, a briefe report of their looſing of their conſort the ſhippe of Maſter George Drake of Apſham: which though ſhee came directly to the Iſle of Ramea, yet becauſe ſhee was not ready ſo ſoone by two moneths as ſhe ought to haue bene, ſhe was not onely the hinderance of her conſort the Marigolde, & loſt the ſeaſon of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the Morſes or Sea Oxen, which are to be taken in Aprill, May, and Iune: but alſo ſuffered the fit places and harboroughs in the Iſle which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be foreſtalled and taken vp by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint Iohn de Luz, by comming a day after the Fayre, as wee ſay. Which lingering vnprouidence of our men hath bene the ouerthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the vndertakers of the ſame.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promiſed by the Authour himſelfe: but the ſame not comming to my handes in tyme I am conſtrained to leaue it out. The want whereof, for the better vnderſtanding of the ſtate of the ſayde Iſland, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforeſayd nations of the of Britons and Baſkes, may in part be ſupplyed by the voyage of Maſter Charles Leigh to the ſayde Iſland of Ramea: which alſo comming much too late thither, as Maſter George Drake had done, was wholly preuented and ſhutte out to his and his friendes no ſmall detriment and miſchiefe, and to the diſcouraging of others hereafter in the ſayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Neuertheleſſe albeit hitherto the ſucceſſe hath not anſwered our expectation through our owne default, as is aboueſaid, yet I was very willing to ſet downe in briefe and homely ſtile ſome mention of theſe three voyages of our owne men. The firſt of M. George Drake, the ſecond of M. Silueſter Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, becauſe they are the firſt, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our owne Nation, that haue conducted Engliſh ſhips ſo farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and haue brought vs true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baſkes, and Biskaines do yerely returne from the ſayd partes; while wee this long time haue ſtood ſtill and haue bene idle lookers on, making courteſie who ſhould giue the firſt aduenture, or once being giuen, who ſhould continue or proſecute the ſame.

The

The voyage of the *Grace* of *Briſtol* of M. *Rice Iones*, a Barke of thirty fiue Tunnes, vp into the Bay of Saint *Laurence* to the Northweſt of *Newefoundland*, as farre as the Iſle of *Aſſumption* or *Natiſcotec*, for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine Oyle, made by *Silueſter Wyet*, Shipmaſter of *Briſtoll*.

WEe departed with the aforeſaid Barke manned with twelue men for the place aforeſaid from Briſtoll the 4 of Aprill 1594. and fell with Cape d'Eſpere on the coaſt of Newefoundland the nineteneth of May in the height of 47. We went thence for Cape Raz, being diſtant from thence 18 or 19 leagues, the very ſame day.

The 20. day we were thwart of Cape Raz.

Cape Raz. Cape S. Marie. Then we ſet our courſe Northweſt for Cape S. Marie, which is diſtant from Cape Raz 19 leagues, and is on the Eaſtſide of the great bay of Placentia almoſt at the entrie thereof.

The Iſlands of the Martyers. The Iſles of S. Peter. From thence we ſhaped our courſe for the Iſlands of S. Pedro paſſing by the broken Iſlands of the Martyers: and when we were thwart of the ſaid Iſles of the Martyers our courſe to the Iſles of S. Pedro was Weſt and by North. In theſe Iſles of S. Pedro there is a faire harbour, which we went into with our barke, and found there 2 ſhips of Sibiburo fiſhing for Cod: where we ſtayed 2 dayes, and tooke in baleſt for our ſhip. There are as faire and tall firre trees growing therein, as in any other part of Newfoundland. Then wee departed thence, and as we came out of the harbours mouth we laid the ſhip vpon the lee, and in 2 houres ſpace we tooke with our hookes 3 or 4 hundred great Cods for our prouiſion of our ſhip. Then we departed from the Iſle of S. Pedro to enter into the gulffe of S. Laurence betwene Cape Briton and the ſaid Iſle, and ſet our courſe Weſt North Weſt, and fel with Cape de Rey which wee found to be diſtant from the Iſles of S. Pedro 42 leagues. Cape de Rey. Cape de Angullie. The bay of Saint George. From Cape de Rey to Cape de Angullie we ſet our courſe Northnorthweſt being diſtant thence 12 or 13 leagues. From the Cape de Angullie into the Bay of S. George we ran Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſome 18 or 19 leagues.

In this bay of Saint George, we found the wrackes of 2 great Biſkaine ſhips, which had bene caſt away three yeres before: where we had ſome ſeuen or eight hundred Whale finnes, and ſome yron bolts and chaines of their mayne ſhrouds & fore ſhroudes: al their traine was beaten out with the weather but the caſke remained ſtill. Some part of the commodities were ſpoiled by tumbling downe of the clifts of the hils, which couered part of the caſke, and the greater part of thoſe Whale finnes, which we vnderſtood to be there by foure Spaniards which eſcaped, & were brought to S. Iohn de Luz. Here we found the houſes of the Sauages, made of firre trees bound together in the top and ſet round like a Doue-houſe, and couered with the barkes of firre trees, wee found alſo ſome part of their victuals, which were Deeres fleſh roaſted vpon wooden ſpits at the fire, & a diſh made of a ryne of a tree, ſowed together with the ſinowes of the Deere, wherein was oile of the Deere. There were alſo foules called Cormorants, which they had pulckt and made ready to haue dreſſed, and there we found a wooden ſpoone of their making. And we diſcerned the tracks of the feete of ſome fortie or fiftie men, women and children.

When we had diſpatched our buſineſſe in this bay of S. George and ſtayed there ten dayes, wee departed for the Northren point of the ſaid bay, which is nine or ten leagues broade. Then being enformed, that the Whales which are deadly wounded in the grand Bay, and yet eſcape the fiſher for a time, are woont vſually to ſhoot themſelues on ſhore on the Iſle of Aſſumption, or Natiſcotec, which lieth in the very mouth of the great riuer that runneth vp to Canada, we ſhaped our courſe ouer to that long Iſle of Natiſcotec, and wee found the diſtance of the way to the Eſtermoſt ende thereof to be about forty foure leagues: and it ſtandeth in the latitude of 49. Here we arriued about the middeſt of Iune at the Eaſt end, and rode in eighteene fadome water in faire white ſand and very good ankerage, and for tryall heaued a lyne ouerboorde and found wonderfull faire and great Cod fiſh: we went alſo ſeuen of vs on ſhore and found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and ſawe ſtore of land and ſea foules, and ſawe the footing of diuers beaſtes in the ſand when we were on ſhore. They land on the Iſle of Natiſcotec. From the Eaſter end we went to the Norther ſide of the Iſland, which we perceiued to be but narrow in reſpect of the length thereof. And after wee had ſearched two dayes and a night for the Whales which were wounded which we hoped to haue found there, and miſſed of our purpoſe, we returned backe to the Southwarde, and were within one league of the Iſland of Penguin, which lyeth South from the Eaſtermoſt part of Natiſcotec ſome twelue leagues. From the Iſle of Penguin wee ſhaped our courſe for Cape de Rey and had ſight of the Iſland of Cape Briton: then returned wee by the Iſles of Saint Pedro, and ſo came into the Bay of Placencia, and arriued in the Eaſterſide thereof ſome ten leagues vp within the Bay among the fiſhermen of Saint Iohn de Luz and of Sibiburo and of Biskay, which were to the number of threeſcore and odde ſayles, whereof eight ſhippes onely were Spaniardes, of whom we were very well vſed and they wiſhed heartily for peace betweene them and vs. There the men of Saint Iohn and Sibiburo men beſtowed two pinneſſes on vs to make vp our voyage with fiſh. Then wee departed ouer to the other ſide of the Bay, where we arriued in an harbour which is called Peſinarck, and there made our ſtage and fiſhed ſo long, that in the ende the Sauages came, and in the night, when our men were at reſt, cut both our pinneſſe and our ſhippes boate away to our great hinderance of our voyage, yet it was our good fortune to finde out our pinneſſes and get them againe. Then for feare of a ſhrewder turne of the Sauages, we departed for Cape Saint Marie, and hauing paſſed Cape Raz, we paſſed Northwarde fourteene leagues and arriued in Farrillon, and finding there two and twentie ſayles of Engliſhmen, wee made vp our fiſhing voyage to the full in that harborough the twentieth foure of Auguſt to our good content and departing thence we arriued firſt in Combe and ſtaied there a ſeuen night, and afterward in Hungrod in the riuer of Briſtoll by the grace of God the 24 of September. 1594.

The voyage of M. *Charles Leigh*, and diuers others to Cape *Briton* and the Iſle of *Ramea*.

The Hopewell of London of the burthen of 120 tunnes, whereof was M. William Crafton, and the Chancewel of London of the burthen of 70 tunnes, whereof was M. Steuen Benner, bound vnto the riuer of Canada, ſet to ſea at the ſole and proper charge of Charles Leigh and Abraham Van Herwick of London merchants (the ſaide Charles Leigh himſelfe, and Steuen Van Herwick brother to the ſayd Abraham, going themſelues in the ſaid ſhips as chiefe commanders of the voyage) departed from Graues-end on Fryday morning the 8 of April 1597. And after ſome hindrances, arriuing at Falmouth in Cornewal the 28 of the ſaid moneth put to ſea againe. And with proſperous windes the 18 of May we were vpon the banke of Newfoundland. The 19 we loſt the Chancewel. The 20 we had ſight of land and entred within the bay of Aſſumption, where our men contrary to my knowledge fought with a French ſhip: and afterward in the ſame bay wee met with our conſort. Whereupon we preſently put to ſea againe: and the next day we arriued at Caplen bay, where we remained by extremitie of foule weather, and to mend a pinnes of 7 or 8 tunnes (which was giuen vs at Farrillon by M. Wil. Sayer of Dartmouth the Admiral of that place) vntill the laſt of May. On which day departing from thence in the afternoone we put in to Rogneuſe to ſeeke Shallops but could find none. The firſt of Iune we ſet ſaile from Rogneuſe, and the ſecond we put roome to a bay vnder the Northſide of Cape Raz being inforced in by an extreme ſtorme. The 4 we ſet ſaile, and this day we ſaw a great Iſland of yce. The 5 at night we loſt the Chancewell in a fog at the mouth of the bay of Placentia. The 11 at Sunne ſetting we had ſight of Cape Briton. And the 12 by reaſon of contrary windes we caſt anker vnder the Northeaſt ende of the Iſle of Menego to the North of Cape Briton in 16 fathome reaſonable ground. In that place we caught great ſtore of Cods, which were larger and better fiſh then any in Newfounland. The 13 wee weyed anker againe, and being becalmed about a league from the ſhore we fell to fiſhing where the Cods did bite at leaſt 20 fathomes aboue ground, and almoſt as faſt as we could hale them into the ſhip. The 14 we came to the 2 Iſlands of Birds, ſome 23 leagues frō Menego: where there were ſuch abundance of Birds, as is almoſt incredible to report. And vpon the leſſe of theſe Iſlands of Birds, we ſaw great ſtore of Morſſes or ſea Oxen, which were a ſleepe vpon the rockes: but when we approched nere vnto them with our boate they caſt themſelues into the ſea and purſued vs with ſuch furie as that we were glad to flee from them. The 16 we arriued at Brians Iſland, which lyeth 5 leagues Weſt from the Iſland of Birds. About this Iſland ther is as great aboundance of cods as in any place can be found. In litle more then an houre we caught with 4 hookes 250 of them. Here we caught alſo a great Turbut which was an elle long and a yard broad: which was ſo great that the hooke could not hold her into the ſhip: but when ſhe was aboue water ſhe bent the hooke & eſcaped In this Iſland we found exceeding good ground both for corne and meadow, & great ſtore of wood, but of ſmal groweth. Springes of freſh water we found none in all the Iſland, but ſome ſtanding pooles of raine water. The ſame day at night we weyed anker againe. The 17 we had ſtormy weather. The 18 we came to the Iſle of Ramea, where we appointed to meet with our conſort. And approching neere vnto the harborough of Halabolina we caſt anker in 3 fadomes water and ſent our great boate into the harborough, with the maſters mate and ſome dozen more of the company: who when they came in, found 4 ſhips. Namely 2 of Saint Malo in Britaigne, and

The Iſle of Menego.

The 2 Iſlands of Birdes.

Store of Morſſes.

In Bryans Iſland excellent ground for corne and medow.

The Iſle Ramea.

two of Sibiburo adioyning to Saint Iohn de luz being the French Kings ſubiects, whom they ſuppoſed to haue bene of Spaine, and ſo affirmed vnto vs. Whereupon wee went preſently into harborough, finding but eleuen foote and an halfe of water vpon the barre and a mightie great current in, when wee had caſt anker we ſent preſently to ſpeake with the maſters of all the ſhips: but thoſe onely of Saint Malo came aboord, whom wee entertained very friendly, and demaunded of whence the other two ſhippes were. They ſayde as they thought of Saint Iohn de Luz or Sibiburo. Then we preſently ſent our boate for the Maſters of both the ſayd ſhippes, to requeſt them to come aboord, and to bring with them their Charters parties and other euidences, to the ende we might knowe of whence they were. At which meſſage one of the ſayde Maſters came aboord, with the Pilote and Maſters mate of the other ſhippe: whom when we had examined, they ſayd that they were of Sibiburo, and the French Kings ſubiectes. We requeſted them for our better ſecuritie in the harborough peaceably to deliuer vp their powder and munition: promiſing them that if we found them to be the French Kings ſubiectes it ſhoulde be kept in ſafetie for them without diminiſhing. But they woulde not conſent thereunto: whereunto we replyed, that vnleſſe they would conſent thereunto we would hold them to be our enemies. They not conſenting, we ſent the boate well manned to fetch their powder and munition from aboorde their ſhip: but ſtraightly commanded our men not to touch any thing elſe in the ſhip vpon their further perill: which they promiſed to performe. When they came aboorde the ſaide ſhips which were mored together, they were reſiſted by force of armes, but quickly they got the victorie: which done, they fell preſently to pillaging of the Baſkes, contrary to their promiſe: whereupon we ſent another to forbidde them; but when he came to them, none was more ready of pillage then he. Whereupon I went my ſelfe, and tooke away from our men whatſoeuer they had pillaged, and gaue it againe to the owners: onely I ſent aboord our owne ſhip their powder and munition to be kept in ſafetie vntil we knew farther what they were. When I had done, I gaue the Baſkes poſſeſſion of their ſhippe againe and tolde them they ſhould not looſe the valewe of one peny if they were the French Kings ſubiects. Then I caryed away all our men, and alſo tooke with me two or three of the chiefeſt of them, and when I came aboord went to examining of them, and by circumſtances found one of the ſhips to belong to France: whereupon I tolde the maſter of the ſaid ſhip, that I was throughly ſatiſfied that he was of France and ſo diſmiſſed him in peace. Of the other ſhip we had great preſumption that ſhe was of Spaine, but had no certaine proofe thereof, wherefore wee diſmiſſed them likewiſe in peace. After I had thus diſmiſſed them, our ſhips company fell into a mutiny, and more then half of them reſolued to cary one of thoſe ſhips away. But they were preuented of their euill purpoſe by ayde; which the ſaide ſhips receiued from their countreymen in the other harborough: For the next morning, which was the twentieth of Iune, very early there were gathered together out of all the ſhips in both harboroughs, at the leaſt 200 Frenchmen and Britons, who had planted vpon the ſhore three pieces of Ordinance againſt vs, and had prepared themſelues in al readineſſe to fight with vs, which ſo ſoone as we had diſcried them gaue the onſet vpon vs with at leaſt an hundred ſmall ſhot out of the woods. There were alſo in a readines to aſſault vs about three hundred Sauages. But after we had ſkirmiſhed a while with them, we procured a parley by one of the men of Saint Malo, whoſe ſhip rowed hard by vs: In which parley they required ſome of our men to come on ſhore vnto them: whereupon wee requeſted M. Ralph Hill and the Boatſwaines mate to go on ſhore to them: whom when they had they detained as priſoners; and then required the powder and munition, which we had of the Baſkes in poſſeſſion: which we ſurrendred vnto them in ſafetie as our intent alwayes was, which done, there came aboord vnto vs one Captaine Charles, who was captaine of the great ſhip of Saint Malo, which rode in the other harborough: who challenged our great boate which we had at Farrillon to be his. And while we were in talke with him about the two Baſkes which at firſt we thought to be Spaniards, wee had almoſt bene betraied. For the ſaid Captaine Charles with halfe a dozen more of his company kept themſelues aboord of our ſhip and held vs in a talke, while thirtie or fortie others ſhould haue entred our ſhip vnawares from one of the ſhips of S. Malo, which profeſſed to be our friend, & vnto whom we ſhewed all courteſie. But we perceiuing their treacherous intent, threatned to ſet fire on the ſaid ſhip, which was then thwart our hawſe, from which they would haue entred. By which reſolution of ours God did diſcourage thẽ from effecting their miſcheiuous purpoſes. Now the ſaid captaine Charles when he ſaw himſelf preuented of his wicked intents, took his boat preſently to go on ſhore, and promiſed that all things ſhould be ended in peace betweene vs, and that he would ſend vs our two men againe. But when he was on ſhore he preſently ſent for our great boat which he claimed to be his, & withall commanded vs out of the harborough; but he ſent not our men as he promiſed, we being now the weaker ſide did not only deliuer his boat but alſo determined to be gon

Another harborough in Ramea.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the French men and vs.

A new treaſon of the Britons.

and then requeſted them to help vs with our anker which was on ſhore; but they would not. Then we deſired them to cut the bent of the cable vpon the anker on ſhore (for we durſt not ſend our boat leſt they ſhould haue kept from vs both our boat and men) which they promiſed to do for vs, as alſo to ſend our men; but when they were on ſhore, they would do neither. We therefore ſeeing their falſhood in euery thing, durſt no longer tary for feare of farther treachery; wherefore we concluded to cut our cable in the hawſe; which we did, & ſo departed the harborow about 9 of the clock, leauing two of our men with our cable & anker, and 20 fadoms of a new hawſer behind vs. And as we were going away, they made great ſhewes of friendſhip, and dranke vnto vs from the ſhore; but more for feare then loue, and requeſted vs to come on ſhore for our men, whom then they deliuered. The ſame morning in paſſing ouer the barre before the harborowes mouth, and by that time that we had all our men aboord, our ſhip came on ground vpon the ſands; where we lay ſome 8 houres: during which time, at low water we trimmed our ſhip without boord, and by the great prouidence of God found our leake which then we ſtopped. About ſix of the clocke at night we got our ſhip on float againe, and that night ankered within part of the barre, which then becauſe of the wind we could not paſſe. But it pleaſed God to ſend vs faire weather all that night, and the next day by noone we had gotten our ſhip cleane ouer the bar. The 21 day after we got ouer the barre the wind aroſe at eaſt & eaſtſoutheaſt, we blew right into the bay: which if it had come before we were cleere of the bar, we had both ſhip and men periſhed in the ſands. The ſame day, becauſe the wind kept vs within the bay, we went to the Iſle Blanch, where the ſhips of the other harborow had their ſtages: but it was at leaſt two leagues from their ſhips; where we hoped by friendſhip to procure a ſhallope & aſſurance of our cable and anker againe. But when we had approched nere the ſhore with our ſhip, & weaued them with a white flag, they in ſted of cōming vnto vs, ſent their meſſage by a bullet out of a piece of great ordinance, which they had placed on ſhore of purpoſe againſt vs; ſo that they would neither ſpeake with vs, nor permit vs to come nere them. Thus we departed, and would haue put to ſea that night; but there was much wind at Eaſt, which kept vs within the bay, & inforced vs to come to an anker vnder Iſle Blanch. The next morning being the 22, we put to ſea, and about 12 of the clocke the ſame day, the wind being at Northeaſt and foule weather, the maſter ſayd he could not ply vp to Grande Coſte, becauſe of the leeſhore, & the wind againſt vs, and therefore aſked what we ſhould do. I aſked then how farre we had to the riuer of cape Briton: he ſayd a little way. Then ſayd I, If it be not farre, we were beſt to go thither to trade with the Sauages while the wind is contrary, and to take in water & baliſt, which we wanted. To which the maſter ſayd, that if I would he would cary vs thither. I thinking it to be the beſt courſe, ſayd I was content, ſo farre forth as that from thence we tooke the firſt faire wind for Grande Coſte. Hereupon the maſter willed him at the helme to keepe his courſe ſoutheaſt and ſoutheaſt and by ſouth. Preſently after I aſked him how many leagues we had to the ſayd riuer, and from the ſayd riuer to Grande Coſte. He then ſayd that we had 40 leagues to the riuer, and from the riuer to Grande Coſte 120 leagues. Hereupon I ſaid I would not conſent to go ſo far out of our way, but willed him to keep his directeſt courſe for Grande Coſte; which he did. Within one halfe houre afterwards the 23 day the gunner and company of the ſhip preſented me & the maſter with a requeſt in writing to returne for England or to goe for the Iſlands of Açores for a man of war, for they would not proceed on their voyage to Grande Coſte; and therefore do what I could they turned the helme homewards. The 14 of Iune we ſent our boat on ſhore in a great bay vpon the Iſle of Cape Briton for water. The 25 we arriued on the Weſt ſide of the Iſle of Menego, where we left ſome caſke on ſhore in a ſandy bay, but could not tary for foule weather. The 26 we caſt anker in another bay vpon the maine of Cape Briton. The 27 about tenne of the clocke in the morning we met with eight men of the Chancewell our conſort in a ſhallope; who told vs that their ſhip was caſt away vpon the maine of Cape Briton, within a great bay eighteene leagues within the Cape, and vpon a rocke within a mile of the ſhore, vpon the 23 of this moneth about one of the clocke in the afternoone: and that they had cleered their ſhip from the rocke: but being bilged and full of water, they preſently did run her vp into a ſandy bay, where ſhe was no ſooner come on ground, but preſently after there came aboord many ſhallops with ſtore of French men, who robbed and ſpoiled all they could lay hands on, pillaging the poore men euen to their very ſhirts, and vſing them in ſauage maner: whereas they ſhould rather as Chriſtians haue aided them in that diſtreſſe. Which newes when we heard, we bleſſed God, who by his diuine prouidence and vnſpeakeable mercy had not onely preſerued all the men, but brought vs thither ſo miraculouſly to ayd and comfort them. So preſently we put into the road where the Chancewell lay; where was alſo one ſhip of Sibiburo, whoſe men that holpe to pillage the Chancewell were runne away into the woods. But the maſter thereof which had dealt very honeſtly with our men

The bar of the hauen of Ramea.

They depart from Ramea.

Iſle Blanch or the White Iſle.

The riuer of Cape Briton.

Their arriuall in the Iſle of Cape Briton.

The Chancewel caſt away 18 leagues within Cape Briton.

Woods on the Iſle of Cape Briton.

ſtayed in his ſhip, and came aboord of vs: whom we vſed well, not taking any thing from him that was his, but onely ſuch things as we could finde of our owne. And when we had diſpatched our buſineſſe, we gaue him one good cable, one olde cable and an anker, one ſhallop with maſt, ſailes, and other furniture, and other things which belonged to the ſhip. In recompenſe whereof he gaue vs two hogſheads of ſider, one barrell of peaze, and 25 ſcore of fiſh. The 29 betimes in the morning we departed from that road toward a great Biſkaine ſome 7 leagues off of 300 tun, whoſe men dealt moſt doggedly with the Chancewels company. The ſame night we ankered at the mouth of the harborow, where the Biſkain was. The 30 betimes in the morning we put into the harborow; and approching nere their ſtage, we ſaw it vncouered, and ſo ſuſpected the ſhip to be gone: whereupon we ſent our pinneſſe on ſhore with a dozen men, who when they came, found great ſtore of fiſh on ſhore, but all the men were fled: neither could they perceiue whether the ſhip ſhould be gone, but as they thought to ſea. This day about twelue of the clocke we tooke a Sauages boat which our men purſued: but all the Sauages ran away into the woods, and our men brought their boat on boord. The ſame day in the afternoone we brought our ſhip to an anker in the harborow: and the ſame day we tooke three hogſheads and an halfe of traine, and ſome 300 of greene fiſh. Alſo in the euening three of the Sauages, whoſe boat we had, came vnto vs for their boat; to whom we gaue coats and kniues, and reſtored them their boat againe. The next day being the firſt of Iuly, the reſt of the Sauages came vnto vs, among whom was their king, whoſe name was Icarey, and their queene, to whom alſo we gaue coats and kniues, and other trifles. Theſe Sauages called the harborow Cibo. In this place are the greateſt multitude of lobſters that euer we heard of: for we caught at one hawle with a little draw net aboue 140. The fourth of Iuly in the morning we departed from Cibo. And the fift we caſt anker in a reaſonable good harborow called New Port vnder an Iſland ſome eight leagues from Cibo, and within three leagues from the Engliſh port. At this place in purſuing certaine ſhallops of a ſhip of Rochel, one of them came aboord, who told vs, that the Biſkainer whom we ſought, was in the Engliſh port with two Biſkainers more, and two ſhips of Rochel. Thereupon wee ſent one of our men in the Rochellers ſhallop to parle with the admiral & others our friends in the Engliſh port, requeſting them ayd for the recouery of our things, which the other ſhip called the Santa Maria of S. Vincent (whereof was Maſter Iohannes de Harte, and Pilot Adame de Lauandote) had robbed from the Chancewell. To which they anſwered, that if we would come in vnto them in peace, they would aſſiſt vs what they might. This anſwere we had the ſixt day: and the ſeuenth in the fornoone we arriued in the Engliſh port, and caſt anker aloofe from the other ſhips: which done, I went aboord the Admirall, to deſire the performance of his promiſe: who ſent for Iohannes de Harte, who was contented to reſtore moſt of our things againe: whereupon I went aboord his ſhip to haue them reſtored. This day and the eighth I ſpent in procuring ſuch things as they had robbed; but yet in the end we wanted a great part thereof. Then we were briefe with them, and willed them either to reſtore vs the reſt of our things which they had, or els we would both inforce them to doe it, and alſo haue ſatiſfaction for our victuals and merchandiſes which by their meanes were loſt in the Chancewell. The ninth in the morning wee prepared our ſhip to goe neere vnto them. Whereupon their Admirall ſent his boat aboord, and deſired to ſpeake with mee: then I went aboord vnto him, and deſired to haue our things with peace and quietneſſe, proffering to make him and the Maſters of the two ſhips of Rochel our vmpires, and what they ſhould aduiſe I would ſtand vnto. Heereupon he went aboord the other ſhip to make peace; but they would heare no reaſon, neither yet condeſcend to reſtore any thing els which they had of ours. Then I deſired that as I came in peace vnto them, they would ſo ſet me aboord my ſhip againe: which they denied to doe, but moſt vniuſtly detained me and Stephen van Herwicke who was with me. A while after our ſhallop came with foure men to know how I did, and to fetch me aboord: but ſo ſoone as ſhe came to the Admirals ſhips ſide, his men entred, and tooke her away, detaining our men alſo as priſoners with vs. Then preſently all the three Biſkainers made toward our ſhip, which was not careleſſe to get the winde of them all: and hauing by the mercy of God obtained the ſame, ſhee then ſtayed for them: but when they ſaw they had loſt their aduantage, they preſently turned their courſe, making as great haſte in againe as they did out before. Afterwards I attempted twiſe to goe aboord, but was ſtill enforced backe by the two other Biſkainers, who ſought our liues: ſo that in the end the Maſter of the Admirall was inforced to man his great boat to waft vs: and yet notwithſtanding they bent a piece of great ordinance at vs: for we were to paſſe by them vnto our ſhip: but we reſcued our ſhallop vnder our Maſters great boat; and by that meanes paſſed in ſafety. The next morning being the tenth of the moneth, we purpoſed if the winde had ſerued our turne, to haue made them to repent their

The Sauages of Cape Briton come aboord of our ſhip.

Cibo an harborow in the Iſle of Cape Briton.

New Port.

Port Ingles.

euill dealing, and to reſtore vs our owne againe, or els to haue ſuncke their ſhips if we could. But the winde ſerued not our turne for that purpoſe; but caried vs to ſea: ſo that the ſame morning wee tooke our courſe toward the bay of S. Laurence in Newfoundland: where wee hoped to finde a Spaniſh ſhip, which as we had intelligence, did fiſh at that place. The thirteenth day we had ſight of S. Peters Ilands. And the foureteenth day being foggy and miſty weather, while we made towards the land, we ſent our ſhallop before the ſhippe to diſcouer dangers: but in the fogge, through the mens negligence which were in her, ſhe loſt vs: yet we kept on our courſe, thinking that although we could not ſee them, yet they might ſee our ſhip: and comming into ſixteene fathoms water we caſt anker, ſuppoſing our ſelues to be neere the ſhore: and in the euening it pleaſed God to giue vs for the ſpace of one quarter of an houre clere weather, by which we found our ſelues to be inbayed, and alſo had ſight of our ſhallop, which was at the point of a land about one league from vs. The ſame night we went further into the ſame bay, where we had very good riding. The fifteenth we went on ſhore, and in that place found footing of deere, and before we returned we killed one. The eighteenth we departed toward S. Laurence: the ſame euening we had ſight of S. Laurence, and ſent off our boat in the night with our Maſter and ſixteene men to ſurpriſe the Spanyard, which lay in Little S. Laurence; who preſently vpon the entrance of our men ſurrendred vp their ſhip and goods. The nineteenth in the morning before day, the Maſter of our ſhip with two more, and three Spanyards, tooke a boat and came foorth to meet our ſhippe, but being foggy, he caſt anker by the mouth of the harborow (thinking in faire weather to put out to our ſhip, which through the current and foggy weather was put fiue or ſixe leagues to leeward: & while they were at anker in the boat they were ſurpriſed again by certaine Basks of S. Iohn de Luz who were in Great S. Laurence hard by. Theſe Basks with their forces (hauing receiued intelligence by one of the Spanyards, who ſleeping on ſhore, eſcaped vnto them ouerland) on the ſudden ſurpriſed the ſayd boat with our Maſter and others: and then preſently made vnto the ſhip; but our men aboord defended them off. In the end they threatned that vnleſſe they would yeeld, they would kill M. Crafton and our other men before their eyes. So at laſt vpon M. Craftons intreaty and our mens, to ſaue their liues, they yeelded vp the ſhip againe, vpon condition, that they ſhould not iniury any of our men, but ſhould let them all with their weapons peaceably depart: yet when our men had yeelded, they brake their couenant, profering them great violence, threatning to kill them, diſarming them, ſtripping their clothes from their backs, and vſing them more like dogs then men. After they had thus robbed our men of their prize and weapons, they preſently towed the ſhippe with their boats out of that harborow into Great S. Laurence, where their owne ſhippes did ride, and within leſſe then an houre after they had caried our prize away, our ſhippe arriued in the bay: where after we had bene a while at anker, our ſhallop came aboord vnto vs, with moſt part of our ſixteene men, who tolde vs the whole ſtory before recited, as alſo that captaine Laurence had caried away our Maſter, and Stephen van Herwicke priſoners, and turned the reſt of our men on ſhore in the woods, without either meat, drinke, or almoſt any apparell. The 20 all our men came aboord, except the two priſoners: and the ſame day we tooke with our boats three of the Spanyards ſhallops, with fiue hogſheads of traine oile in each of them, & in one boat foure Spanyards; but the men of the other two ſhallops fled on ſhore. The ſame day alſo we tooke the Maſter of one of the ſhips which was in the harborow with three other of his men, whom we detained priſoners to ranſome M. Crafton & Stephen van Herwick. The 22 captaine Laurence ſent them aboord, and we alſo releaſed all our priſoners, except one Spanyard, who was boatſwaine of the Spaniſh ſhip, whom we kept with vs: and the ſame day we ſet ſaile frō thence. The 24 we had aduice of our Spanyard of certain Leagers which were in the harborow of cape S. Mary. Whereupon the ſame night, being within fiue or ſix leagues of the harborow, I ſent off our two ſhallops with thirty men to diſcouer the harborow, and to ſurpriſe the enemy. The 25 in the morning we approched the harborow with our ſhip, and in the mouth thereof we eſpied three ſhallops, two whereof were ours, and the third of a ſhip of Rochel, which they had ſurpriſed with foure men in her: who told them that there were but two ſhips in the harborow, whereof one was of Rochel, and the other of Bell iſle. And as we were diſcourſing with the Rochellers, we had ſight of the ſhips: whereupon we ſent our boat aboord the the Rocheller to certifie him that we were his friends, and to requeſt him not to hinder our fight with the enemy. This meſſage being ſent, we made all the haſte we could vnto the ſhip of Bell iſle, which firſt began with vs with three great ſhot, one whereof hit our maintopſaile, but both the other miſſed vs. And we alſo ſent one vnto them: then being approched nere vnto them ten or twelue of vs went in a ſhallop to enter them, and we caried alſo a warpe with vs to make faſt vnto their ſhip, whereby our ſhip might the better come vp to ayd vs. And when we boorded them in our boat, they betooke

They departed from Cape Briton.

S. Peters Ilands.

A Spaniſh ſhip taken.

M. Crafton.

The harborow of Cape S. Marie.

A Briton ſhip of 200 tunnes taken.

tooke themſelues to their cloſe fights, playing chiefly vpon vs with ſhot & pikes out at two ports, betweene which we entred very dangerouſly, eſcaping neere dangers both by ſhot & pike. Some of our men were wounded, but no great harme was done. And mine owne piece in entring, was ſhot out of my hand into the ſea; which ſhot alſo burſt one ſide of the ladder, by which I entred. We had not long bene aboord, but through the helpe of God we cauſed them to yeeld vnto our mercy. There were of them in the ſhip aboue forty men, moſt whereof we ſent aboord of our ſhippe, there to be kept in holde, with order to our chyrurgion to dreſſe the wounded men, one of which was wounded vnto death. That done, we had then time to view our prize, which we found of great defence, and a notable ſtrong ſhip, almoſt two hundred tun in burden, very well appointed, and in all things fitted for a man of warre. They had alſo foureteene or fifteene men more, which were then abſent from the ſhip; otherwiſe we ſhould haue had the hoter fight. The ſame day we got our ſailes to the yard, and our top maſts on end, and rigged the ſhippe what we could. The 26 day we got ſome oile aboord, and there we taried vntill the ſecond of Auguſt, fitting our ſelues for the ſea, and getting fiſh aboord as weather ſerued vs. During our abode there we diuided our men, and appointed to ech ſhip their company, my ſelfe and my friends being reſolued to take our paſſage in the prize; wherein when we were ſhipped, and the company, there aroſe great enmity againſt vs by the other ſhippe, which afterward was quieted. The ſecond day of Auguſt, hauing taken in water and wood, we put to ſea from that harborow in company of the Hopewell, with purpoſe to go directly to Parlican, which is an harborow in the North part of Newfoundland, where we expected another prize. But when we came to ſea we found our ſailes ſo olde, our ropes ſo rotten, and our prouiſion of bread and drinke ſo ſhort, as that we were conſtrained to make our reſolution directly for England; whereupon we drew out our reaſons the fourth day of Auguſt, and ſent them aboord the Hopewell, to certifie them the cauſe of our reſolution for England: wherat they were generally offended, thinking and ſaying, that we in the prize went about to couſin and deceiue them. To conclude, they ſent vs word that they would keepe vs company for England. But I had giuen William Crafton commiſſion before to go for the Iſlands of the Açores, and there to ſpend his victuals for a man of warre. The next day being the fift of Auguſt, hauing a faire winde, we put off from the coaſt of Newfoundland, and kept our courſe directly for England, the Hopewell keeping vs company vntill midday, whenas hauing loſt vs in a fogge, ſhe ſhot off two pieces of ordinance, and we anſwered her with three: afterwards we ſpake not with her, ſuppoſing that ſhe went for the Iſlands. The 27 of Auguſt, drawing neere the coaſt of England, we ſounded and found ground at ſeuenty fadoms. Some of the mariners thinking we were in Briſtow channell, and other in Silly channell: ſo that through variety of iudgements, and euill marinerſhip we were faine to dance the hay foure dayes together, ſometimes running to the Northeaſt, ſometimes to the Southeaſt, then againe to the Eaſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt. Thus did we ſpend faire winds, and loſe our time vntill the laſt of Auguſt. And then it pleaſed God that we fell with the Iſland of Lundy within the channell of Briſtoll; from whence we ſhaped our courſe: and after diuers dangers, the third of September we met with the Tramontane of the Queene off of Dartmouth; to the captaine whereof we gaue certaine things that he had need of. The fift of September I landed on the outſide of the Iſle of Wight, and within few dayes after it pleaſed God to bring the ſhip in ſafety to London, where ſhe was made prize as belonging to the enemies of this land.

Certaine obſeruations touching the countreys and places where we trauelled.

The Newfoundland we found very ſubiect to fogs and miſts. The ground of it is very rocky: and vpon it there is great ſtore of firre trees, and in ſome places red: and about the ſhore it hath great abundance of cod-fiſh. We were on land in it in foure ſeuerall places: 1 At Caplin bay and Farrillon: 2 At Cape Raſe: 3 At the harborow of Lano which lieth foure leagues to the Weſt beyond Cape Laurence: 4 At S. Marie port.

The Iſland of Menego for the ſoile is much like Newfoundland, but the fiſh about it, as alſo throwout the Grande Bay within Cape Briton, is much larger and better then that of the Newfoundland. This Iſland is ſcant two leagues long, and very narrow. In the midſt of it, a great way within the wood is a great poole. Here we were thriſe on ſhore: once at the Eaſt ſide, and twiſe at the Weſt.

The three Iſlands of birds are ſandy red, but with the multitude of birds vpon them they looke white. The birds ſit there as thicke as ſtones lie in a paued ſtreet. The greateſt of the Iſlands is about a mile in compaſſe. The ſecond is little leſſe. The third is a very little one, like a ſmall rocke. At the ſecond of theſe three lay on the ſhore in the Sunſhine about thirty or forty ſea-oxen or morſes; which when our boat came nere them, preſently made into the ſea, and ſwam after the boat.

Brions Iſland wee found to be very good, and ſandy ground. It hath in it ſtore of firre trees. It is ſomewhat more then a league long, and about three leagues in compaſſe. Here we were on land once, and went from the one ſide of it to the other.

The Iſland of Ramea we tooke to be like ground as Brions Iſland, hauing alſo abundance of firre trees. It ſeemeth to be in length about twelue or thirteene leagues at leaſt. We were there in harborow, but not on ſhore, which we much deſired, and hoped to haue bene: but the conflict which we had there with the Baſks and Britons, mentioned before, preuented vs.

The Iſle Blanche likewiſe ſeemeth in quality of the ground and bigneſſe of it to be much like Brions Iſland aforeſayd, but ſomewhat leſſe. We were not on ſhore vpon it, but rode before it at anker.

The land of Cape Briton we found to be ſomewhat like the Newfoundland, but rather better. Here toward the Weſt end of it we ſaw the clouds lie lower then the hils: as we did alſo at Cape Laurence in Newfoundland. The Eaſterly end of the land of Cape Briton is nothing ſo high land, as the Weſt. We went on ſhore vpon it in fiue places: 1 At the bay where the Chancewell was caſt away: 2 At Cibo: 3 At a little Iſland betweene Cibo and the New port: 4 At the New port: And 5 at Port Ingles, or the Engliſh port.

Concerning the nature and fruitfulneſſe of Brions Iſland, Iſle Blanche, and of Ramea, they do by nature yeeld exceeding plenty of wood, great ſtore of wild corne like barley, ſtrawberries, gooſeberries, mulberies, white roſes, and ſtore of wilde peaſon. Alſo about the ſayd Iſlands the ſea yeeldeth great abundance of fiſh of diuers ſorts. And the ſayd Iſlands alſo ſeeme to proffer, through the labour of man, plenty of all kinde of our graine, of roots, of hempe, and other neceſſary commodities.

Charles Leigh.

CERTAINE VOYAGES CONTAINING THE Diſcouerie of the Gulfe of *Sainct Laurence* to the Weſt of *Newfoundland*, and from thence vp the riuer of *Canada*, to *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, and other places: with a deſcription of the temperature of the climate, the diſpoſition of the people, the nature, commodities, and riches of the ſoile, and other matters of ſpeciall moment.

The firſt relation of *Iaques Carthier* of *S. Malo*, of the new land called *New France*, newly diſcouered in the yere of our Lord 1534.

How M. *Iaques Carthier* departed from the Port of *S. Malo*, with two ſhips, and came to *Newfoundland*, and how he entred into the Port of *Buona Viſta*.

After that Sir Charles of Mouy knight lord of Meylleraye, & Viceadmirall of France had cauſed the Captaines, Maſters, and Mariners of the ſhippes to be ſworne to behaue themſelues truely and faithfully in the ſeruice of the moſt Chriſtian King of France, vnder the charge of the ſayd Carthier, vpon the twentieth day of April 1534. we departed from the Port of S. Malo with two ſhips of threeſcore tun apiece burden, and 61 well appointed men in ech one: and with ſuch proſperous weather we ſailed onwards, that vpon the tenth day of May we came to Newfoundland, where we entred into the Cape of Buona Viſta, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a halfe, and in longitude *. But becauſe of the great ſtore of the ice that was alongſt the ſayd land, we were conſtrained to enter into an hauen called S. Katherins hauen, diſtant from the other Port about fiue leagues toward Southſoutheaſt: there did we ſtay tenne dayes looking for faire weather; and in the meane while we mended and dreſſed our boats.

How we came to the Iſland of Birds, and of the great quantity of birds that there be.

The Iſle of Birds.

VPon the 21 of May the winde being in the Weſt, we hoiſed ſaile, and ſailed toward North and by Eaſt from the cape of Buona Viſta vntil we came to the Iſland of Birds, which was enuironed about with a banke of ice, but broken and crackt: notwithſtanding the ſayd banke, our two boats went thither to take in ſome birds, whereof there is ſuch plenty, that vnleſſe a man did ſee them, he would thinke it an incredible thing: for albeit the Iſland (which containeth about a league in circuit) be ſo full of them, that they ſeeme to haue bene brought thither, and ſowed for the nonce, yet are there an hundred folde as many houering about it as within; ſome of the which are as big as iayes, blacke and white, with beaks like vnto crowes: they lie alwayes vpon the ſea; they cannot flie very high, becauſe their wings are ſo little, and no bigger then halfe ones hand, yet do they flie as ſwiftly as any birds of the aire leuell to the water; they are alſo exceeding fat; we named them Aporath. In leſſe then halfe an houre we filled two boats full of them, as if they had bene with ſtones: ſo that beſides them which we did eat freſh, euery ſhip did powder and ſalt fiue or ſixe barrels full of them.

Of two ſorts of birds, the one called *Godetz*, the other *Margaulx*; and how we came to *Carpunt.*

BEſides theſe, there is another kinde of birds which houer in the aire, and ouer the ſea, leſſer then the others; and theſe doe all gather themſelues together in the Iſland, and put themſelues vnder the wings of other birds that are greater: theſe we named Godetz. There are alſo of another ſort, but bigger, and white, which bite euen as dogs: thoſe we named Margaulx. And albeit the ſayd Iſland be 14 leagues from the maine land, notwithſtanding beares come ſwimming thither to eat of the ſayd birds: and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any ſwan, who in their preſence leapt into the ſea; and vpon Whitſunmunday (following our voyage toward the land) we met her by the way, ſwimming toward land as ſwiftly as we could ſaile. So ſoone as we ſaw her, we purſued her with our boats, and by maine ſtrength tooke her, whoſe fleſh was as good to be eaten as the fleſh of a calfe of two yeres olde. The Wedneſday following, being the 27 of the moneth, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Caſtles; but becauſe the weather was ill, and the great ſtore of ice we found, we were conſtrained to enter into an harborow about the ſayd entrance called Carpunt, where, becauſe we could not come out of it, we ſtayed till the ninth of Iune, what time we departed, hoping with the helpe of God to ſaile further then the ſayd Carpunt, which is in latitude 51 degrees.

A great white beares.

Les Chaſteaux.

Carpunt.

The deſcription of *Newfoundland*, from *Cape Razo* to *Cape Degrad.*

THe land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head toward Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt. All this part of land is parted into Iſlands one ſo nere the other, that there are but ſmall riuers betweene them; thorow the which you may paſſe with little boats, and therefore there are certaine good harborows, among which are thoſe of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of theſe Iſlands that is the higheſt of them all, being the top of it you may plainly ſee the two low Iſlands that are nere to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it fiue and twenty leagues; and there are two entrances thereat, one on the Eaſt, the other on the South ſide of the Iſland. But you muſt take heed of the ſide & point of the Eaſt, becauſe that euery where there is nothing els but ſhelues, and the water is very ſhallow: you muſt go about the Iſland toward the Weſt the length of halfe a cable or thereabout, and then to goe toward the South to the ſayd Carpunt. Alſo you are to take heed of three ſhelues that are in the chanell vnder the water: and toward the Iſland on the Eaſt ſide in the chanell, the water is of three or foure fadome deepe, and cleere ground. The other trendeth toward Eaſtnortheaſt, and on the Weſt you may go on ſhore.

Of the Iſland which now is called *S. Katherins Iſland.*

GOing from the point Degrad, and entring into the ſayd bay toward the Weſt & by North: there is ſome doubt of two Iſlands that are on the right ſide, one of the which is diſtant from the ſayd point three leagues, and the other ſeuen, either more or leſſe then the firſt, being a low and plaine land, and it ſeemeth to be part of the maine land. I named it Saint Katherines Iſland; in which, toward the Northeaſt there is very dry ſoile; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground, ſo that you muſt go a little about. The ſayd Iſland & the Port of Caſtles trend toward North northeaſt, and South ſouthweſt, and they are about 15.leagues aſunder. From the ſaid port of Caſtles to the port of Gutte, which is in the northerne part of the ſaid Bay, that trendeth toward Eaſt northeaſt, and Weſt ſouthweſt, there are 12.leagues and an halfe: and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to ſay, the third part athwart the ſaide Bay the depth being ſounded it is about 38.fadomes: and from the ſaid port of Balances to the white Sands toward Weſt ſouthweſt there is 15.leagues, but you muſt take heed of a ſhelfe that lyeth about 3.leagues outward frõ the ſaid white Sands on the Southweſt ſide aboue water like a boat.

Blanc Sablon, or white Sands.

Of the place called *Blanc Sablon*, or the white Sand: of the Iland of *Breſt*, and of the Iland of *Birds*, of the ſorts and quantitie of birds that there are found: and of the Port called the *Iſlettes*.

White Sand is a Road in the which there is no place guarded from the South, nor ſoutheaſt. But toward South ſouthweſt from the ſaide road there are two Ilands, one of the which is called Breſt Iland, and the other the Iland of Birds, in which there is great ſtore of Godetz, and crowes with red beakes and red feete: they make their neſtes in holes vnder the ground euen as Conies. A point of land being paſſed about a league from white Sand, there is a Port and paſſage found called the Iſlettes, a better place then white Sand: and there is great fiſhing. From the ſaid Port of the Iſlettes vnto another called Breſt, the circuit is about ten leagues. This Port is in latitude 51.degrees and 55.minutes, and in longitude*. From the Iſlettes to that place there are many other Ilands: and the ſaide Port of Breſt is alſo amongſt thoſe Ilands. Moreouer the Ilands do compaſſe more then 3.leagues from the ſaid Breſt, being low, and ouer them are the other lands aboue mentioned ſeene.

Breſt a place to the North in Newfound land.

How we with our ſhips entred into the Port of *Breſt*, and ſayling onward toward the Weſt we paſſed amidſt the *Iſlettes*, which were ſo many in number, that it was not poſſible to tell them: and how we named them the *Iſlettes*.

Vpon the 10. of Iune wee with our ſhips entred into the Port of Breſt, to furniſh our ſelues with water and wood, and to make vs ready to paſſe the ſaide Bay. Vpon S. Barnabas day Seruice being heard, we with our boats went beyond the ſaid Port toward the weſt, to ſee what harboroughes were there: wee paſſed through the midſt of the Iſlettes, which were ſo many in number that it was not poſſible they might be tolde, for they continued about 10.leagues beyond the ſaid Port. We to reſt our ſelues ſtayed in one of them a night, and there we found great ſtore of ducke egges, and other birds that there do make their neſts, we named them all The Iſlettes.

Of the Port called *S. Antonies Port, S. Seruans Port, Iames Cartiers Port;* of the riuer called *S. Iames:* of the cuſtomes and apparell of the inhabitants in the Iland of *White Sand*.

The next day we paſſed the ſaid Ilands, and beyond them all we found a good hauen, which we named S. Antonies Hauen, and one or two leagues beyond wee found a little riuer towarde the Southweſt coaſt, that is betweene two other Ilands, and is a good harborough. There we ſet vp a Croſſe, and named it S. Seruans Port: and on the Southweſt ſide of the ſaid Port and riuer, about one league there is a ſmall Il[illegible]d as round as an Ouen, enuironed about with many other litle Ilands that giue notice to the ſaid Ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater riuer, in which we tooke good ſtore of ſalmon, that we named S. Iames his Riuer. Being in the ſaid riuer, we ſaw a ſhip of Rochel that the night before had paſſed the Port of Breſt, where they thought to haue gone a fiſhing: but the Mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approched neere vnto it, and did direct it to another Port one league more toward the Weſt then the ſaid riuer of S. Iames, which I take to be one of the beſt in all the world, and therefore wee named it Iames Carthiers Sound. If the ſoile were as good as the harboroughes are, it were a great commoditie: but it is not to be called The new Land, but rather ſtones and wilde cragges, and a place fit for wilde beaſtes, for in all the North Iland I did not ſee a Cart-load of good earth: yet went I on ſhoare in many places, and in the Iland of White Sand, there is nothing elſe but moſſe and ſmall thornes ſcattered here and there, withered and dry. To be ſhort, I beleeue that this was the land that God allotted to Caine. There are men of an indifferent good ſ[illegible]ce and bigneſſe, but wilde and vnruly: they weare their haire tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pinne within it, or any other ſuch thing in ſteed of a naile, and with them they binde certaine birdes feathers. They are clothed with beaſtes ſkinnes as well the men as women, but that the women go ſomewhat ſtraiter and cloſer in their garments then the men do, with their waſtes girded: they paint themſelues with certaine Roan colours: their boates are made

The riuer of S. Iaques.

of

Boats made of the barke of Birch trees.

of the barke of birch trees, with the which they fiſh and take great ſtore of Seales, and as farre as we could vnderſtand ſince our comming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the maine land out of hotter countreys, to catch the ſaide Seales and other neceſſaries for their liuing.

Of certaine Capes, that is to ſay, *The double Cape*, *The pointed Cape*, *Cape Royal*, and *The Cape of Milke*: of the mountaines of *Granges*: of the Ilands of *Doue houſes*: and of the great fiſhing of Cods.

Vpon the 13. of that moneth we came to our ſhips againe with our boats on purpoſe to ſaile forwards becauſe the weather was faire, and vpon Sunday we cauſed Seruice to be ſaide: then on munday being the 15. of the moneth we departed from Breſt and ſailed toward the South to take a view of the lands that there wee had ſeene, that ſeemed vnto vs to bee two Ilands: but when we were amidſt the Bay, we knew it to be firme land, where was a great double Cape one aboue the other, and therefore wee named it The double Cape. In the entrance of the Bay wee ſounded, and found it to be an hundred fadome round about vs. From Breſt to The double Cape there is about 20. leagues, and about fiue or ſixe leagues beyond we ſounded againe and found 40 fadome water. The ſaid land lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt. The next day being the 16 of the moneth we ſailed along the ſaid coaſt toward the Southweſt, and by South about 35 leagues from the double Cape, where we found very ſteepe and wilde hilles, among the which were ſeene certaine ſmal cabbans, which we in the countrey call Granges, and therefore we named them The hilles of the Granges. The other lands and mountaines are all craggie, cleft and cut, and betwixt them and the Sea, there are other Ilands, but low. The day before through the darke miſts and fogges of the weather, we could not haue ſight of any land, but in the euening we ſpied an entrance into the land, by a riuer among the ſaid Hilles of Granges, and a Cape lying toward the Southweſt about 3 leagues from from vs. The ſaid Cape is on the top of it blunt-pointed, and alſo toward the Sea it endeth in a point, wherefore wee named it The pointed Cape, on the North ſide of which there is a plaine Iland. And becauſe we would haue notice of the ſaid entrance, to ſee if there were any good hauens, we ſtrooke ſaile for that night. The next day being the 17 of the moneth we had ſtormie weather from Northeaſt, wherefore we tooke our way toward the Southweſt vntill thurſday morning, and we went about 37 leagues, till wee came athwart a Bay full of round Ilands like doue houſes, and therefore wee named them The doue houſes. And from the Bay of S. Iulian, from the which to a Cape that lieth South and by Weſt, which wee called Cape Roial, there are 7. leagues, and toward the Weſt ſouthweſt ſide of the ſaide Cape, there is another that beneath is all craggie, and aboue round. On the North ſide of which about halfe a league there lieth a low Iland: that Cape we named The Cape of milke. Betweene theſe two Capes there are certaine low Ilands, aboue which there are alſo certaine others that ſhew that there be ſome riuers. About two leagues from Cape royall wee ſounded and found 20 fadome water, and there is the greateſt fiſhing of Cods that poſſible may be: for ſtaying for our company, in leſſe then an houre we tooke aboue an hundreth of them.

Of certaine Ilands that lie betweene *Cape Royal*, and *The Cape of milke*.

The next day being the 18 of the moneth, the winde with ſuch rage turned againſt vs, that we were conſtrained to go backe toward Cape Royal, thinking there to finde ſome harborough, and with our boates went to diſcouer betweene the Cape Royal, and the Cape of Milke, and found that aboue the low Ilands there is a great and very deepe gulfe, within which are certaine Ilands. The ſaid gulfe on the Southſide is ſhut vp. The foreſaid low grounds are on one of the ſides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The ſaide low grounds doe ſtretch themſelues more then halfe a league within the Sea. It is a plaine countrey, but an ill ſoile: and in the middeſt of the entrance thereof, there is an Iland. The ſaide gulfe in latitude is fourtie eight degrees and an halfe, and in longitude *. That night we found no harborough, and therefore wee lanched out into the Sea, leauing the Cape toward the Weſt.

Of the Iland called *S. Iohn*.

From the ſaid day vntill the 24 of the moneth being S. Iohns day we had both ſtormie weather and winde againſt vs, with ſuch darkeneſſe and miſtes, that vntill S. Iohns day, we could haue no ſight of any land, and then had we ſight of a Cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth Southweſt about 35 leagues, but that day was ſo foggie and miſtie, that we could not come neere land, and becauſe it was S. Iohns day, we named it Cape S. Iohn.

Of

Of certaine Ilands called the Ilands of *Margaulx*, and of the kinds of beasts and birds that there are found. Of the Iland of *Brion*, and Cape *Dolphin*.

The next day being the 25.of the moneth, the weather was alſo ſtormie, darke, and windy, but yet we ſailed a part of the day toward Weſt Northweſt, and in the euening wee put our ſelues athwart vntill the ſecond quarter; when as we departed, then did we by our compaſſe know that we were Northweſt & by Weſt about ſeuen leagues and an halfe from the Cape of S.Iohn, and as wee were about to hoiſe ſaile, the winde turned into the Northweſt, wherefore wee went Southeaſt, about 15.leagues, and came to three Ilands, two of which are as ſteepe and vpright as any wall, ſo that it was not poſſible to climbe them: and betweene them there is a little rocke. Three Ilands. Theſe Ilands were as full of birds, as any field or medow is of graſſe, which there do make their neſtes: and in the greateſt of them, there was a great and infinite number of thoſe that wee call Margaulx, that are white, and bigger then any geeſe, which were ſeuered in one part. In the other were onely Godetz; but toward the ſhoare there were of thoſe Godetz, and great Apponatz, like to thoſe of that Iland that we aboue haue mentioned: we went downe to the loweſt part of the leaſt Iland, where we killed about a thouſand of thoſe Godetz, and Apponatz. We put into our boates ſo many of them as we pleaſed, for in leſſe then one houre we might haue filled thirtie ſuch boats of them: we named them The Ilands of Margaulx. The Ilands of Margaulx. About fiue leagues frō the ſaid Ilands on the Weſt, there is another Iland that is about two leagues in length, and ſo much in breadth: there did we ſtay all night to take in water and wood. That Iland is enuironed round about with ſand, and hath a very good road about it three or foure fadome deepe. Thoſe Ilands haue the beſt ſoile that euer we ſaw, for that one of their fields is more worth then all the New land. We found it all full of goodly trees, medowes, fields full of wild corne and peaſon bloomed, as thick, as ranke, and as faire as any can be ſeene in Britaine, ſo that they ſeemed to haue bene plowed and ſowed. There was alſo great ſtore of gooſeberies, ſtrawberies, damaſke roſes, parſeley, with other very ſweete and pleaſant hearbes. About the ſaid Iland are very great beaſtes as great as oxen, which haue two great teeth in their mouths like vnto Elephants teeth, & liue alſo in the Sea. Morſes or Sea oxen. We ſaw one of them ſleeping vpon the banke of the water: wee thinking to take it, went to it with our boates, but ſo ſoone as he heard vs, he caſt himſelfe into the Sea. We alſo ſaw beares & wolues: we named it Briones Iland. About it toward Southeaſt, and Northweſt, there are great lakes. Brions Iland. As farre as I could gather and comprehend, I thinke that there be ſome paſſage betweene New found land, and Brions land. If ſo it were, it would be a great ſhortning, aſwel of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About foure leagues from that Iland toward Weſt-Southweſt is the firme land, which ſeemeth to be as an Iland compaſſed about with litle Ilands of ſands. There is a goodly Cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27.of Iune we compaſſed the ſaid lands about that lie Weſt Southweſt: and a farre off they ſeeme to be little hilles of ſand, for they are but low landes: wee could neither goe to them, nor land on them, becauſe the winde was againſt vs. That day we went 15.leagues.

Of the Iland called *Alezai*, and of the cape of *S. Peter*.

The next day we went along the ſaid land about 10.leagues, till we came to a Cape of redde land, that is all craggie, within the which there is a bracke looking toward the North. It is a very low countrey. There is alſo betweene the Sea and a certaine poole, a plaine field: and from that Cape of land and the poole vnto another Cape, there are about 14 leagues. The land is faſhioned as it were halfe a circle, all compaſſed about with ſand like a ditch, ouer which as farre as ones eye can ſtretch, there is nothing but marriſh grounds and ſtanding pooles. And before you come to the firſt Cape, very neere the maine land there are two little Ilands. About fiue leagues from the ſecond Cape toward the Southweſt, there is another Iland very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The firſt Cape we named S.Peters Cape, becauſe vpon that day we came thither.

Of the Cape called *Cape Orleans*: of the Riuer of Boates: of Wilde mens Cape: and of the qualitie and temperature of the countrey.

From Brions Iland to this place there is good anckorage of ſand, and hauing ſounded toward Southweſt euen to the ſhoare about fiue leagues, wee found twentie and fiue fadome water, and within one league twelue fadome, and very neere the ſhoare ſixe fadome, rather more then leſſe, and alſo good anckorage. But becauſe wee would bee the better acquainted with this ſtonie and rockie ground, wee ſtrooke our ſailes lowe and athwart. The next day being the laſt of the moneth ſaue one, the winde blewe South and by Eaſt. Wee ſailed Weſtward vntill Tueſday morning at Sunne riſing, being the laſt of the moneth, without any ſight or knowledge of any lande, except in the euening toward Sunne ſet, that wee diſcouered a lande which ſeemed to be two Ilands, that were beyond vs Weſt ſouthweſt, about nine or tenne leagues. All the next day till the next morning at Sunne riſing wee ſailed Weſtward about fourtie leagues, and by the way we perceiued that the land we had ſeene like Ilands, was firme land, lying South ſoutheaſt, and North northweſt, to a very good Cape of land called Cape Orleans. Al the ſaid land is low and plaine, and the faireſt that may poſſibly be ſeene, full of goodly medowes and trees. True it is that we could finde no harborough there, becauſe it is all full of ſhelues and ſands. We with our boats went on ſhore in many places, and among the reſt wee entred into a goodly riuer, but very ſhallow, which we named The riuer of boats, becauſe that there wee ſaw boates full of wild men that were croſſing the riuer. We had no other notice of the ſaid wild men: for the wind came from the ſea, and ſo beat vs againſt the ſhore, that wee were conſtrained to retire our ſelues with our boates toward our ſhips. Till the next day morning at Sunne riſing, being the firſt of Iuly, we ſailed Northeaſt, in which time there roſe great miſtes and ſtormes, and therefore wee ſtrucke our ſailes till two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the weather became cleare, & there we had ſight of Cape Orleance, and of another about ſeuen leagues from vs, lying North and by Eaſt, and that we called Wilde mens Cape. On the Northſide of this Cape about halfe a league, there is a very dangerous ſhelfe, and banke of ſtones. Whileſt wee were at this Cape, we ſawe a man running after our boates that were going along the coaſt, who made ſignes vnto vs that we ſhould returne toward the ſaid Cape againe. We ſeeing ſuch ſignes, began to turne toward him, but he ſeeing vs come, began to flee: ſo ſoone as we were come on ſhoare, we ſet a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a litle ſtaffe, and then came to our ſhips againe. That day we trended the ſaid land about 9. or 10. leagues, hoping to finde ſome good harborough, but it was not poſſible: for as I haue ſaid already, it is a very low land, and enuironed round about with great ſhelues. Neuertheleſſe we went that day on ſhore in foure places to ſee the goodly and ſweete ſmelling trees that were there: we found them to be Cedars, ewetrees, Pines, white elmes, aſhes, willowes, with many other ſorts of trees to vs vnknowen, but without any fruit. The grounds where no wood is, are very faire, and all full of peaſon, white and red gooſeberies, ſtrawberies, blackeberies, and wilde corne, euen like vnto Rie, which ſeemed to haue bene ſowen and plowed. This countrey is of better temperature then any other that can be ſeene, and very hote. There are many thruſhes, ſtockdoues, and other birds: to be ſhort, there wanteth nothing but good harboroughs.

An exceeding goodly land.

Varietie of goodly trees.

Of the Bay called S. *Lunario*, and other notable Bayes and Capes of land, and of the qualitie, and goodneſſe of thoſe grounds.

The next day being the ſecond of Iuly we diſcouered and had ſight of land on the Northerne ſide toward vs, that did ioyne vnto the land aboueſaid, al compaſſed about, and we knew that it had about * in depth, and as much athwart, we named it S. Lunarios Bay, and with our boats we went to the Cape toward the North, and found the ſhore ſo ſhallow, that for the ſpace of a league from land there was but a fadome water. On the Northeaſt ſide from the ſaid Cape about 7. or 8. leagues there is another Cape of land, in the middeſt whereof there is a Bay faſhioned trianglewiſe, very deepe, & as farre off as we could ken from it the ſame lieth Northeaſt. The ſaid Bay is compaſſed about with ſands and ſhelues about 10. leagues from land, and there is but two fadome water: from the ſaid Cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15. leagues. We being a croſſe the ſaid Capes, diſcouered another land and Cape, and as farre as we could ken, it lay North and by Eaſt. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, ſo that wee were conſtrained to beare a ſmal ſaile vntill the next morning, being the thirde of Iuly when the winde came from the Weſt: and we ſailed Northward to haue a ſight of the land that we had left on the Northeaſt ſide, aboue the low lands, among which high and low lands there is a gulfe or breach in ſome places about 55. fadome deepe, and 15. leagues in bredth. By reaſon of the great depth and bredth of the gulfe, and change of the lands, we conceiued hope that wee ſhould finde a paſſage, like vnto the paſſage of The Caſtles. The ſaid gulfe lieth Eaſt Northeaſt, and Weſt ſouthweſt. The ground that lieth on the Southſide of the ſaid gulfe, is as good and eaſie to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadowes, as any that euer wee haue ſeene, as plaine and ſmooth as any die: and that which lyeth on the North is a countrey altogether hilly, full of woods, and very high and great trees of ſundry ſorts: among the reſt there are as goodly Ceders, and Firre trees, as poſſibly can be ſeene, able to make maſtes for ſhips of three hundred Tunne: neither did we ſee any place that was not full of the ſaide trees, except two onely that were full of goodly medowes, with two very faire lakes. The middeſt of the ſaid Bay is 47. degrees and halfe in latitude.

The paſſage des Chaſteaux.

Trees able to maſt ſhips of 300. tunnes.

Of the *Cape D'Eſperance*, or the Cape *of Hope*, and of *S. Martins Creeke*, and how 7. boats full of wilde men comming to our boat, would not retire themſelues, but being terrified with our Culuerins which we ſhot at them, and our lances, they fled with great haſt.

The Cape of the ſaid South land was called The Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to finde ſome paſſage. The fourth of July we went along the coaſt of the ſaid land on the Northerly ſide to finde ſome harborough, where wee entred into a creeke altogether open toward the South, where there is no ſuccour againſt the wind: we thought good to name it S. Martines Creeke. There we ſtayed from the fourth of July vntil the twelfth: while we were there, on Munday being the ſixth of the moneth, Seruice being done, wee with one of our boates went to diſcouer a Cape and point of land that on the Weſterne ſide was about ſeuen or eight leagues from vs, to ſee which way it did bend, and being within halfe a league of it, wee ſawe two companies of boates of wilde men going from one land to the other: their boates were in number about fourtie or fiftie. One part of the which came to the ſaid point, and a great number of the men went on ſhore making a great noiſe, beckening vnto vs that wee ſhould come on land, ſhewing vs certaine ſkinnes vpon pieces of wood, but becauſe we had but one onely boat, wee would not goe to them, but went to the other ſide lying in the Sea: they ſeeing vs flee, prepared two of their boats to follow vs, with which came alſo fiue more of them that were comming from the Sea ſide, all which approched neere vnto our boate, dancing, and making many ſignes of ioy and mirth, as it were deſiring our friendſhip, ſaying in their tongue Napeu tondamen aſſurtah, with many other words that we vnderſtood not. But becauſe (as we haue ſaid) we had but one boat, wee would not ſtand to their curteſie, but made ſignes vnto them that they ſhould turne back, which they would not do, but with great furie came toward vs: and ſuddenly with their boates compaſſed vs about: and becauſe they would not away from vs by any ſignes that we could make, we ſhot off two pieces among them, which did ſo terrifie them, that they put themſelues to flight toward the ſayde point, making a great noiſe: and hauing ſtaid a while, they began anew, euen as at the firſt to come to vs againe, and being come neere our boat wee ſtrucke at them with two lances, which thing was ſo great a terrour vnto them, that with great haſt they beganne to flee, and would no more follow vs.

Fortie or 50 boates of Saluages.

How the ſaid wilde men comming to our ſhips, and our men going toward them, both parties went on land, and how the ſaid wilde men with great ioy began to trafique with our men.

The next day part of the ſaide wilde men with nine of their boates came to the point and entrance of the Creeke, where we with our ſhips were at road. We being aduertiſed of their comming, went to the point where they were with our boates: but ſo ſoone as they ſaw vs, they began to flee, making ſignes that they came to trafique with vs, ſhewing vs ſuch ſkinnes as they cloth themſelues withall, which are of ſmall value. We likewiſe made ſignes vnto them, that we wiſhed them no euill: and in ſigne thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and cary them kniues with other Iron wares, and a red hat to giue vnto their Captaine. Which when they ſaw, they alſo came on land, and brought ſome of their ſkinnes, and ſo began to deale with vs, ſeeming to be very glad to haue our iron wares and other things, ſtil dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to caſt Sea water on their heads. They gaue vs whatſoeuer they had, not keeping any thing, ſo that they were conſtrained to goe backe againe naked, and made vs ſignes that the next day they would come againe, and bring more ſkinnes with them.

How that we hauing ſent two of our men on land with wares, there came about 300. wilde men with great gladneſſe. Of the qualitie of the countrey, what it bringeth foorth, and of the Bay called *Baia du Chaleur*, or *The Bay of heat*.

Vpon thurſday being the eight of the moneth, becauſe the winde was not good to go out with our ſhips, we ſet our boates in a readineſſe to goe to diſcouer the ſaid Bay, and that day wee went 25. leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being faire, we ſailed vntil noone, in which time we had notice of a great part of the ſaid Bay, and how that ouer the low lands, there were other lands with high mountaines: but ſeeing that there was no paſſage at all, wee began to turne back againe, taking our way along the coaſt: & ſayling, we ſaw certaine wilde men that ſtood vpon the ſhore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and ſmokes: wee went thither, & found that there was a chanel of the ſea that did enter into the lake, and ſetting our boats at one of the banks of the chanell, the wilde men with one of their boates came vnto vs, and brought vp pieces of Seales ready ſodden, putting them vpon pieces of wood: then retiring themſelues, they would make ſignes vnto vs, that they did giue them vs. Wee ſent two men vnto them with hatchets, kniues, beads, & other ſuch like ware, whereat they were very glad, and by and by in cluſters they came to the ſhore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them ſkinnes and other ſuch things as they had, to haue of our wares. They were more then 300, men, women and children: ſome of the women which came not ouer, wee might ſee ſtand vp to the knees in water, ſinging and dancing: the other that had paſſed the riuer where we were, came very friendly to vs, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would they lift them vp toward heauen, ſhewing many ſignes of gladneſſe: and in ſuch wiſe were wee aſſured one of another, that we very familiarly began to traffique for whatſoeuer they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gaue vs all whatſoeuer they had, and that was but of ſmall value. We perceiued that this people might very eaſily be conuerted to our Religion. They goe from place to place. They liue onely with fiſhing. They haue an ordinarie time to fiſh for their prouiſion. The countrey is hotter then the countrey of Spaine, and the faireſt that can poſſibly be found, altogether ſmooth, and leuel. There is no place be it neuer ſo little, but it hath ſome trees (yea albeit it be ſandie) or elſe is full of wilde corne, that hath an eare like vnto Rie: the corne is like oates, and ſmal peaſon as thicke as if they had bene ſowen and plowed, white and red gooſeberies, ſtrawberies, blackberies, white and red Roſes, with many other floures of very ſweet and pleaſant ſmell. There be alſo many goodly medowes full of graſſe, and lakes wherein great plentie of ſalmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon: we named it The bay of heat.

Three hundred gentle Sauages.

Baye du Chaleur, or the Bay of heat.

¶ Of another nation of wilde men: of their maners, liuing and clothing.

BEing certified that there was no paſſage through the ſaid Bay, we hoiſed ſaile, and went from S. Martines Creeke vpon Sunday being the 12. of Iuly, to goe and diſcouer further beyond the ſaid Bay, and went along the ſea coaſt Eaſtward about eighteene leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but ſhallow ground, and the Sea ſtormie, ſo that we were conſtrained to draw toward ſhore, betweene the ſaid Cape and an Iland lying Eaſtward, about a league from the ſaid Cape, where we caſt ancker for that night. The next morning we hoiſed ſaile to trend the ſaid coaſt about, which lyeth North Northeaſt. But there roſe ſuch a ſtormie and raging winde againſt vs, that we were conſtrained to come to the place againe, from whence we were come: there d[illegible] we ſtay all that day til the next that we hoiſed vp ſaile, and came to the middeſt of a riuer fiue or [illegible]e leagues from the Cape of Prato Northward, and being ouerthwart the ſaid Riuer, there aroſe againe a contrary winde, with great fogges and ſtormes. So that we were conſtrained vpon Tueſday being the fourteenth of the moneth to enter into the riuer, and there did we ſtay till the ſixteenth of the moneth looking for faire weather to come out of it: on which day being Thurſday, the winde became ſo raging that one of our ſhips loſt an ancker, and we were conſtrained to goe vp higher into the riuer ſeuen or eight leagues, into a good harborough and ground that we with our boates found out, and through the euill weather, tempeſt, and darkeneſſe that was, wee ſtayed in the ſaide harborough till the fiue and twentieth of the moneth, not being able to put out: in the meane time wee ſawe a great multitude of wilde men that were fiſhing for mackerels, whereof there is great ſtore. Their boates were about 40, and the perſons what with men, women & children two hundred, which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the ſides of our ſhips. We gaue them kniues, combes, beads of glaſſe, and other trifles of ſmall value, for which they made many ſignes of gladneſſe, lifting their hands vp to heauen dancing and ſinging in their boates. Theſe men may very well and truely be called Wilde, becauſe there is no poorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, beſides their boates and nets was not worth fiue ſouce. They goe altogether naked ſauing their priuities, which are couered with a little ſkinne, and certaine olde ſkinnes that they caſt vpon them. Neither in nature nor in language, doe they any whit agree with them which we found firſt: their heads be altogether ſhauen, except one buſh of haire which they ſuffer to grow vpon the top of their crowne as long as a horſe taile, & then with certaine leather ſtrings binde it in a knot vpon their heads. They haue no other dwelling but their boates, which they turne vpſide downe, and vnder them they lay themſelues all along vpon the bare ground. They eate their fleſh almoſt raw, ſaue onely that they heate it a little vpon imbers of coales, ſo doe they their fiſh. Vpon Magdalens day we with our boates went to the bancke of the riuer, and freely went on ſhore among them, whereat they made many ſignes, and all their men in two or three companies began to ſing and dance, ſeeming to be very glad of our comming. They had cauſed all the yong women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that ſtayed with them, to ech of whi we gaue a combe, and a little bell made of Tinne, for which they were very glad, thanking our Captaine, rubbing his armes and breaſts with their hands. When the men ſaw vs giue ſomething vnto thoſe that had ſtayed, it cauſed al the reſt to come out of the wood, to the end they ſhould haue as much as the others: Theſe women were about twenty, who altogether in a knot fell vpon our Captaine, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their maner of cheriſhing and making much of one, who gaue to each of them a little Tinne bell: then ſuddenly they began to dance, and ſing many ſongs. There we found great ſtore of Mackrels, that they had taken vpon the ſhore, with certaine nets that they make to fiſh, of a kind of Hempe that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide, for they neuer come to the ſea, but onely in fiſhing time. As farre as I vnderſtand, there groweth likewiſe a kinde of Millet as big as Peaſon, like vnto that which groweth in Breſil, which they eate in ſtead of bread. They had great ſtore of it. They call it in their tongue Kapaige. They haue alſo Prunes, (that is to ſay Damſins) which they dry for winter as we doe, they call them Honeſta. They haue alſo Figs, Nuts, Apples, and other fruits, and Beans, that they call Sahu, their nuts Cahehya. If we ſhewed them any thing that they haue not, nor know not what it is, ſhaking their heads, they will ſay Nohda, which is as much to ſay, they haue it not, nor they know it not. Of thoſe things they haue, they would with ſignes ſhew vs how to dreſſe them, and how they grow. They eate nothing that hath any taſte of ſalt. They are very great theeues, for they will filch and ſteale whatſoeuer they can lay hold of, and all is fiſh that commeth to net.

Hempe.

Maiz.

Damſins, figs, nuts, apples.

¶ How our men ſet vp a great Croſſe vpon the point of the ſayd Porte, and the Captaine of thoſe wild men, after a long Oration, was by our Captain appeaſed, and contented that two of his Children ſhould goe with him.

Vpon the 24 of the moneth, wee cauſed a faire high Croſſe to be made of the height of thirty foote, which was made in the preſence of many of them, vpon the point of the entrance of the ſayd hauen, in the middeſt whereof we hanged vp a Shield with three Floure de Luces in it, and in the top was carued in the wood with Anticke letters this poſie, *Viue le Roy de France*. Then before them all we ſet it vpon the ſayd point. They with great heed beheld both the making and ſetting of it vp. So ſoone as it was vp, we altogether kneeled downe before them, with our hands toward Heauen, yeelding God thankes: and we made ſignes vnto them, ſhewing them the Heauens, and that all our ſaluation dependeth onely on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they ſhewed a great admiration, looking firſt one at another, and then vpon the Croſſe. And after wee were returned to our ſhips, their Captaine clad with an old Beares ſkin, with three of his ſonnes, and a brother of his with him, came vnto vs in one of their boates, but they came not ſo neere vs as they were wont to doe: there he made a long Oration vnto vs, ſhewing vs the croſſe we had ſet vp, and making a croſſe with two fingers, then did he ſhew vs all the Countrey about vs, as if he would ſay that all was his, and that wee ſhould not ſet vp any croſſe without his leaue. His talke being ended, we ſhewed him an Axe, faining that we would giue it him for his ſkin, to which he liſtned, for by little and little hee came neere our ſhips. One of our fellowes that was in our boate, tooke hold on theirs, and ſuddenly leapt into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ſhips, wherat they were greatly aſtoniſhed. But our Captain did ſtraight waies aſſure them, that they ſhould haue no harme, nor any iniurie offred them at all, & entertained them very friendly, making them eate and drinke. Then did we ſhew them with ſignes, that the croſſe was but onely ſet vp to be as a light and leader which wayes to enter into the port, and that wee would ſhortly come againe, and bring good ſtore of iron wares & other things, but that we would take two of his children with vs, & afterward bring them to the ſayd port againe: and ſo wee clothed two of them in ſhirts, and coloured coates, with red cappes, and put about euery ones necke a copper chaine, whereat they were greatly contented: then gaue they their old clothes to their fellowes that went backe againe, and we gaue to each one of thoſe three that went backe, a hatchet, and ſome kniues, which made them very glad. After theſe were gone, and had told the newes vnto their fellowes, in the after noone there came to our ſhips ſixe boates of them, with fiue or ſixe men in euery one, to take their farewels of thoſe two we had detained to take with vs, and brought them ſome fiſh, vttering many words which we did not vnderſtand, making ſignes that they would not remoue the croſſe we had ſet vp.

This hauen ſeemeth to be Gaspay.

Two ſauages taken.

¶ How after we were departed from the ſayd porte, following our voyage along the ſayd coaſt, we went to diſcouer the land lying Southeaſt, and Northweſt.

The next day, being the 25 of the moneth, we had faire weather, and went from the ſaid port: and being out of the riuer, we ſailed Eaſtnortheaſt, for after the entrance into the ſaid riuer, the land is enuironed about, and maketh a bay in maner of halfe a circle, where being in our ſhips, we might ſee all the coaſt ſayling behind, which we came to ſeeke, the land lying Southeaſt and Northweſt, the courſe of which was diſtant from the riuer about twentie leagues.

Of the Cape *S. Aluiſe*, and *Cape Memorancie*, and certaine other lands, and how one of our Boates touched a Rocke and ſuddenly went ouer it.

ON munday being the 27 of the moneth, about ſunne-ſet we went along the ſaid land, as we haue ſaid, lying Southeaſt & Northweſt, till Wedneſday that we ſaw another Cape where the land beginneth to bend toward the Eaſt: we went along about 15 leagues, then doeth the land begin to turne Northward. About three leagues from the ſayd Cape we ſounded, and found 24 fadome water. The ſaid lands are plaine, and the faireſt and moſt without woods that we haue ſeene, with goodly greene fields and medowes: we named the ſayd Cape S. Aluiſe Cape, becauſe that was his day: it is 49 degrees and a halfe in latitude, and in longitude *. On Wedneſday morning we were on the Eaſt ſide of the Cape, and being almoſt night we went Northweſtward for to approch neere to the ſayd land, which trendeth North and South. From S. Aluiſe Cape to another called Cape Memorancie, about fifteene leagues, the land beginneth to bend Northweſt. About three leagues from the ſayd Cape we would needes ſound, but wee could finde no ground at 150 fadome, yet went we along the ſaid land, about tenne leagues, to the latitude of 50 degrees. The Saturday following, being the firſt of Auguſt, by Sunne riſing, wee had certaine other landes, lying North and Northeaſt, that were very high and craggie, and ſeemed to be mountaines: betweene which were other low lands with woods and riuers: wee went about the ſayd lands, as well on the one ſide as on the other, ſtill bending Northweſt, to ſee if it were either a gulfe, or a paſſage, vntill the fift of the moneth. The diſtance from one land to the other is about fifteene leagues. The middle betweene them both is 50 degrees and a terce in latitude. We had much adoe to go fiue miles farther, the winds were ſo great, and the tide againſt vs. And at fiue miles end, we might plainely ſee and perceiue land on both ſides, which there beginneth to ſpread it ſelfe, but becauſe we rather fell, then got way againſt the wind, we went toward land, purpoſing to goe to another Cape of land, lying Southward, which was the farthermoſt out into the ſea that we could ſee, about fiue leagues from vs, but ſo ſoone as we came thither, we found it to be naught elſe but Rockes, ſtones, & craggie cliffes, ſuch as we had not found any where ſince we had ſailed Southward from S. Iohns Cape: and then was the tide with vs, which caried vs againſt the wind Weſtward, ſo that as we were ſayling along the ſayd coaſt, one of our boats touched a Rocke, and ſuddenly went ouer, but we were conſtrained to leape out for to direct it on according to the tide.

Fiftie degrees of latitude.

How after we had agreed and conſulted what was beſt to be done, we purpoſed to returne: and of *S. Peters* Streight, and of *Cape Tiennot*.

AFter we had ſailed along the ſayd coaſt, for the ſpace of two houres, behold, the tide began to turne againſt vs, with ſo ſwift and raging a courſe, that it was not poſſible for vs with 13 oares to row or get one ſtones caſt farther, ſo that we were conſtrained to leaue our boates with ſome of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went aſhore to the ſayd Cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend Southweſt, which hauing ſeene, we came to our boats againe, and ſo to our ſhips, which were ſtil ready vnder ſaile, hoping to go forward: but for all that, they were fallen more then foure leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where ſo ſoone as we came, wee aſſembled together all our Captaines, Maſters, and Mariners, to haue their aduice and opinion what was beſt to be done: and after that euery one had ſaid, conſidering that the Eaſterly winds began to beare ſway, and blow, & that the flood was ſo great, that we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten, and that ſtormes and tempeſts began to reigne in Newfound land, and that we were ſo farre from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we muſt agree to returne home againe, or els to ſtay there all the yeere. Moreouer, we did conſider, that if the Northerne winds did take vs, it were not poſſible for vs to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and conſidered, we altogether determined to addreſſe our ſelues homeward. Nowe becauſe vpon Saint Peters day wee entred into the ſayd Streite, wee named it Saint Peters Streite. Wee ſounded it in many places, in ſome wee found 150 fadome water, in ſome 100, and neere the ſhoare ſixtie, and cleere ground. From that day till Wedneſday following, we had a good and proſperous gale of winde, ſo that we trended the ſaid North ſhore Eaſt, Southeaſt, Weſt Northweſt: for ſuch is the ſituation of it, except one Cape of low lands that bendeth more toward the Southeaſt, about twenty fiue leagues from the

The Streit of S. Peter.

the Streight. In this place we ſaw certaine ſmokes, that the people of the countrey made vpon the ſayd cape: but becauſe the wind blewe vs toward the coaſt, we went not to them, which when they ſaw, they came with two boates and twelue men vnto vs, and as freely came vnto our ſhips, as if they had bene French men, and gaue vs to vnderſtand, that they came from the great gulfe, and that Tiennot was their Captaine, who then was vpon that Cape, making ſignes vnto vs, that they were going home to their Countreys whence we were come with our ſhips, and that they were laden with Fiſh. We named the ſayd Cape, Cape Tiennot. From the ſaid Cape all the land trendeth Eaſtſoutheaſt, and Weſtnorthweſt. All theſe lands lie low, very pleaſant, enuironed with ſand, where the ſea is entermingled with mariſhes and ſhallowes, the ſpace of twentie leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from Weſt to Eaſtnortheaſt altogether enuironed with Iſlands two or three leagues from land, in which as farre as we could ſee, are many dangerous ſhelues more then foure or fiue leagues from land.

Cape Tiennot.

How that vpon the ninth of Auguſt wee entred within *White Sands*, and vpon the fift of September we came to the port of *S. Malo*.

FRom the ſayd Wedneſday vntill Saturday following, we had a great wind from the Southweſt, which cauſed vs to run Eaſtnortheaſt, on which day we came to the Eaſterly partes of Newfoundland, betweene the Granges and the Double Cape. There began great ſtormie winds comming frō the Eaſt with great rage: wherfore we coaſted the Cape Northnorthweſt, to ſearch the Northerne part, which is (as we haue ſayd) all enuironed with Iſlands, and being neere the ſaid Iſlands and land, the wind turned into the South, which brought vs within the ſayd gulfe, ſo that the next day being the 9 of Auguſt, we by the grace of God entred within the White Sands. And this is ſo much as we haue diſcouered. After that, vpon the 15 of Auguſt, being the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, after that we had heard ſeruice, we altogether departed from the porte of White Sands, and with a happy and proſperous weather we came into the middle of the ſea, that is betweene Newfound land and Britanie, in which place we were toſt and turmoyled three dayes long with great ſtormes and windy tempeſts comming from the Eaſt, which with the ayde and aſſiſtance of God we ſuffred: then had we faire weather, and vpon the fift of September, in the ſayd yere, we came to the port of S. Malo whence we departed.

The language that is ſpoken in the Land newly diſcouered, called *New France*.

God		Gold	*benyoſco*
the Sunne	*Iſnez*	the priuie members	*aſſegnega*
the Heauen	*camet*	an Arrow	*cacta*
the Day		a greene Tree	*haneda*
the Night	*aiagla*	an earthen diſh	*undaco*
Water	*ame*	a Bow	
Sand	*eſtogaz*	Braſſe	*aignetaze*
a Sayle	*aganie*	the Brow	*anſce*
the Head	*agonaze*	a Feather	*yco*
the Throate	*conguedo*	the Moone	*caſmogan*
the Noſe	*hebongueſto*	the Earth	*conda*
the Teeth	*heſangue*	the Wind	*canut*
the Nayles	*agetaſcu*	the Raine	*onnoſcon*
the Feete	*ochedaſco*	Bread	*cacacomy*
the Legs	*anondaſco*	the Sea	*amet*
a dead man	*amocdaza*	a Ship	*caſaomy*
a Skinne	*aionaſca*	a Man	*undo*
that Man	*yca*	the Haires	*hoc hoſco*
a Hatchet	*aſogne*	the Eyes	*ygata*
a Cod fiſh	*gadagourſere*	the Mouth	*hecbe*
good to be eaten	*gueſande*	the Eares	*hontaſco*
Fleſh		the Armes	*ageſcu*
Almonds	*anongaza*	a Woman	*enraſeſco*
Figs	*aſconda*	a ſicke Man	*alonedeche*

Shooes	*atta*	a Mackrell	*agedoneta*
a ſkinne to couer a mans priuy mẽbers	*ouſcozon vondico*	Nuttes	*cabeya*
		Apples	*honeſta*
red cloth	*caboneta*	Beanes	*ſabe*
a Knife	*agoheda*	a Sword	*acheſco*

A ſhorte and briefe narration of the Nauigation made by the commandement of the King of *France*, to the Iſlands of *Canada*, *Hochelaga*, *Saguenay*, and diuers others which now are called *New France*, with the particular cuſtomes, and maners of the inhabitants therein.

Chap. 1.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1535, vpon Whitſunday, being the 16 of May, by the commandement of our Captaine Iames Cartier, and with a common accord, in the Cathedrall Church of S.Malo we deuoutly each one confeſſed our ſelues, and receiued the Sacrament: and all entring into the Quier of the ſayd Church, wee preſented our ſelues before the Reuerend Father in Chriſt, the Lord Biſhop of S. Malo, who bleſſed vs all, being in his Biſhops roabes. The Wedneſday following, being the 19 of May, there aroſe a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoyſed ſayle with three ſhips, that is to ſay, the great Hermina, being in burden about a hundreth, or a hundreth and twenty tunne, wherin the foreſaid Captaine Iames Cartier was Generall, and maſter Thomas Froſmont chiefe Maſter, accompanied with maſter Claudius de Pont Briand, ſonne to the Lorde of Montceuell, and Cup-bearer to the Dolphin of France, Charles of Pomeraies, Iohn Powlet, and other Gentlemen. In the ſecond ſhip called the little Hermina, being of three ſcore tunne burden, were Captaines vnder the ſayd Cartier, Mace Salobert, and maſter William Marie. In the third ſhip called the Hermerillon, being of forty tunne in burden, were Captains M. William Britton, and M. Iames Maingare. So we ſayled with a good and proſperous wind, vntill the 20 of the ſaid moneth, at which time the weather turned into ſtormes and tempeſts, the which with contrary winds, and darkeneſſe, endured ſo long that our ſhips being without any reſt, ſuffered as much as any ſhips that euer went on ſeas: ſo that the 25 of Iune, by reaſon of that foule and foggie weather, all our ſhips loſt ſight one of another againe till wee came to Newfound land where we had appointed to meete. After we had loſt one another, wee in the Generals ſhip were with contrary windes toſt to and fro on the ſea, vntill the ſeuenth of Iuly, vpon which day we arriued in Newe found land, and came to the Iſland called The Iſland of Birds, which lyeth from the maine land 14 leagues. This Iſland is ſo full of birds, that all our ſhips might eaſily haue bene fraighted with them, & yet for the great number that there is, it would not ſeeme that any were taken away. We to victuall our ſelues filled two boats of them. This Iſland hath the Pole eleuated 49 degrees, and 40 minutes. Vpon the eight of the ſayd moneth we ſailed further, & with a proſperous weather came to the Port called The Port of white ſands, that is in the Bay called The Bay of Caſtels, where we had purpoſed to meete & ſtay together the 15 of the ſaid moneth. In this place therefore we looked for our fellowes, that is to ſay, the other two ſhips, till the 26 of the moneth, on which day both came together. So ſoone as our fellowes were come, we ſet our ſhips in a readines, taking in both water, wood, & other neceſſaries. And then on the 29 of the ſayd moneth, early in the morning we hoiſed ſaile to paſſe on further, & ſayling along the Northerne coaſt that runneth Northeaſt and Southweſt, til two houres after Sun-ſet or thereabouts, then we croſſed along two Iſlands, which doe ſtretch further foorth then the others, which we called S.Williams Iſlands, being diſtant about 20 leagues or more from the Port of Breſt. All the coaſt from the Caſtels to that place lieth Eaſt & Weſt, Northeaſt & Southweſt, hauing betweene it ſundry little Iſlands, altogether barren and full of ſtones, without either earth or trees, except certain valleys only. The next day being the 30 of Iuly, we ſailed on Weſtward to find out other Iſlands which as yet we had not found 12 leagues and a halfe, among which there is a great Bay toward the North all full of Iſlands and great creekes where many good harboroughs ſeeme to be: them we named S.Marthas Iſlands, from which about a league and a halfe further into the ſea there is a dangerous ſhallow, wherein are fiue rockes, which lie from Saint Marthas Iſlands about ſeuen leagues as you paſſe into the ſayd Iſlands, on the Eaſt & on the Weſt ſide, to which we came the ſayd day an houre after noone, & from that houre vntill midnight we ſailed about fifteene leagues athwart a cape of the lower Iſlands, which we named S.Germans Iſlands Southeaſtward, from which place about three leagues, there is a very dangerous ſhallow. Likewiſe betweene S.Germans cape and Saint Marthas, about two leagues from the ſayd Iſlands, there lyeth a banke

The Iſle of birds in 49 degrees 40 minutes.

The Bay des Chaſteaux or The Grand Bay.

of ſand, vpon which banke the water is but foure fadome deepe, and therefore ſeeing the danger of the coaſt, we ſtrucke ſaile and went no further that night: The next day being the laſt of Iuly, we went all along the coaſt that runneth Eaſt and Weſt, and ſomewhat Southeaſterly which is all enuironed about with Iſlands and drie ſands, and in trueth is very dangerous. The length from S.Germans Cape to the ſaid Iſlands is about 17 leagues and a halfe, at the end of which there is a goodly plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the reſt of the coaſt be compaſſed about with ſands without any ſigne or ſhew of harboroughs, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which ſtretcheth Northweſt about ſeuen leagues from the foreſaid Iſlands, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therefore we ſailed on all that night Weſt and Weſtnorthweſt, till it was day, and then the wind turned againſt vs, wherefore we went to ſeeke a hauen wherein we might harbour our ſhips, and by good hap, found one fit for our purpoſe, about ſeuen leagues and a halfe beyond Cape Thiennot, & that we named S.Nicholas Hauen, it lieth amidſt 4 Iſlands that ſtretch into the ſea: Vpon the neereſt wee for a token ſet vp a woodden croſſe. But note by the way, that this croſſe muſt be brought Northeaſt, & then bending toward it, leaue it on the left hand and you ſhall find ſixe fadome water, and within the hauen foure. Alſo you are to take heede of two ſhelues that leane outward halfe a league. All this coaſt is full of ſhoulds and very dangerous, albeit in ſight many good hauens ſeeme to be there, yet is there nought elſe but ſhelues and ſands. We ſtaied and reſted our ſelues in the ſayd hauen, vntill the ſeuenth of Auguſt being Sonday: on which day we hoyſed ſayle, and came toward land on the South ſide toward Cape Rabaſt, diſtant from the ſayd hauen about twentie leagues Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt: but the next day there roſe a ſtormie and a contrary winde, and becauſe we could find no hauen there toward the South, thence we went coaſting along toward the North, beyond the aboueſayd hauen about ten leagues, where we found a goodly great gulfe, full of Iſlands, paſſages, and entrences toward what wind ſoeuer you pleaſe to bend: for the knowledge of this gulfe there is a great Iſland that is like to a Cape of lands, ſtretching ſomewhat further foorth than the others, and about two leagues within the land, there is an hill faſhioned as it were an heape of corne. We named the ſayd gulfe Saint Laurence his bay. The twelfth of the ſayd moneth wee went from the ſayd Saint Laurence his Bay, or gulfe, ſayling Weſtward, and diſcouered a Cape of land toward the South, that runneth Weſt and by South, diſtant from the ſayd Saint Laurence his Bay, about fiue and twenty leagues. And of the two wilde men which wee tooke in our former voyage, it was tolde vs, that this was part of the Southerne coaſte, & that there was an Iſland, on the Southerly parte of which is the way to goe from Honguedo (where the yeere before we had taken them) to Canada, and that two dayes iourney from the ſayd Cape, and Iſland began the Kingdome of Saguenay, on the North ſhore extending toward Canada, and about three leagues athwart the ſayd Cape, there is aboue a hundreth fadome water. Moreouer I beleeue that there were neuer ſo many Whales ſeen as wee ſaw that day about the ſayd Cape. The next day after being our Ladie day of Auguſt the fifteenth of the moneth, hauing paſſed the Straight, we had notice of certaine lands that wee left toward the South, which landes are full of very great and high hilles, and this Cape wee named The Iſland of the Aſſumption, and one Cape of the ſaid high countreys lyeth Eaſtnortheaſt, and Weſtſouthweſt, the diſtance betweene which is about fiue and twenty leagues. The Countreys lying North may plainely be perceiued to be higher then the Southerly, more then thirty leagues in length. We trended the ſayd landes about toward the South: from the ſayd day vntill Tewesday noone following, the winde came Weſt, and therefore wee bended toward the North, purpoſing to goe and ſee the land that we before had ſpied. Being arriued there, we found the ſayd landes, as it were ioyned together, and low toward the Sea. And the Northerly mountaines that are vpon the ſayd low lands ſtretch Eaſt, and Weſt, and a quarter of the South. Our wild men told vs that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence commeth the red Copper, of them named Caignetdaze. There is betweene the Southerly lands, and the Northerly about thirtie leagues diſtance, and more then two hundreth fadome depth. The ſayd men did moreouer certifie vnto vs, that there was the way and beginning of the great riuer of Hochelaga and ready way to Canada, which riuer the further it went the narrower it came, euen vnto Canada, and that then there was freſh water, which went ſo farre vpwards, that they had neuer heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other paſſage but with ſmall boates. Our Captaine hearing their talke, and how they did affirme no other paſſage to be there, would not at that time proceede any further, till he had ſeene and noted the other lands, & coaſt toward the North, which he had omitted to ſee from S.Laurence his gulfe, becauſe he would know, if between the lands toward the North any paſſage might be diſcouered,

Cape Thiennot.

Port S. Nicholas.

Cape Rabaſt.

The gulfe of S.Laurence.

A Cape of the Iſle of Aſſumption.

A mighty ſhull of Whales.

The Iſle of Aſſumption.

The mouth of the riuer of Hochelaga about thirtie leagues broad.

How our Captaine cauſed the ſhips to returne backe againe, only to know if in *Saint Laurence* gulfe there were any paſſage toward the North.

Chap. 2.

VPon the 18 of Auguſt being Wedneſday, our Captaine cauſed his ſhippes to wind backe, and bend toward the other ſhore, ſo that we trended the ſaid Northerly coſt, which runneth Northeaſt and Southweſt, being faſhioned like vnto halfe a bowe, and is a very high land, but yet not ſo high as that on the South parts. The Thurſday following we came to ſeuen very high Iſlands, which we named The round Iſlands. Theſe Iſlands are diſtant from the South ſhore about 40 leagues, and ſtretch out into the ſea about 3 or 4 leagues. Againſt theſe there are goodly low grounds to be ſeene full of goodly trees, which we the Friday following, with our boats cõpaſſed about. Ouerthwart theſe lands there are diuers ſandy ſhelues more then two leagues into the ſea, very dangerous, which at a low water remaine almoſt dry. At the furtheſt bounds of theſe lowe lands, that containe about ten leagues, there is a riuer of freſh water, that with ſuch ſwiftneſſe runneth into the ſea, that for the ſpace of one league within it the water is as freſh as any fountaine water. We with our boates entred into the ſayd riuer, at the entrance of which we found about one fadome & a halfe of water. There are in this riuer many fiſhes ſhaped like horſes, which as our wild men told vs, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we ſaw therin a great number. The next day being the 21 of the moneth, by breake of day we hoyſed ſaile, and ſailed ſo long along the ſaid coaſt, that we had ſight of the reſt of the ſayd Northerne coaſt, which as yet we had not ſeene, and of the Iſland of the Aſſumption which wee went to diſcouer, departing from the ſayd land: which thing ſo ſoone as we had done, & that we were certified no other paſſage to be there, we came to our ſhips againe, which we had left at the ſaid Iſlands, where is a good harborough, the water being about nine or ten fadome. In the ſame place by occaſion of contrary winds & foggie miſts, we were conſtrained to ſtay, not being either able to come out of it, or hoiſe ſaile, till the 24 of the moneth: On which day we departed & came to a hauen on the Southerly coaſt about 80 leagues from the ſaid Iſlands. This hauen is ouer againſt three flat Iſlands that lie amidſt the riuer, becauſe on the midway betweene thoſe Iſlands, & the ſayd hauen toward the North, there is a very great riuer that runneth betweene the high and low landes, and more then three leagues into the ſea it hath many ſhelues, & there is not altogether two fadome water, ſo that the place is very dangerous: and neere vnto the ſaid ſhelues, there is either fifteene or 20 fadomes from ſhore to ſhore. All the Northerly coaſts runneth Northeaſt and by North, and Southweſt & by South. The ſaid hauen wherin we ſtayed on the South ſide, is as it were but a ſluce of the waters that riſe by the flood, & but of ſmal accompt: we named them S. Iohns Iſlets, becauſe we found them, & entred into them the day of the beheading of that Saint. And before you come to the ſaid hauen, there is an Iſland lying Eaſtward about 5 leagues diſtant from the ſame: betweene which and the land there is no paſſage ſauing only for ſmal boats. The hauen of S. Iohns Iſlets dryeth vp all the waters that riſe by flowing, although they flow two fadome at the leaſt. The beſt place to harborough ſhips therein is on the South part of a little Iſland that is ouer againſt the ſaid hauen, whereby the bancke or ſhore of the Iſland riſeth. Vpon the firſt of September we departed out of the ſaid hauen, purpoſing to go toward Canada, & about 15 leagues from it toward the Weſt, & Weſtſouthweſt, amidſt the riuer, there are three Iſlands, ouer againſt the which there is a riuer which runneth ſwift, and is of a great depth, & it is that which leadeth, and runneth into the countrey and kingdome of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told vs. This riuer paſſeth and runneth along very high and ſteepe hils of bare ſtone, where very little earth is, & notwithſtanding there is great quantity of ſundry ſorts of trees that grow in the ſaid bare ſtones, euen as vpon good & fertile ground, in ſuch ſort that we haue ſeene ſome ſo great as wel would ſuffiſe to make a maſt for a ſhip of 30 tunne burden, and as greene as poſſibly can be, growing in a ſtony rocke without any earth at all. At the entrance of the ſayd riuer we met with 4 boats ful of wild men, which as far as we could perceiue, very fearfully came toward vs, ſo that ſome of them went backe againe, & the other came as neere vs as eaſily they might heare & vnderſtand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then tooke acquaintance of them, vpon whoſe word they came to vs. The next day being the 2 of September, we came out of the ſayd riuer to go to Canada, and by reaſon of the ſeas flowing, the tide was very ſwift and dangerous, for that on the South part of it there lie two Iſlands, about which, more then three leagues compaſſe, lie many rocks and great ſtones, & but two fadome water: and the flowing amidſt thoſe Iſlands is very vnconſtant and doubtful, ſo that if it had not bene for our boats, we had been in great danger to loſe our Pinneſſe: & coaſting along the ſaid drie ſands, there is more then 30 fadom water.

The ſeuen Iſles.

A ſwift riuer.

Sea-horſes.

The Iſle of Aſſumption, or Naticotec.

A hauen on the Southerne coaſt.

A great riuer.

S. Iohns Iſlets.

This is the riuer of Tadaſeu, or of Saguenay.

About fiue leagues beyond the riuer of Saguenay Southweſt, there is another Iland on the Northſide, wherein are certaine high lands, and thereabouts we thought to haue caſt anker, on purpoſe to ſtay the next tide, but we could ſound no ground in a 120 fadome, within a flight ſhoot from ſhore, ſo that we were conſtrained to winde backe to the ſaid Iland, where wee ſounded againe and found 35 fadome. The next morning we hoyſed ſaile and went thence, ſayling further on, where we had notice of a certaine kind of fiſh neuer before of any man ſeene or knowen. They are about the bigneſſe of a Porpoſe, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, headed like Grayhounds, altogither as white as ſnow without any ſpot, within which riuer there is great quantitie of them: they doe liue altogither betweene the Sea and the freſh water. Theſe people of the Countrey call them Adhothuys, they tolde vs that they be very ſauory and good to be eaten. Moreouer they affirme none to be found elſewhere but in the mouth of that riuer. The ſixth of the month, the weather being calme and faire, we went about 15 leagues more vpward into the riuer, and there lighted on an Iland that looketh Northward, and it maketh a little hauen or creeke wherein are many and innumerable great Tortoyzes, continually lying about that Iland. There are likewiſe great quantitie of the ſaid Adhothuys taken by the inhabitours of the countrey, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeux in France at euery tide. This Iland is in length about three leagues, and in bredth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, repleniſhed with many goodly and great trees of many ſorts. Among the reſt there are many Filberd-trees, which we found hanging full of them, ſomewhat bigger and better in ſauour then ours, but ſomewhat harder, and therefore we called it The Iland of Filberds. The ſeuenth of the moneth being our Ladies euen, after ſeruice we went from that Iland to goe vp higher into the riuer, and came to 14 Ilands ſeuen or eight leagues from the Iland of Filberds, where the countrey of Canada beginneth, one of which Ilands is ten leagues in length, and fiue in bredth, greatly inhabited of ſuch men as onely liue by fiſhing of ſuch ſorts of fiſhes as the riuer affordeth, according to the ſeaſon of them. After we had caſt anker betwene the ſaid great Iland, & the Northerly coaſt, we went on land and tooke our two wild men with vs, meeting with many of thoſe countrey people, who would not at all approch vnto vs, but rather fled from vs, vntill our two men began to ſpeake vnto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who ſo ſoone as they had taken acquaintance of them, beganne greatly to reioyce, dancing and ſhewing many ſorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefeſt of them came to our boats & brought many Eeles and other ſorts of fiſhes, with two or three burdens of great Millet wherewith they make their bread, and many great muſke millions. The ſame day came alſo many other boates full of thoſe countreymen and weomen, to ſee and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteouſly receiued and friendly entertained of our Captaine, as poſſibly could be. And to haue them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, hee gaue them many ſmall gifts, but of ſmall value: neuertheleſſe they were greatly contented with them. The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whoſe proper name was Donnacona, but by the name of Lord they call him Agouhanna) with twelue boats came to our ſhips, accompanied with many people, who cauſing ten of his boates to goe backe with the other two, approched vnto vs with ſixteene men. Then beganne the ſaid Agouhanna ouer againſt the ſmalleſt of our ſhips, according to their maner and faſhion, to frame a long Oration, moouing all his bodie and members after a ſtrange faſhion, which thing is a ceremonie and ſigne of gladneſſe and ſecuritie among them, and then comming to the Generals ſhip, where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he ſpake with them & they with him, where they began to tell and ſhew vnto him what they had ſeene in France, and what good entertainement they had had: hearing which things the ſaid Lord ſeemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our Captaine to reach him his arme, that he might kiſſe it, which thing he did: their Lord taking it, laid it about his necke, for ſo they vſe to doe when they will make much of one. Then our Captaine entred into Agouhannas boat, cauſing bread and wine to be brought to make the ſaid Lord and his companie to eate and drinke, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby contented and ſatiſfied. Our Captaine for that time gaue them nothing, becauſe he looked for a fitter opportunity. Theſe things being done, ech one tooke leaue of others, and the ſaid Lord went with his boats againe to his place of abode. Our Captaine then cauſed our boates to be ſet in order, that with the next tide he might goe vp higher into the riuer, to find ſome ſafe harborough for our ſhips: and we paſſed vp the riuer againſt the ſtreame about tenne leagues, coaſting the ſaid Iland, at the end whereof, we found a goodly and pleaſant ſound, where is a little riuer and hauen, where by reaſon of the flood there is about three fadome water. This place ſeemed to vs very fit and commodious to harbour our ſhips therein, and ſo we did very ſafely, we named it the holy Croſſe, for on that day we came thither. Neere vnto it, there is a village,

The riuer of Saguenay.

Innumerable Tortoiſes.

The Iſle of Coudres or Filberds.

This great Iland is called The Iſle of Orleans.

Maiz.

Santa Croix.

whereof

Stadacona. whereof Donnacona is Lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as poſſibly may be ſeene, and therewithall very fruitfull, full of goodly trees euen as in France, as Okes, Elmes, Aſhes, Walnut trees, Maple tres, Cydrons, Vines, and white Thornes, that bring foorth fruit as bigge as any damſons, and many other ſortes of trees, vnder which groweth as faire tall hempe, as any in France, without any ſeede or any mans worke or labour at all. *Goodly hempe.* Hauing conſidered the place, and finding it fit for our purpoſe, our Captaine withdrew himſelfe on purpoſe to returne to our ſhips: but behold, as we were comming out of the riuer we met comming againſt vs one of the Lords of the ſaid village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, weomen, and children, who after the faſhion of their countrey, in ſigne of mirth and ioy, began to make a long Oration, the women ſtill ſinging and dancing vp to the knees in water. Our Captaine knowing their good will and kindneſſe toward vs, cauſed the boat wherein they were, to come vnto him, and gaue them certaine trifles, as kniues, and beades of glaſſe, whereat they were maruellous glad, for being gone about three leagues from them, for the pleaſure they conceiued of our comming, we might heare them ſing, and ſee them dance for all they were ſo farre.

How our Captaine went to ſee and note the bigneſſe of the Iland, and the nature of it, and then returned to the ſhips, cauſing them to be brought to the riuer of The holy Croſſe.

Chap. 3.

After we were come with our boats vnto our ſhips againe, our Captaine cauſed our barks to be made readie to goe on land in the ſaid Iland, to note the trees that in ſhew ſeemed ſo faire, and to conſider the nature and qualitie of it: which thing we did, and found it full of goodly trees likes to ours. Alſo we ſaw many goodly Vines, a thing not before of vs ſeene in thoſe countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Iland. *The Ile of Bacchus, or the Ile of Orleans.* It is in length about twelue leagues, in ſight very pleaſant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, vnleſſe it be in certaine places, where a few cottages be for Fiſhers dwellings as before we haue ſaid. The next day we departed with our ſhips to bring them to the place of the holy Croſſe, and on the 14 of that moneth we came thither, and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with 25 boats full of thoſe people, came to meete vs, comming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ſhips, ſhewing ſundry and diuers geſtures of gladneſſe and mirth, except thoſe two that we had brought, to wit, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, who ſeemed to haue altered and changed their mind and purpoſe, for by no meanes they would come vnto our ſhips, albeit ſundry times they were earneſtly deſired to doe it, whereupon we began to miſtruſt ſomewhat. Our Captaine asked them if according to promiſe they would go with him to Hochelaga? They anſwered yea, for ſo they had purpoſed, and then echone withdrew himſelfe. The next day being the fifteenth of the moneth, our Captaine went on ſhore, to cauſe certaine poles and piles to be driuen into the water, and ſet vp, that the better and ſafelier we might harbour our ſhips there: and many of thoſe countrey people came to meete vs there, among whom was Donnacona and our two men, with the reſt of their company, who kept themſelues aſide vnder a point or nooke of land that is vpon the ſhore of a certaine riuer, and no one of them came vnto vs as the other did that were not on their ſide. Our Captaine vnderſtanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the ſaide point where he found the ſaid Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and diuers other: and after ſalutations giuen on ech ſide, Taignoagny ſetled himſelfe formoſt to ſpeake to our Captaine, ſaying that the Lord Donnacona did greatly grieue and ſorrow that our Captaine and his men did weare warlike weapons, and they not. Our Captaine anſwered, that albeit it did greeue them, yet would not he leaue them off, and that (as he knew) it was the maner of France. But for all theſe words our Captaine and Donnacona left not off to ſpeake one to another, and friendly to entertaine one another. Then did we perceiue, that whatſoeuer Taignoagny ſpake, was onely long of himſelfe and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence our Captaine and Donnacona entred into a maruellous ſtedfaſt league of friendſhip, whereupon all his people at once with a loude voyce, caſt out three great cryes, (a horrible thing to heare) and each one hauing taken leaue of the other for that day, we went aboord againe. The day following we brought our two great ſhippes within the riuer and harborough, where the waters being at the higheſt, are three fadome deepe, and at the loweſt, but halfe a fadome. We left our Pinneſſe without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So ſoone as we had ſafely placed our ſhips, behold we ſaw Donnacona, Taignoagny & Domagaia, with more then fiue hundred perſons, men, women and children, and the ſaid Lord with ten or twelue of the chiefeſt of the countrey came aboord of our ſhips, who were all courteouſly receiued, and friendly entertained both of our Captaine and of vs all: and diuers gifts of ſmall value were giuen them. Then did Taignoagny tell our Captaine, that his Lord did greatly ſorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any meanes permit that any of them ſhould goe with him, becauſe the riuer was of no importance. Our Captaine anſwered him, that for all his ſaying, he would not leaue off his going thither, if by any meanes it were poſſible, for that that he was commanded by his king to goe as farre as poſſibly he could: and that if he (that is to ſay Taignoagny) would goe with him, as he had promiſed, he ſhould be very well entertained, beſide that, he ſhould haue ſuch a gift giuen him, as he ſhould well content himſelfe: for he ſhould doe nothing elſe but goe with him to Hochelaga and come againe. To whom Taignoagny anſwered, that he would not by any meanes goe, and thereupon they ſodainly returned to their houſes. The next day being the 17 of September, Donnacona and his company returned euen as at the firſt, and brought with him many Eeles, with ſundry ſorts of other fiſhes, whereof they take great ſtore in the ſaid riuer, as more largely hereafter ſhall be ſhewed. And as ſoone as they were come to our ſhips, according to their wonted vſe they beganne to ſing and dance. This done, Donnacona cauſed all his people to be ſet on the one ſide: then making a round circle vpon the ſand he cauſed our Captaine with all his people to enter thereinto, then he began to make a long Oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelue yeeres old, which he preſented vnto our Captaine: then ſodainely beganne all his people to make three great ſhreeks or howles, in ſigne of ioy and league of friendſhip: preſently vpon that he did preſent vnto him two other young male children one after another, but yonger then the other, at the giuing of which, euen as before they gaue out ſhreekes and howles very loud, with other cerimonies: for which preſents, our Captaine gaue the ſaide Lorde great and hearty thankes. Then Taignoagny told our Captaine, that one of the children was his owne brother, and that the maiden child was daughter vnto the ſaid Lords owne ſiſter, and the preſents were only giuen him to the end he ſhould not goe to Hochelaga at all: to whom our Captaine anſwered, that if they were onely giuen him to that intent, if ſo he would, he ſhould take them againe, for that by no meanes he would leaue his going off, for as much as he was ſo commanded of his King. But concerning this, Domagaia told our Captaine that their Lord had giuen him thoſe children as a ſigne and token of goodwill and ſecuritie, and that he was contented to goe with him to Hochelaga, vpon which talke great wordes aroſe betweene Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainely perceiued that Taignoagny was but a craftie knaue, and that he intended but miſchiefe and treaſon, as well by this deede as others that we by him had ſeene. After that our Captaine cauſed the ſaid children to be put in our ſhips, and cauſed two Swords and two copper Baſons, the one wrought, the other plaine, to be brought vnto him, and them he gaue to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yeelding moſt heartie thankes vnto our Captaine for them, and preſently vpon that he commaunded all his people to ſing and dance, and deſired our Captaine to cauſe a peece of artillerie to be ſhot off, becauſe Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them maruellous things, and alſo, becauſe they had neuer heard nor ſeene any before: to whom our Captaine anſwered, that he was content: and by and by he commanded his men to ſhoot off twelue cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by thoſe people and ſhips, at whoſe noyſe they were greatly aſtoniſhed and amazed, for they thought that heauen had fallen vpon them, and put themſelues to flight, howling, crying, and ſhreeking, ſo that it ſeemed hell was broken looſe. But before we went thence, Taignoagny cauſed other men to tell vs, that thoſe men which we had left in our Pinneſſe in the road, had ſlaine two men of their company, with a peece of ordinance that they had ſhot off, whereupon the reſt had put themſelues all to flight, as though they ſhould all haue bene ſlaine: which afterward we found vntrue, becauſe our men had not ſhot off any peece at all that day.

How *Donnacona* and *Taignoagny* with others, deuiſed a prettie ſleight or pollicie: for they cauſed three of their men to be attired like Diuels, fayning themſelues to be ſent from their God *Cudruaigny*, onely to hinder our voyage to *Hochelaga*.

Chap. 4.

The next day being the eighteenth of September, theſe men ſtill endeuoured themſelues to ſeeke all meanes poſſible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and deuiſed a prettie guile, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed. They went and dreſſed three men like Diuels, being wrapped in dogges ſkinnes white and blacke, their faces beſmeered as blacke as any coales, with hornes on their heads more then a yard long, and cauſed them ſecretly to be put in one of their boates, but came not neere our ſhips as they were wont to doe, for they lay hidden within the wood for the ſpace of two houres, looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the Diuels were, might approch and come neere vs, which when time was, came, and all the reſt iſſued out of the wood comming to vs, but yet not ſo neere as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to ſalute our Captaine, who aſked him if he would haue the boate to come for him; hee anſwered, not for that time, but after a while he would come vnto our ſhips: then preſently came that boat ruſhing out, wherein the three counterfeit Diuels were with ſuch long hornes on their heads, and the middlemoſt came making a long Oration and paſſed along our ſhips without turning or looking toward vs, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people purſue them, and lay hold on the boat and Diuels, who ſo ſoone as the men were come to them, fell proſtrate in the boate euen as if they had beene dead: then were they taken vp and carried into the wood, being but a ſtones caſt off, then euery one withdrew himſelfe into the wood, not one ſtaying behind with vs, where being, they began to make a long diſcourſe, ſo loud that we might heare them in our ſhips, which laſted aboue halfe an houre, & being ended we began to eſpie Taignoagny and Domagaia comming towards vs, holding their hands vpward ioyned together, carying their hats vnder their vpper garment, ſhewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking vp to heauen, cryed three times Ieſus, Ieſus, Ieſus, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cryed, Ieſus Maria, Iames Cartier. Our Captaine hearing them, and ſeeing their geſtures and ceremonies, aſked of them what they ayled, and what was happened or chanced anew; they anſwered, that there were very ill tydings befallen, ſaying in French, *Nenni eſt il bon*, that is to ſay, it was not good: our Captaine aſked them againe what it was, then anſwered they, that their God Cudruaigny had ſpoken in Hochelaga: and that he had ſent thoſe three men to ſhewe vnto them that there was ſo much yce and ſnow in that countrey, that whoſoeuer went thither ſhould die, which wordes when we heard, we laughed and mocked them ſaying, that their God Cudruaigny was but a foole and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or ſaid: then bade we them ſhew his meſſengers from vs, that Chriſt would defend them all from colde, if they would beleeue in him. Then did they aſke of our Captaine if he had ſpoken with Ieſus: he anſwered no, but that his Prieſts had, and that he had tolde them they ſhould haue faire weather: which wordes when they had heard, they thanked our Captaine, and departed toward the wood to tell thoſe newes vnto their felowes, who ſodainly came all ruſhing out of the wood, ſeeming to be very glad for thoſe words that our Captaine had ſpoken, and to ſhew that thereby they had had, and felt great ioy, ſo ſoone as they were before our ſhips, they altogither gaue out three great ſhreekes, and thereupon beganne to ſing and dance, as they were wont to doe. But for a reſolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia tolde our Captaine, that their Lord Donnacona would by no meanes permit that any of them ſhould goe with him to Hochelaga, vnleſſe he would leaue him ſome hoſtage to ſtay with him: our Captaine anſwered them, that if they would not goe with him with a good will, they ſhould ſtay, and that for all them he would not leaue off his iourney thither.

How our Captaine with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners departed with our Pinneſſe, and the two boates from *Canada* to goe to *Hochelaga*: and alſo there is deſcribed, what was ſeene by the way vpon the ſaid riuer.

Chap. 5.

THe next day being the 19 of September we hoyſed ſaile, and with our Pinneſſe and two boates departed to goe vp the riuer with the flood, where on both ſhores of it we beganne to ſee as goodly a countrey as poſſibly can with eye be ſeene, all repleniſhed with very goodly trees, and Vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the riuer, which rather ſeemed to haue bin planted by mans hand than otherwiſe. True it is, that becauſe they are not dreſſed and wrought as they ſhould be, their bunches of grapes are not ſo great nor ſweete as ours: alſo we ſawe all along the riuer many houſes inhabited of Fiſhers, which take all kindes of fiſhes, and they came with as great familiaritie and kindneſſe vnto vs, as if we had beene their Countreymen, and brought vs great ſtore of fiſh, with other ſuch things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting vp their hands toward heauen, gaue many ſignes of ioy: we ſtayed at a place called Hochelai, about fiue and twentie leagues from Canada, where the riuer wareth very narrow, and runneth very ſwift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not onely for that, but alſo for certaine great ſtones that are therein: Many boates and barkes came vnto vs, in one of which came one of the chiefe Lords of the countrey, making a long diſcourſe, who being come neere vs, did by euident ſignes and geſtures ſhew vs, that the higher the riuer went, the more dangerous it was, and bade vs take heede of our ſelues. The ſaid Lord preſented and gaue vnto our Captaine two of his owne children, of which our Captaine tooke one being a wench 7 or 8 eight

Vines laden with grapes.

Hochelay.

yeres old, the man child he gaue him againe, becauſe it was too young, for it was but two or three yeeres old. Our Captaine as friendly and as courteouſly as he could did entertaine and receiue the ſaid Lord and his company, giuing them certaine ſmall trifles, and ſo they departed toward the ſhore againe. Afterwards the ſayd Lord and his wife came vnto Canada to viſite his daughter, bringing vnto our Captaine certaine ſmall preſents. From the nineteenth vntill the eight and twentieth of September, we ſailed vp along the ſaide riuer, neuer loſing one houre of time, all which time we ſaw as goodly and pleaſant a countrey as poſſible can be wiſhed for, full (as we haue ſaid before) of all ſorts of goodly trees, that is to ſay, Okes, Elmes, Walnut-trees, Cedars, Firres, Aſhes, Boxe, Willowes, and great ſtore of Vines, all as full of grapes as could be, ſo that if any of our fellowes went on ſhore, they came home laden with them: there are likewiſe many Cranes, Swannes, Geeſe, Duckes, Feaſants, Partriges, Thruſhes, Blackbirds, Turtles, Finches, Redbreaſts, Nightingales, Sparrowes of diuerſe kindes, with many other ſorts of Birds, euen as in France, and great plentie and ſtore. Vpon the 28 of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the riuer fiue or ſixe leagues broad, and twelue long, all that day we went againſt the tide, hauing but two fadome water, ſtill keeping the ſayd ſcantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could eſpie no paſſage or going out, nay, rather it ſeemed to haue bene cloſed and ſhut vp round about, and there was but a fadome and an halfe of water, little more or leſſe. And therefore we were conſtrayned to caſt anker, and to ſtay with our Pinneſſe, and went with our two boates to ſeeke ſome going out, and in one place we found foure or fiue branches, which out of the riuer come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the ſaid branches, becauſe of the great fierceneſſe and ſwiftneſſe wherewith they breake out, and the courſe of the water, they make certaine barres and ſhoulds, and at that time there was but a fadome water. Thoſe Shouldes being paſſed, we found foure or fiue fadome, and as farre as we could perceiue by the flood, it was that time of the yeere that the waters are loweſt, for at other times they flowe higher by three fadomes. All theſe foure or fiue branches do compaſſe about fiue or ſixe Ilands very pleaſant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteene leagues beyond, they doe all come into one. That day we landed in one of the ſaide Ilands, and met with fiue men that were hunting of wilde beaſtes, who as freely and familiarly came to our boates without any feare, as if we had euer bene brought vp togither. Our boates being ſomewhat neere the ſhore, one of them tooke our Captaine in his armes, and caried him on ſhore, as lightly and as eaſily as if he had bene a child of fiue yeeres old: ſo ſtrong and ſturdie was this fellow. We found that they had a great heape of wilde Rats that liue in the water, as bigge as a Conny, and very good to eate, which they gaue vnto our Captaine, who for a recompence gaue them kniues and glaſſen Beades. We asked them with ſignes if that was the way to Hochelaga, they anſwered yea, and that we had yet three dayes ſayling thither.

The lake of Angoleime.

Wild rats as big as Conies.

How our Captaine cauſed our boates to be mended and dreſſed to goe to *Hochelaga*: and becauſe the way was ſomewhat difficult and hard, we left our Pinneſſe behinde: and how we came thither, and what entertainement we had of the people.

Chap. 6.

The next day our Captaine ſeeing that for that time it was not poſſible for our Pinneſſe to goe on any further, he cauſed our boates to be made readie, and as much munition and victuals to be put in them, as they could well beare: he departed with them, accompanyed with many Gentlemen, that is to ſay, Claudius of Ponte Briand, Cup-bearer to the Lorde Dolphin of France, Charles of Pommeraye, Iohn Gouion, Iohn Powlet, with twentie & eight Mariners: and Mace Iallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge vnder the Captaine of the other two ſhips, to goe vp as farre as they could into that riuer: we ſayled with good and proſperous weather vntill the ſecond of October, on which day we came to the towne of Hochelaga, diſtant from the place where we had left our Pinneſſe fiue and fortie leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of thoſe countriemen, who brought vs fiſh and ſuch other vicuals as they had, ſtill dancing and greatly reioycing at our comming. Our Captaine to lure them in, and to keepe them our friends, to recompence them, gaue them kniues, beades, and ſuch ſmall trifles, wherewith they were greatly ſatiſfied. So ſoone as we were come neere Hochelaga, there came to meete vs aboue a thouſand perſons, men, women and children, who afterward did as friendly and merily entertaine and receiue vs as any father would doe his child, which he had not of long time ſeene, the men dauncing on one ſide, the women on another, and likewiſe the children on another: after that they brought vs great ſtore of fiſh, & of their bread

They leaue their Pinneſſe behind.

Hochelaga diſtant from the lake of Angolcime 45. leagues.

made of Millet, caſting them into our boates ſo thicke, that you would haue thought it to fall from heauen. Which when our Captaine ſaw, he with many of his company went on ſhore: ſo ſoone as euer we were aland they came cluſtring about vs, making very much of vs, bringing their young children in their armes, onely to haue our Captaine and his company to touch them, making ſignes and ſhewes of great mirth and gladneſſe, that laſted more than halfe an houre. Our Captaine ſeeing their louing kindneſſe and entertainement of vs, cauſed all the weomen orderly to be ſet in aray, and gaue them Beades made of Tinne, and other ſuch ſmall trifles, and to ſome of the men he gaue kniues: then he returned to the boates to ſupper, and ſo paſſed that night, all which while all thoſe people ſtood on the ſhore as neere our boates as they might, making great fires, and dauncing very merily, ſtill crying Aguiaze, which in their tongue ſignifieth Mirth and Safetie.

How our Captaine with fiue Gentlemen and twentie armed men all well in order, went to ſee the towne of *Hochelaga*, and the ſituation of it.

Chap. 7.

The third of October.

OUr Captaine the next day very earely in the morning, hauing very gorgeouſly attired himſelfe, cauſed all his company to be ſet in order to go to ſee the towne and habitation of thoſe people, and a certaine mountaine that is ſomewhat neere the citie: with whom went alſo fiue Gentlemen and twentie Mariners, leauing the reſt to keepe and looke to our boates: we tooke with vs three men of Hochelaga to bring vs to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the faireſt and beſt countrey that poſſibly can be ſeene, full of as goodly great Okes as are in any wood in France, vnder which the ground was all couered ouer with faire Akornes. After we had gone about foure or fiue miles, we met by the way one of the chiefeſt Lords of the citie, accompanied with many moe, who ſo ſoone as he ſawe vs beckned and made ſignes vpon vs, that we muſt reſt vs in that place where they had made a great fire and ſo we did. After that we had reſted our ſelues there a while, the ſaid Lord began to make a long diſcourſe, euen as we haue ſaide aboue, they are accuſtomed to doe in ſigne of mirth and friendſhip, ſhewing our Captaine and all his company a ioyfull countenance, and good will, who gaue him two hatchets, a paire of kniues and a croſſe which he made him to kiſſe, and then put it about his necke, for which he gaue our Captaine heartie thankes. This done, we went along, and about a mile and a halfe farther, we began to finde goodly and large fieldes, full of ſuch corne as the countrie yeeldeth. It is euen as the Millet of Breſil, as great and ſomewhat bigger then ſmall peaſon, wherewith they liue euen as we doe with ours. In the midſt of thoſe fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed neere, and as it were ioyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may ſee very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compaſſed about with timber, with three courſes of Rampires, one within another framed like a ſharpe Spire, but laide acroſſe aboue. The middlemoſt of them is made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and faſhioned with peeces of timber, layd along on the ground, very well and cunningly ioyned togither after their faſhion. This encloſure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is ſhut with piles, ſtakes, and barres. Ouer it, and alſo in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get vp, all full of ſtones, for the defence of it. There are in the towne about fiftie houſes, about fiftie paces long, and twelue, or fifteene broad, built all of wood, couered ouer with the barke of the wood as broad as any boord, very finely and cunningly ioyned togither. Within the ſaid houſes, there are many roomes, lodgings and chambers. In the middeſt of euery one there is a great Court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They liue in common togither: then doe the husbands, wiues and children each one retire themſelues to their chambers. They haue alſo on the top of their houſes certaine garrets, wherein they keepe their corne to make their bread withall: they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter ſhall follow. They haue certaine peeces of wood, made hollow like thoſe whereon we beat our hempe, and with certaine beetles of wood they beat their corne to powder: then they make paſte of it, and of the paſte, cakes or wreathes, then they lay them on a broad and hote ſtone, and then couer it with hote ſtones, and ſo they bake their bread in ſtead of Ouens. They make alſo ſundry ſorts of pottage with the ſaid corne and alſo of peaſe and of beanes, whereof they haue great ſtore, as alſo with other fruits, as Muſke-Millions, and very great Cowcumbers. They haue alſo in their houſes certaine veſſels as bigge as any But or Tun, wherein they preſerue and keepe their fiſh, cauſing the ſame in ſommer to be dried in the ſunne, and liue therewith in winter, whereof they

Hochelaga ſixe miles from the riuer ſide.

This Millet is Maiz.

The deſcription of Hochelaga

Maiz, peaſe, beanes, muſke millions, cucumbers, and other fruits.

Plentie of fiſh and the preſeruing thereof.

make great prouiſion, as we by experience haue ſeene. All their viands and meates are without any taſt or ſauour of ſalt at all. They ſleepe vpon barkes of trees laide all along vpon the ground being ouer-ſpread with the ſkinnes of certaine wilde Beaſtes, wherewith they alſo cloth and couer themſelues. The thing moſt precious that they haue in all the world they call Eſurgny: it is as white as any ſnow: they take it in the ſaid riuer of Corniborz, in the maner folowing. When any one hath deſerued death, or that they take any of their enemies in Warres, firſt they kill him, then with certaine kniues they giue great ſlaſhes and ſtrokes vpon their buttocks, flankes, thighs, and ſhoulders: then they caſt the ſame bodie ſo mangled downe to the bottome of the riuer, in a place where the ſaid Eſurgny is, and there leaue it ten or 12 houres, then they take it vp againe, and in the cuts find the ſaid Eſurgny or Cornibotz. Of them they make beads, and weare them about their necks, euen as we doe chaines of gold and ſiluer, accounting it the preciouſeſt thing in the world. They haue this vertue and propertie in them, they will ſtop or ſtanch bleeding at the noſe, for we haue prooued it. Theſe people are giuen to no other exerciſe, but onely to husbandrie and fiſhing for their ſuſtenance: they haue no care of any other wealth or commoditie in this world, for they haue no knowledge of it, and that is, becauſe they neuer trauell and go out of their countrey, as thoſe of Canada and Saguenay doe, albeit the Canadians with eight or nine Villages more alongſt that riuer be ſubiects vnto them.

Eſurgni good to ſtanch blood.

How we came to the Towne of *Hochelaga*, and the entertainement which there we had, and of certaine gifts which our Captaine gaue them, with diuers other things.

Chap. 8.

SO ſoone as we were come neere the Towne, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to preſent themſelues before vs after their faſhion, making very much of vs: we were by our guides brought into the middeſt of the towne. They haue in the middlemoſt part of their houſes a large ſquare place, being from ſide to ſide a good ſtones caſt, whither we were brought, and there with ſignes were commanded to ſtay: then ſuddenly all the women and maidens of the Towne gathered themſelues together, part of which had their armes full of young children, and as many as could came to rubbe our faces, our armes, and what part of the bodie ſoeuer they could touch, weeping for very ioy that they ſaw vs, ſhewing vs the beſt countenance that poſſibly they could, deſiring vs with their ſignes, that it would pleaſe vs to touch their children. That done, the men cauſed the women to withdraw themſelues backe, then they euery one ſate downe on the ground round about vs, as if they would haue ſhewen and rehearſed ſome Comedie or other ſhew: then preſently came the women againe, euery one bringing a foureſquare Matte in manner of Carpets, and ſpreading them abroad on the ground in that place, they cauſed vs to ſit vpon them. That done, the Lord & King of the countrey was brought vpon 9 or 10 mens ſhoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna) ſitting vpon a great Stagges ſkinne, and they laide him downe vpon the foreſaid mats neere to the Captaine, euery one beckning vnto vs that hee was their Lord and King. This Agouhanna was a man about fiftie yeeres old: he was no whit better pparelled then any of the reſt, onely excepted, that he had a certaine thing made of the ſkinnes of Hedgehogs like a red wreath, and that was in ſtead of his Crowne. He was full of the paſſie, and his members ſhronke togither. After he had with certaine ſignes ſaluted our Captaine and all his companie, and by manifeſt tokens bid all welcome, he ſhewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with ſignes deſired him to touch them, and ſo he did, rubbing them with his owne hands: then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crowne he had about his head, and gaue it vnto our Captaine: that done they brought before him diuerſe diſeaſed men, ſome blinde, ſome criple, ſome lame and impotent, and ſome ſo old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and couered their cheekes, and layd them all along before our Captaine, to the end they might of him be touched: for it ſeemed vnto them that God was deſcended and come downe from heauen to heale them. Our Captaine ſeeing the miſery and deuotion of this poore people, recited the Goſpel of Saint Iohn, that is to ſay, In the beginning was the word; touching euery one that were diſeaſed, praying to God that it would pleaſe him to open the hearts of this poore people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receiue Baptiſme and Chriſtendome: that done, he tooke a Seruice-booke in his hand, and with a loud voyce read all the paſſion of Chriſt, word by word, that all the ſtanders by might heare him: all which while this poore people kept ſilence, & were marueilouſly attentiue, looking vp to heauen, and imitating vs in geſtures. Then he cauſed the men all orderly to be ſet on one ſide, the women on another, & likewiſe the children on another, & to the chiefeſt of them he gaue hatchets, to the other kniues, & to the women beads & ſuch other ſmall trifles. Then where yͤ children were, he caſt rings, counters, & brooches made of Tin,

whereat

Mount Roial.

A ridge of mountaines to the North of Hochelaga, and another to the South.

The 3 ſaults or falles of water in 44. degrees of latitude.

The riuer of Saguenay commeth from the Weſt, where there is gold and ſiluer.

Red copper in Saguenay.

whereat they ſeemed to be very glad. That done, our Captaine commanded Trumpets and other muſicall inſtruments to be ſounded, which when they heard, they were very merie. Then we tooke our leaue and went to our boate: the women ſeeing that, put themſelues before to ſtay vs, and brought vs out of their meates that they had made readie for vs, as fiſh, pottage, beanes, and ſuch other things, thinking to make vs eate, and dine in that place: but becauſe the meates had no ſauour at all of ſalt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with ſignes gaue them to vnderſtand that we had no neede to eate. When wee were out of the Towne, diuerſe of the men and women followed vs, and brought vs to the toppe of the foreſaid mountaine, which wee named Mount Roial, it is about a league from the Towne. When as we were on the toppe of it, we might diſcerne and plainely ſee thirtie leagues about. On the Northſide of it there are many hilles to be ſeene running Weſt and Eaſt, and as many more on the South, amongſt and betweene the which the Countrey is as faire and as pleaſant as poſſibly can be ſeene, being leuell, ſmooth, and very plaine, fit to be huſbanded and tilled: and in the middeſt of thoſe fieldes we ſaw the riuer further vp a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greateſt and the ſwifteſt fall of water that any where hath beene ſeene, and as great, wide, and large as our ſight might diſcerne, going Southweſt along three faire and round mountaines that wee ſawe, as we iudged about fifteene leagues from vs. Thoſe which brought vs thither tolde and ſhewed vs, that in the ſayd riuer there were three ſuch falles of water more, as that was where we had left our boates: but becauſe we could not vnderſtand their language, we could not knowe how farre they were one from another. Moreouer they ſhewed vs with ſignes, that the ſaid three falles being paſt, a man might ſayle the ſpace of three monethes more alongſt that Riuer, and that along the hilles that are on the North ſide there is a great riuer, which (euen as the other) commeth from the Weſt, we thought it to be the riuer that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any ſigne or queſtion mooued or aſked of them, they tooke the chayne of our Captaines whiſtle, which was of ſiluer, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his ſide being of yellow copper guilt, and ſhewed vs that ſuch ſtuffe came from the ſaid Riuer, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much to ſay, as euill people, who goe all armed euen to their fingers ends. Alſo they ſhewed vs the manner and making of their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought togither. They gaue vs alſo to vnderſtand that thoſe Agouionda doe continually warre one againſt another, but becauſe we did not vnderſtand them well, we could not perceiue how farre it was to that Countrey. Our Captaine ſhewed them redde Copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towarde that Countrey, with ſignes aſked them if any came from thence, they ſhaking their heads anſwered no: but they ſhewed vs that it came from Saguenay, and that lyeth cleane contrary to the other. After we had heard and ſeene theſe things of them, we drewe to our boates accompanied with a great multitude of thoſe people: ſome of them when as they ſawe any of our fellowes weary, would take them vp on their ſhoulders, and carry them as on horſebacke. So ſoone as we came to our boates we hoyſed ſaile to goe toward our Pinneſſe, doubting of ſome miſchance. Our departure grieued and diſpleaſed them very much, for they followed vs along the riuer as farre as they could: we went ſo faſt that on munday being the fourth of October wee came where our Pinneſſe was. The Tueſday following being the fift of the moneth, we hoyſed ſaile, and with our Pinneſſe and boates departed from thence toward the Prouince of Canada, to the port of the Holy Croſſe, where we had left our ſhips. The ſeuenth day we came againſt a riuer that commeth from the North, and entred into that riuer, at the entrance whereof are foure little Ilandes full of faire and goodly trees: we named that riuer The riuer of Fouetz: But becauſe one of thoſe Ilandes ſtretcheth it ſelfe a great way into the riuer, our Captaine at the point of it cauſed a goodly great Croſſe to be ſet vp, and commanded the boates to be made readie, that with the next tide he might goe vp the ſaide riuer, and conſider the qualitie of it, which wee did, and that day went vp as farre as we could: but becauſe we found it to be of no importance, and very ſhallow, we returned and ſayled downe the riuer.

How we came to the Port of the *Holy Croſſe*, and in what ſtate we found our ſhips: and how the Lord of the Countrey came to viſite our Captaine, and our Captaine him: and of certaine particular cuſtomes of the people.

Chap. 9.

VPon Monday being the 11 of October we came to the Port of the Holy Croſſe, where our ſhips were, and found that the Maſters and Mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ſhips, altogither cloſed with great peeces of timber ſet vpright and very well faſtened togither: then had they beſet the ſaid trench about with peeces of Artillerie and other neceſſarie things to ſhield and defend themſelues from the power of all the countrey. So ſoone as the Lord of the countrey heard of our comming, the next day being the twelfth of October, he came to viſite vs, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia and many others, fayning to be very glad of our comming, making much of our Captaine, who as friendly as he could, entertained them, albeit they had not deſerued it. Donnacona their Lord deſired our Captaine the next day to come and ſee Canada, which he promiſed to doe: for the next day being the 13 of the moneth, he with all his Gentlemen and fiftie Mariners very well appointed, went to viſite Donnacona and his people, about a league from our ſhips. The place where they make their abode is called Stadacona. When we were about a ſtones caſt from their houſes, many of the inhabitants came to meete vs, being all ſet in a ranke, and (as their cuſtome is) the men all on one ſide, & the women on the other, ſtill dancing and ſinging without any ceaſing: and after we had ſaluted and receiued one another, our Captaine gaue them kniues and ſuch other ſleight things: then he cauſed all the women and children to paſſe along before him, giuing ech one a ring of Tin, for which they gaue him hearty thankes: that done, our Captaine was by Donnacona and Taignoagny, brought to ſee their houſes, which (the qualitie conſidered) were very well prouided, and ſtored with ſuch victuals as the countrey yeeldeth, to paſſe away the winter withall. Then they ſhewed vs the ſkins of fiue mens heads ſpread vpon boords as we doe vſe parchment: Donnacona told vs that they were ſkins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre againſt them. Moreouer they told vs, that it was two yeeres paſt that thoſe Toudamans came to aſſault them, yea euen into the ſaid riuer, in an Iland that lyeth ouer againſt Saguenay, where they had bin the night before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 perſons, men, women, and children, who being all aſleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were aſſaulted by the ſaid Toudamans, who put fire round about the Fort, and as they would haue come out of it to ſaue themſelues, they were all ſlaine, only fiue excepted, who eſcaped. For which loſſe they yet ſorrowed, ſhewing with ſignes, that one day they would be reuenged: that done, we came to our ſhips againe.

Stadacona.

Toudamani dwelling Southward of Canada.

The manner how the people of that Countrey liue: and of certaine conditions: of their faith, maners, and cuſtomes.

Chap. 10.

This people beleeue no whit in God, but in one whom they call Cudruaigni: they ſay that often he ſpeaketh with them and telleth them what weather ſhal follow, whether good or bad. Moreouer they ſay, that when he is angry with them he caſteth duſt into their eyes: they beleeue that when they die they go into the ſtars, & thence by litle & litle deſcend downe into the Horizon, euen as the ſtars doe, & that then they go into certaine greene fields full of goodly faire & precious trees, floures, & fruits. After that they had giuen vs theſe things to vnderſtand, we ſhewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceiue them, for he is but a Diuell & an euill ſpirit: affirming vnto them, that there is but one onely God, who is in heauen, and who giueth vs all neceſſaries, being the Creatour of all himſelfe, and that onely we muſt beleeue in him: moreouer, that it is neceſſarie for vs to be baptiſed, otherwiſe wee are damned into hell. Theſe and many other things concerning our faith and religion we ſhewed them, all which they did eaſily beleeue, calling their Cudruaigni, Agouiada, that is to ſay, nought, ſo that very earneſtly they deſired and prayed our Captaine that he would cauſe them to be baptiſed, and their Lorde, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and all the people of the towne came vnto vs, hoping to be baptiſed: but becauſe we did not throughly know their minde, and that there was no bodie could teach them our beliefe & religion, we excuſed our ſelues, deſiring Taignoagny & Domagaia to tell the reſt of their countreymen, that he would come againe another time, & bring Prieſts & chriſome with vs, for without them they could not be baptiſed: which they did eaſily beleeue, for Domagaia & Taignoagny had ſeene many children baptiſed in Britain whiles they were there. Which promiſe when they heard they ſeemed to be very glad. They liue in common togither, and of ſuch commodities as their countrey yeeldeth they are indifferently well ſtored, the inhabitants of the countrey cloth themſelues with the ſkinnes of certaine wilde beaſts, but very miſerably. In winter they weare hoſen and ſhoes made of wilde beaſts ſkins, and in Sommer they goe barefooted. They keepe and obſerue the rites of matrimonie, ſauing that euery one weddeth 2 or 3 wiues, which (their huſbands being dead) do neuer marrie againe, but for the death of their huſbands weare a certaine blacke weede all the daies of their life, beſmearing al their faces with cole-duſt & greaſe mingled togither as thicke as the backe of a knife, and by that they are knowen to be widowes.

They deſire to be baptized.

Their Maiz.

Tabacco deſcribed.

They haue a filthy and deteſtable vſe in marrying of their maidens, and that is this, they put them all (after they are of lawfull age to marry) in a common place, as harlots free for euery man that will haue to doe with them, vntill ſuch time as they find a match. This I ſay, becauſe I haue ſeene by experience many houſen full of thoſe Damoſels, euen as our ſchooles are full of children in France to learne to reade. Moreouer, the miſrule and riot that they keepe in thoſe houſes is very great, for very wantonly they ſport and dally togither, ſhewing whatſoeuer God hath ſent them. They are no men of great labour. They digge their grounds with certaine peeces of wood, as bigge as halfe a ſword, on which ground groweth their corne, which they call Offici: it is as bigge as our ſmall peaſon: there is great quantitie of it growing in Breſill. They haue alſo great ſtore of Muske-millions, Pompions, Gourds, Cucumbers, Peaſon and Beanes of euery colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth alſo a certaine kind of herbe, whereof in Sommer they make great prouiſion for all the yeere, making great account of it, and onely men vſe of it, and firſt they cauſe it to be dried in the ſunne, then weare it about their neckes wrapped in a little beaſts ſkinne made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of ſtone or wood like a pipe: then when they pleaſe they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the ſaid Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire vpon it, at the other ende ſucke ſo long, that they fill their bodies full of ſmoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and noſtrils, euen as out of the Tonnell of a chimney. They ſay that this doth keepe them warme and in health: they neuer goe without ſome of it about them. We our ſelues haue tryed the ſame ſmoke, and hauing put it in our mouthes, it ſeemed almoſt as hot as Pepper. The women of that countrey doe labour much more then the men, as well in fiſhing (whereto they are greatly giuen) as in tilling and huſbanding their grounds, and other things: as well the men as women and children, are very much more able to reſiſt cold then ſauage beaſtes, for wee with our owne eyes haue ſeene ſome of them, when it was coldeſt (which cold was extreme raw and bitter) come to our ſhips ſtarke naked going vpon ſnow & yce, which thing ſeemeth incredible to them that haue not ſeene it. When as the ſnow and yce lyeth on the ground, they take great ſtore of wilde beaſts, as Faunes, Stags, Beares, Marterns, Hares & Foxes, with diuers other ſorts whoſe fleſh they eate raw, hauing firſt dried it in yͤ ſunne or ſmoke, and ſo they doe their fiſh. As farre foorth as we could perceiue and vnderſtand by theſe people, it were a very eaſie thing to bring them to ſome familiaritie & ciuility, and make them learne what one would. The Lord God for his mercies ſake ſet therunto his helping hand when he ſeeth cauſe. Amen.

Of the greatneſſe and depth of the ſaid riuer, and of the ſorts of beaſts, birdes, fiſhes, and other things that we haue ſeene, with the ſituation of the place.

Chap. 11.

It is now found to be but 200 leagues.

The ſaid riuer beginneth beyond the Iland of The Aſſumption, ouer againſt the high mountaines of Hognedo, and of the ſeuen Ilands. The diſtance ouer from one ſide to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues. In the middeſt it is aboue 200 fadome deepe. The ſureſt way to ſayle vpon it is on the South ſide. And toward the North, that is to ſay, from the ſaid 7 Ilands, from ſide to ſide, there is ſeuen leagues diſtance, where are alſo two great riuers that come downe from the hils of Saguenay, and make diuers very dangerous ſhelues in the ſea. At the entrance of thoſe two riuers we ſaw many & great ſtore of Whales and Sea horſes. Ouerthwart the ſaid Ilands there is another little riuer that runneth along thoſe marriſh grounds about 3 or 4 leagues, wherein there is great ſtore of water foules. From the entrance of that riuer to Hochelaga there is about 300 leagues diſtance: the originall beginning of it is in the riuer that commeth from Saguenay, which riſeth and ſpringeth among high & ſteepe hils: it entreth into that riuer before it commeth to the Prouince of Canada on the North ſide. That riuer is very deepe, high, and ſtreight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any veſſell to goe vpon it. After that riuer followeth the Prouince of Canada, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughes and villages. There are alſo in the circuit and territorie of Canada, along, and within the ſaid riuer, many other Ilands, ſome great, & ſome ſmall, among which there is one that containeth aboue ten leagues in length, full of goodly and high trees, and alſo many Vines. You may goe into it from both ſides, but yet the ſureſt paſſage is on the South ſide. On the ſhore or banke of that riuer Weſtward, there is a goodly, faire, and delectable bay or creeke, conuenient and fit for to harborough ſhips. Hard by there is in that riuer one place very narrow, deepe, & ſwift running, but it is not paſſing the third part of a league, ouer againſt the which there is a goodly high peece of land, with a towne therein: and the countrey about it is very well tilled & wrought, & as good as poſſibly can be ſeene. That is the place and abode of Donnacona, and of our two men we tooke in our firſt voyage, it is called Stadacona. But before we come to it, there are 4 other peopled townes, that is to ſay, Ayraſte, Starnatan, Tailla, which ſtandeth vpon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stadagona, vnder which towne toward the North the riuer and port of the holy croſſe is, where we ſtaied from the 15 of September, vntill the 16 of May 1536, and there our ſhips remained dry, as we haue ſaid before. That place being paſt, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, ſtanding vpon an high mountaine, and the valley of Hochelay, which ſtandeth in a Champaigne countrey. All the ſayd countrey on both ſides of the riuer as farre as Hochelay & beyond, is as faire and plaine as euer was ſeene. There are certaine mountaines farre diſtant from the ſaid riuer, which are to be ſeene aboue the foreſaid townes, from which mountaines diuers riuers deſcend, which fall into the ſaid great riuer. All that countrey is full of ſundry ſorts of wood and many Vines, vnleſſe it be about the places that are inhabited, where they haue pulled vp the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houſes and lodgings. There is great ſtore of Stags, Deere, Beares, and other ſuch like ſorts of beaſts, as Connies, Hares, Marterns, Foxes, Otters, Beuers, Weaſels, Badgers, and Rats exceeding great, and diuers other ſortes of wilde beaſtes. They cloth themſelues with the ſkinnes of thoſe beaſts, becauſe they haue nothing elſe to make them apparell withall. There are alſo many ſorts of birdes, as Cranes, Swannes, Buſtards, wilde Geeſe white and gray, Duckes, Thruſhes, Black-birdes, Turtles, wilde Pigeons, Lenites, Finches, Red-breaſts, Stares, Nightingales, Sparrowes, and other Birdes, euen as in France. Alſo, as we haue ſaid before, the ſaid riuer is the plentifulleſt of fiſh that euer hath of any man bene ſeene or heard of, becauſe that from the mouth to the end of it, according to their ſeaſons, you ſhall finde all ſorts of freſh water fiſh and ſalt. There are alſo many Whales, Porpoſes, Seahorſes, and Adhothuis, which is a kind of fiſh that we had neuer ſeene nor heard of before. They are as great as Porpoſes, as white as any ſnow, their bodie and head faſhioned as a grayhound, they are wont alwaies to abide betwene the freſh & ſalt water, which beginneth betweene the riuer of Saguenay and Canada.

Riuers falling from mountaines.

Beaſts.

Birdes.

Fiſhes.

Of certaine aduertiſements and notes giuen vnto vs by thoſe countreymen, after our returne from *Hochelaga*.

Chap. 12.

After our returne from Hochelaga, we dealt, trafficked, and with great familiaritie and loue were conuerſant with thoſe that dwelt neereſt vnto our ſhips, except that ſometimes we had ſtrife and contention with certaine naughtie people, full ſore againſt the will of the others. Wee vnderſtood of [illegible]nacona and of others, that the ſaid riuer is called the riuer of Saguenay, and goeth to S[illegible], being ſomewhat more then a league farther Weſtnorthweſt, and that 8 or 9 dayes iour[illegible] beyond, it will beare but ſmall boats. But the right and readie way to Saguenay is vp that riuer to Hochelaga, and then into another that commeth from Saguenay, and then entreth into the foreſaid riuer, & that there is yet one moneths ſayling thither. Moreouer, they told vs and gaue vs to vnderſtand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honeſt, and many inhabited townes, and that they haue great ſtore of Gold and red Copper: and that about the land beyond the ſaid firſt riuer to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an Iland enuironed round about with that and other riuers, and that beyond Saguenay the ſaid riuer entereth into two or 3 great lakes, and that there is a Sea of freſh water found, and as they haue heard ſay of thoſe of Saguenay, there was neuer man heard of that found out the end thereof: for, as they told vs, they themſelues were neuer there. Moreouer they told vs, that where we had left our Pinneſſe when wee went to Hochelaga, there is a riuer that goeth Southweſt, from whence there is a whole moneths ſayling to goe to a certaine land, where there is neither yce nor ſnow ſeene, where the inhabitants do continually warre one againſt another, where is great ſtore of Oranges, Almonds, Nuts, and Apples, with many other ſorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beaſts ſkinnes euen as they: we aſked them if there were any gold or red copper, they anſwered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as farre as I could perceiue and vnderſtand by their ſignes and tokens.

The right way to Saguenay.

Store of [illegible] & red co[illegible]

Two or three great lakes. Mare dulcium aquarum.

The riuer of Irrouacas falling into the lake of Angoleſme.

Of a ſtrange and cruell diſeaſe that came to the people of *Stadacona*, wherewith becauſe we did haunt their company, we were ſo infected, that there died 25 of our company.

Chap. 13.

In the moneth of December, wee vnderſtood that the peſtilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in ſuch ſort, that before we knew of it, according to their confeſſion, there were dead aboue 50: whereupon we charged them neither to come neere our Fort, nor about our ſhips, or vs. And albeit we had driuen them from vs, the ſaid vnknowen ſicknes began to ſpread it ſelfe amongſt vs, after the ſtrangeſt ſort that euer was eyther heard of or ſeene, inſomuch as ſome did loſe all their ſtrength, and could not ſtand on their feete, then did their legges ſwel, their ſinnowes ſhrinke as blacke as any cole. Others alſo had all their ſkins ſpotted with ſpots of blood of a purple colour: then did it aſcend vp to their ankels, knees, thighes, ſhoulders, armes, and necke: their mouth became ſtincking, their gummes ſo rotten, that all the fleſh did fall off, euen to the rootes of the teeth, which did alſo almoſt all fall out. With ſuch infection did this ſickneſſe ſpread it ſelfe in our three ſhips, that about the middle of February, of a hundreth and tenne perſons that we were, there were not ten whole, ſo that one could not helpe the other, a moſt horrible and pitifull caſe, conſidering the place we were in, forſomuch as the people of the countrey would dayly come before our fort, and ſaw but few of vs. There were alreadie eight dead, and more then fifty ſicke, and as we thought, paſt all hope of recouery. Our Captaine ſeeing this our miſery, & that the ſickneſſe was gone ſo farre, ordained and commanded, that euery one ſhould deuoutly prepare himſelfe to prayer, and in remembrance of Chriſt, cauſed his Image to be ſet vpon a tree, about a flight ſhot from the fort amidſt the yce and ſnow, giuing all men to vnderſtand, that on the Sunday following, ſeruice ſhould be ſaid there, and that whoſoeuer could goe, ſicke or whole, ſhould goe thither in Proceſſion, ſinging the ſeuen Pſalmes of Dauid, with other Letanies, praying moſt heartily that it would pleaſe the ſaid our Chriſt to haue compaſſion vpon vs. Seruice being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our Captaine there made a vow, that if it would pleaſe God to giue him leaue to returne into France, he would go on Pilgrimage to our Ladie of Rocquemado. That day Philip Rougemont, borne in Amboiſe, died, being 22 yeeres olde, and becauſe the ſickeneſſe was to vs vnknowen, our Captaine cauſed him to be ripped to ſee if by any meanes poſſible we might know what it was, and ſo ſeeke meanes to ſaue and preſerue the reſt of the company: he was found to haue his heart white, but rotten, and more then a quart of red water about it: his liuer was indifferent faire, but his lungs blacke and mortified, his blood was altogither ſhrunke about the heart, ſo that when he was opened great quantitie of rotten blood iſſued out from about his heart: his milt toward the backe was ſomewhat periſhed, rough as if it had bene rubbed againſt a ſtone. Moreouer, becauſe one of his thighs was very blacke without, it was opened, but within it was whole and ſound: that done, as well as we could he was buried. In ſuch ſort did the ſickneſſe continue and encreaſe, that there were not aboue three ſound men in the ſhips, and none was able to goe vnder hatches to draw drinke for himſelfe, nor for his fellowes. Sometimes we were conſtrained to bury ſome of the dead vnder the ſnow, becauſe we were not able to digge any graues for them the ground was ſo hard frozen, and we ſo weake. Beſides this, we did greatly feare that the people of the countrey would perceiue our weakeneſſe and miſerie, which to hide, our Captaine, whom it pleaſed God alwayes to keepe in health, would go out with two or three of the company, ſome ſicke and ſome whole, whom when he ſaw out of the Fort, he would throw ſtones at them and chide them, faigning that ſo ſoone as he came againe, he would beate them, and then with ſignes ſhewe the people of the countrey that hee cauſed all his men to worke and labour in the ſhips, ſome in calking them, ſome in beating of chalke, ſome in one thing, and ſome in another, and that he would not haue them come foorth till their worke was done. And to make his tale ſeeme true and likely, he would make all his men whole & ſound to make a great noyſe with knocking ſtickes, ſtones, hammers, and other things togither, at which time we were ſo oppreſſed and grieued with that ſickneſſe, that we had loſt all hope euer to ſee France againe, if God of his infinite goodneſſe and mercie had not with his pitifull eye looked vpon vs, and reuealed a ſingular and excellent remedie againſt all diſeaſes vnto vs, the beſt that euer was found vpon earth, as hereafter ſhall follow.

How long we ſtayed in the Port of the holy Croſſe amidſt the ſnow and yce, and how many died of the ſaid diſeaſe, from the beginning of it to the midſt of March.

Chap. 14.

FRom the midſt of Nouember vntill the midſt of March, we were kept in amidſt the yce aboue two fadomes thicke, and ſnow aboue foure foote high and more, higher then the ſides of our ſhips, which laſted till that time, in ſuch ſort, that all our drinkes were frozen in the Veſſels, and the yce through all the ſhips was aboue a hand-breadth thicke, as well aboue hatches as beneath, and ſo much of the riuer as was freſh, euen to Hochelaga, was frozen, in which ſpace there died fiue and twentie of our beſt and chiefeſt men, and all the reſt were ſo ſicke, that wee thought they ſhould neuer recouer againe, only three or foure excepted. Then it pleaſed God to caſt his pitifull eye vpon vs, and ſent vs the knowledge of remedie of our healthes and recouerie, in ſuch maner as in the next Chapter ſhall be ſhewed.

How

How by the grace of God we had notice of a certaine tree, whereby we all recouered our health: and the maner how to vſe it.

Chap. 15.

OUr Captaine conſidering our eſtate (and how that ſickneſſe was encreaſed and hot amongſt vs) one day went foorth of the Forte, and walking vpon the yce, hee ſaw a troupe of thoſe Countreymen comming from Stadacona, among which was Domagaia, who not paſſing ten or twelue dayes afore, had bene very ſicke with that diſeaſe, and had his knees ſwolne as bigge as a childe of two yeres old, all his ſinewes ſhrunke together, his teeth ſpoyled, his gummes rotten, and ſtinking. Our Captaine ſeeing him whole and ſound, was thereat maruellous glad, hoping to vnderſtand and know of him how he had healed himſelfe, to the end he might eaſe and help his men. So ſoone as they were come neere him, he aſked Domagaia how he had done to heale himſelfe: he anſwered, that he had taken the iuice and ſappe of the leaues of a certaine Tree, and therewith had healed himſelfe: For it was a ſingular remedy againſt that diſeaſe. Then our Captaine aſked of him if any were to be had thereabout, deſiring him to ſhew him, for to heale a ſeruant of his, who whileſt he was in Canada with Donnacona, was ſtriken with that diſeaſe: That he did becauſe he would not ſhew the number of his ſicke men. Domagaia ſtraight ſent two women to fetch ſome of it, which brought ten or twelue branches of it, and therewithall ſhewed the way how to vſe it, and that is thus, to take the barke and leaues of the ſayd tree, and boile them together, then to drinke of the ſayd decoction euery other day, and to put the dregs of it vpon his legs that is ſicke: moreouer, they told vs, that the vertue of that tree was, to heale any other diſeaſe: the tree is in their language called Ameda or Hanneda, this is thought to be the Saſſafras tree. Our Captain preſently cauſed ſome of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durſt taſt of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to taſt & proue it: the other ſeeing that did the like, and preſently recouered their health, and were deliuered of that ſickenes, & what other diſeaſe ſoeuer, in ſuch ſorte, that there were ſome had bene diſeaſed and troubled with the French Pockes foure or fiue yeres, and with this drinke were cleane healed. After this medicine was found and proued to be true, there was ſuch ſtrife about it, who ſhould be firſt to take of it, that they were ready to kill one another, ſo that a tree as big as any Oake in France was ſpoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in fiue or ſixe daies, and it wrought ſo wel, that if all the phiſicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not haue done ſo much in one yere, as that tree did in ſixe dayes, for it did ſo preuaile, that as many as vſ of it, by the grace of God recouered their health.

A perfect remedy againſt the French Pockes.

How the lord *Donnacona* accompanied with *Taignoagny* and diuers others, faining that they would goe to hunt Stags, and Deere, taried out two monethes, and at their returne brought a great multitude of people with them, that we were not wont to ſee before.

Chap. 16.

WHile that diſeaſe laſted in our ſhips, the lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, faining that they would goe to catch Stags and Deere, which are in their tongue called Aiouneſta, and Aſquenoudo, becauſe the yce and ſnow was not ſo broken along the riuer that they could ſayle: it was told vs of Domagaia and others, that they would ſtay out but a fortnight, & we beleeued it, but they ſtayed aboue two monethes, which made vs miſtruſt that they had bene gone to raiſe the countrey to come againſt vs, and do vs ſome diſpleaſure, we ſeeing our ſelues ſo weake & faint. Albeit we had vſed ſuch diligence and policie in our Fort, that if all the power of the countrey had bene about it, they could haue done nothing but looke vpon vs: and whileſt they were foorth, many of the people came dayly to our ſhips, and brought vs freſh meat, as Stags, Deere, fiſhes, with diuers other things, but held them at ſuch an exceſſiue price, that rather then they would ſell them any thing cheape, many times they would carie them backe againe, becauſe that yere the Winter was very long, and they had ſome ſcarcity and neede of them.

A long winter.

How *Donnacona* came to *Stadacona* againe with a great number of people, and becauſe he would not come to viſit our Captaine, fained himſelfe to be ſore ſicke, which he did only to haue the Captaine come ſee him.

Chap. 17.

ON the one and twentieth day of April Domagaia came to the ſhore ſide, accompanied with diuers luſty and ſtrong men, ſuch as we were not wont to ſee, and tolde vs that their lord

Donnacona would the next day come and ſee vs, and bring great ſtore of Deeres fleſh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cauſe wee knew not, but (as the prouerb ſayth) he that takes heede and ſhields himſelfe from all men, may hap to ſcape from ſome: for we had need to looke about vs, conſidering how in number we were diminiſhed, and in ſtrength greatly weakned, both by reaſon of our ſickneſſe and alſo of the number that were dead, ſo that we were conſtrained to leaue one of our ſhips in the Port of the Holy Croſſe. Our Captaine was warned of their comming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell it vs, and durſt not paſſe the riuer that was betwixt Stadacona and vs, as he was wont to doe, whereupon we miſtruſted ſome treaſon. Our Captaine ſeeing this, ſent one of his ſeruants to them, accompanied with Iohn Poulet being beſt beloued of thoſe people, to ſee who were there, and what they did. The ſayd Poulet & the other fained themſelues onely to be come to viſit Donuacona, & bring him certaine preſents, becauſe they had beene together a good while in the ſayd Donnaconas Towne. So ſoone as he heard of their comming, he got himſelfe to bed, faining to bee very ſicke. That done, they went to Taignoagny his houſe to ſee him, and whereſoeuer they went, they ſaw ſo many people, that in a maner one could not ſtirre for another, and ſuch men as they were neuer wont to ſee. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houſes, but ſtill kept them company, and brought them halfe way to their ſhips, and tolde them that if it would pleaſe our captaine to ſhew him ſo much fauour as to take a Lord of the Countrey, whoſe name was Agonna, of whom hee had receiued ſome diſpleaſure, and carie him with him into France, he ſhould therefore for euer be bound vnto him, and would doe for him whatſoeuer hee would command him, and bade the ſeruant come againe the next day, and bring an anſwere. Our Captain being aduertiſed of ſo many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purpoſed to play a prettie prancke, that is to ſay, to take their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and ſome more of the chiefeſt of them priſoners, in ſo much as before hee had purpoſed, to bring them into France, to ſhew vnto our King what he had ſeene in thoſe Weſterne parts, and maruels of the world, for that Donnacona had told vs, that he had bene in the Countrey of Saguenay, in which are infinite Rubies, Gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who clothe themſelues with woollen cloth euen as we doe in France. Moreouer he reported, that hee had bene in another countrey of a people called Picquemians, and other ſtrange people. The ſayd Lord was an olde man, and euen from his childehood had neuer left off nor ceaſed from trauailing into ſtrange Countreys, as well by water and riuers, as by lande. The ſayd Poulet, and the other hauing tolde our Captaine their Embaſſage, and ſhewed him what Taignoagny his will was, the next day he ſent his ſeruant againe to bid Taignoagny come and ſee him, and ſhew what hee ſhould, for he ſhould be very well entertained, and alſo part of his will ſhould be accompliſhed. Taignoagny ſent him word, that the next day hee would come and bring the Lord Donnacona with him, and him that had ſo offended him, which hee did not, but ſtayed two dayes, in which time none came from Stadacona to our ſhippes, as they were wont to doe, but rather fled from vs, as if we would haue ſlaine them, ſo that then wee plainely perceiued their knauery.

Rubies, Gold, and woollen cloth with other riches in Saguenay.

A people called Picquemians

The towne of Sidatin.

But becauſe they vnderſtood, that thoſe of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forſaken the bottome of a ſhip which we would leaue, to haue the olde nailes out of it, the third day following they came from Stadacona, and moſt of them without difficulty did paſſe from one ſide of the riuer to the other with ſmall Skiffes: but Donnacona would not come ouer: Taignoagny, and Domagaia ſtood talking together aboue an houre before they would come ouer, at laſt they came to ſpeake with our Captaine. There Taignoagny prayed him that hee would cauſe the foreſayd man to be taken and caried into France. Our Captaine refuſed to doe it, ſaying, that his King had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, onely that he might bring two or three yong boyes to learne the language, but that he would willingly cary him to Newfoundland, and there leaue him in an Iland. Our Captaine ſpake this, onely to aſſure them, that they ſhould bring Donnacona with them, whom they had left on the other ſide: which wordes, when Taignoagny heard, hee was very glad, thinking hee ſhould neuer returne into France againe, and therefore promiſed to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Croſſe, and to bring Donnacona and all the people with him.

How

How that vpon Holyrood day our Captaine cauſed a Croſſe to be ſet vp in our Forte: and how the Lord *Donnacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia*, and others of their company came: and of the taking of the ſayd Lord.

Chap. 18.

The third of May being Holyroode day, our Captaine for the ſolemnitie of the day, cauſed a goodly fayre croſſe of 35 foote in height to bee ſet vp, vnder the croſſet of which hee cauſed a ſhield to be hanged, wherein were the Armes of France, and ouer them was written in antique letters, *Franciſcus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat.* And vpon that day about noone, there came a great number of the people of Stadacona, men, women, and children, who told vs that their Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia were comming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retaine them. About two of the clocke in the afternoone they came, & being come neere our ſhips, our Captaine went to ſalute Donnacona, who alſo ſhewed him a mery countenance, albeit very fearefully his eyes were ſtill bent toward the wood. Shortly after came Taignoagny, who bade Donnacona that he ſhould not enter into our Forte, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men, & kindled where their Lord was. Our Captaine prayed him to come into our ſhips to eate & drinke as hee was wont to do, and alſo Taignoagny, who promiſed, that after a while he would come, and ſo they did, & entred into our ſhips: but firſt it was told our Captain by Domagaia, that Taignoagny had ſpoken ill of him, & that he had bid Donnacona hee ſhould not come aboord our ſhips. Our Captaine perceiuing that, came out of the Forte, and ſaw that onely by Taignoagny his warning the women ran away, and none but men ſtayed in great number, wherefore he ſtraight commanded his men to lay hold on Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, & two more of the chiefeſt whom he pointed vnto: then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Preſently after, the ſaid lord entred into the Fort with the Captaine, but by & by Taignoagny came to make him come out againe. Our Captaine ſeeing that there was no other remedy, began to call vnto them to take them, at whoſe crie and voice all his men came forth, and tooke the ſayd Lord with the others, whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians ſeeing their Lord taken, began to run away, euen as ſheepe before the woolfe, ſome croſſing ouer the riuer, ſome through the woods, each one ſeeking for his owne aduantage. That done, we retired our ſelues, and laid vp the priſoners vnder good guard and ſafety.

Donnacona, Taignoagny, & Domagaia take.

How the ſaid Canadians the night following came before our ſhips to ſeeke their men, crying and howling all night like Woolues: of the talke and concluſion they agreed vpon the next day: and of the gifts which they gaue our Captaine.

Chap. 19.

The night following they came before our ſhips, (the riuer being betwixt vs) ſtriking their breaſts, and crying and howling like woolues, ſtill calling Agouhanna, thinking to ſpeake with him, which our Captaine for that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noone, whereupon they made ſignes vnto vs, that we had hanged or killed him. About noone, there came as great a number in a cluſter, as euer we ſaw, who went to hide themſelues in the Foreſt, except ſome, who with a loud voice would call and crie to Donnacona to ſpeake vnto them. Our Captaine then commanded Donnacona to be brought vp on high to ſpeake vnto them, and bade him be merrie, for after he had ſpoken, and ſhewed vnto the King of France what hee had ſeene in Saguenay and other countreys, after ten or twelue moneths, he ſhould returne againe, and that the King of France would giue him great rewards, whereat Donnacona was very glad, and ſpeaking to the others, told it them, who in token of ioy, gaue out three great cryes, and then Donnacona and his people had great talke together, which for want of interpreters, cannot be deſcribed. Our Captaine bade Donnacona that hee ſhould cauſe them to come to the other ſide of the riuer, to the end they might better talke together without any feare, & that he ſhould aſſure them: which Donnacona did, and there came a boate full of the chiefeſt of them to the ſhips, and there anew began to talke together, giuing great praiſe to our captaine, and gaue him a preſent of foure and twenty chaines of Eſurgny, for that is the greateſt and precioueſt riches they haue in this world, for they eſteeme more of that, then of any gold or ſiluer. After they had long talked together, and that their Lord ſawe that there was no remedy to auoide his going into France, hee commanded his people the next day, to bring him ſome victuals to ſerue him by the way. Our Captaine gaue Donnacona, as a great preſent, two Frying pannes of copper, eight Hatchets, and other ſmall trifles, as Kniues, and Beades, whereof hee ſeemed to be very glad, who ſent

Foure and twenty chaines of Eſurgny.

them to his wiues and children. Likewiſe, he gaue to them that came to ſpeake with Donacona, they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

How the next day, being the fift of May, the ſayd people came againe to ſpeake vnto their Lord, and how foure women came to the ſhore to bring him victuals.

Chap. 20.

VPon the fifth of May, very early in the morning, a great number of the ſayd people came againe to ſpeake vnto their Lord, and ſent a Boate, which in their tongue they call Caſnoni, wherein were onely foure women, without any man, for feare their men ſhould be retained.

Theſe women brought great ſtore of victuals, as great Millet, which is their corne that they liue withall, fleſh, fiſh, and other things after their faſhion.

Theſe women being come to our ſhippes, our Captaine did very friendly entertaine them. Then Donnacona prayed our Captaine to tell thoſe women that hee ſhould come againe after ten or twelue moneths, and bring Donnacona to Canada with him: this hee ſayd onely to appeaſe them, which our captaine did: wherefore the women, as well by words as ſignes, ſeemed to be very glad, giuing our Captaine thanks, and told him, if he came againe, and brought Donnacona with him, they would giue him many things: in ſigne whereof, each one gaue our Captaine a chaine of Eſurgny, and then paſſed to the other ſide of the riuer againe, where ſtood all the people of Stadacona, who taking all leaue of their Lord, went home againe. On Saturday following, being the ſixt of the moneth, we departed out of the ſayd Port of Santa Croix, and came to harborough a little beneath the Iſland of Orleans, about twelue leagues from the Port of the Holy Croſſe, and vpon Monday we came to the Iſland of Filberds, where wee ſtayed vntill the ſixteenth of that moneth, till the fierceneſſe of the waters were paſt, which at that time ranne too ſwift a courſe, and were too dangerous to come downe along the riuer, and therefore we ſtayed till faire weather came. In the meane while many of Donnaconas ſubiects came from the riuer of Saguenay to him, but being by Domagaia aduertiſed, that their Lord was taken to bee caryed into France, they were all amazed: yet for all that they would not leaue to come to our ſhips, to ſpeake to Donnacona, who told them that after twelue moneths he ſhould come againe, and that he was very well vſed by the Captaine, Gentlemen, and Mariners. Which when they heard, they greatly thanked our Captaine and gaue their Lord three bundles of Beauers, and ſea Woolues ſkinnes, with a great knife of red copper that commeth from Saguenay, and other things. They gaue alſo to our Captaine a chayne of Eſurgny, for which our Captaine gaue them ten or twelue Hatchets, and they gaue him hearty thankes, and were very well contented. The next day, being the ſixteenth of May, we hoyſed ſayle, and came from the ſaid Iſland of Filberds, to another about fifteene leagues from it, which is about fiue leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take ſome reſt the night following, we ſtayed that day, in hope the next day we might paſſe and auoide the dangers of the riuer of Saguenay, which are great. That euening we went aland and found great ſtore of Hares, of which we tooke a great many, and therefore we called it The Iſland of Hares: in the night there aroſe a contrary winde, with ſuch ſtormes and tempeſt, that wee were conſtrained to returne to The Iſland of Filberds againe, from whence wee were come, becauſe there was none other paſſage among the ſayde Iſlandes, and there we ſtayed till the one and twentieth of that moneth, till faire weather and good winde came againe: and then wee ſayled againe, and that ſo proſperouſly, that wee paſſed to Honguedo, which paſſage vntill that time had not bene diſcouered: wee cauſed our ſhips to courſe athwart Cape Prat which is the beginning of the Port of Chaleur: and becauſe the winde was good and conuenient, we ſayled all day and all night without ſtaying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brions Iſland, which we were not minded to doe, to the end wee might ſhorten our way. Theſe two lands lie Northweſt, and Southeaſt, and are about fiftie leagues one from another. The ſayd Iſland is in latitude 47 degrees and a halfe. Vpon Thurſday being the twenty ſixe of the moneth, and the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, we coaſted ouer to a land and ſhallow of lowe ſandes, which are about eight leagues Southweſt from Brions Iſland, aboue which are large Champaines, full of trees and alſo an encloſed ſea, whereas we could neither ſee, nor perceiue any gappe or way to enter thereinto. On Friday following, being the 27 of the moneth, becauſe the wind did change on the coaſt, we came to Brions Iſland againe, where wee ſtayed till the beginning of Iune, and toward the Southeaſt of this Iſland, wee ſawe a lande, ſeeming vnto vs as an Iſland, we coaſted it about two leagues and a halfe, and by the way we had

The Iſle of Orleans.

Iſle de Coudres.

A knife of red coper brought from Saguenay.

The Iſle of Hares

The Iſle of Brion.

notice of three other high Iſlands, lying toward the Sands: after wee had knowen theſe things we returned to the Cape of the ſayd land, which doeth deuide it ſelfe into two or three very high Capes: the waters there are very deepe, and the flood of the ſea runneth ſo ſwift, that it cannot poſſibly be ſwifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in fortie ſeuen degrees and a halfe toward the South: on which cape there is a low land, and it ſeemeth that there is ſome entrance of a riuer, but there is no hauen of any worth. Aboue theſe lands we ſaw another cape toward the South, we named it Saint Paules Cape, it is at 47 degrees and a quarter.

The Monday following, being the fourth of Iune, and Whitſonday, wee had notice of the coaſte lying Eaſtſoutheaſt, diſtant from the Newfoundland about two and twenty leagues: and becauſe the wind was againſt vs, wee went to a Hauen, which wee named S. Spiritus Porte, where we ſtayed till Teweſday that we departed thence, ſayling along that coaſt vntill wee came to Saint Peters Iſlands. Wee found along the ſayd coaſt many very dangerous Iſlands and ſhelues, which lye all in the way Eaſtſoutheaſt and Weſtnorthweſt, about three and twenty leagues into the ſea. Whileſt we were in the ſayd Saint Peters Iſlands we met with many ſhips of France and of Britaine, wee ſtayed there from Saint Barnabas day, being the eleuenth of the moneth, vntill the ſixteenth that we departed thence & came to Cape Raſe, and entred into a Port called Rognoſo, where wee tooke in freſh water, and wood to paſſe the ſea: there wee left one of our boates. Then vpon Monday, being the nineteenth of Iune, we went from that Port, and with ſuch good and proſperous weather we ſailed along the ſea, in ſuch ſorte, that vpon the ſixt of Iuly 1536 we came to the Porte of S.Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our Nauigation, that of his infinite mercy he will grant vs his grace and fauour, and in the end bring vs to the place of euerlaſting felicitie. Amen.

Here followeth the language of the countrey, and kingdomes of *Hochelaga* and *Canada*, of vs called *New France*: But firſt the names of their numbers.

Secada	1	*Indahir*	6
Tigneni	2	*Aiaga*	7
Haſche	3	*Addigue*	8
Hannaion	4	*Madellon*	9
Ouiſcon	5	*Aſſem*	10

Here follow the names of the chiefeſt partes of man, and other words neceſſary to be knowen.

the Head	*aggonzi*	a Womans member	*caſtaigne*
the Browe	*hegueniaſcon*	an Eele	*eſgueny*
the Eyes	*higata*	a Snaile	*vndeguezi*
the Eares	*ahontaſcon*	a Tortois	*heuleuxima*
the Mouth	*eſahe*	Woods	*conda*
the Teeth	*eſgongay*	leaues of Trees	*hoga*
the Tongue	*oſnache*	God	*cudragny*
the Throate	*agonhon*	giue me ſome drink	*quazahoaquea*
the Beard	*hebelim*	giue me to breakfaſt	*quaſo hoa quaſcahoa*
the Face	*hegonaſcon*	giue me my ſupper	*quaza hoa quatfriam*
the Haires	*aganiſcon*	let vs goe to bed	*caſigno agnydahoa*
the Armes	*aiayaſcon*	a Man	*aguehum*
the Flanckes	*aiſſonne*	a woman	*agruaſte*
the Stomacke	*aggruaſcon*	a Boy	*addegeſta*
the Bellie	*eſchehenda*	a Wench	*agniaqueſta*
the Thighes	*hetnegradaſcon*	a Child	*exiaſta*
the Knees	*agochinegodaſcon*	a Gowne	*cabata*
the Legges	*agouguenehonde*	a Dublet	*carona*
the Feete	*onchidaſcon*	Hoſen	*hemondoha*
the Hands	*aignoaſcon*	Shooes	*atha*
the Fingers	*agenoga*	a Shirt	*amgona*
the Nailes	*agedaſcon*	a Cappe	*caſtrua*
a Mans member	*ainoaſcon*	Corne	*oſizi*

Bread

Bread	*carraconny*	giue me a knife	*buazahca agoheda*
Water	*ame*	a Hatchet	*adogne*
Fleſh	*quahonaſcon*	a Bow	*ahenca*
Reiſins	*queion*	a Darte	*quahetan*
Damſons	*honneſta*	let vs goe a hunting	*Caſigno donnaſcat*
Figges	*abſconda*	a Stagge	*aionnelta*
Grapes	*ozoba*	a Sheepe	*aſquenondo*
Nuttes	*quahoya*	a Hare	*Sourhanda*
a Hen	*ſahomgahoa*	a Dogge	*agaya*
a Lamprey	*ziſto*	a Towne	*canada*
a Salmon	*ondacon*	the Sea	*agogaſy*
a Whale	*ainne honne*	the waues of the ſea	*coda*
a Gooſe	*ſadeguenda*	an Iſland	*cohena*
a Streete	*adde*	an Hill	*agacha*
Cucumber ſeede	*caſconda*	the yce	*honneſca*
to Morrowe	*achide*	Snow	*camſa*
the Heauen	*quenhia*	Colde	*athau*
the Earth	*damga*	Hotte	*odazani*
the Sunne	*yſmay*	Fier	*aziſta*
the Moone	*aſſomaha*	Smoke	*quea*
the Starres	*ſtagnehoham*	a Houſe	*canoca*
the Winde	*cohoha*	Beanes	*ſahe*
good morrow	*aignag*	Cinnamom	*adhotathny*
let vs go to play	*caſigno caudy*	my Father	*addathy*
come & ſpeak with	*aſſigniquaddadia*	my Mother	*adanahoe*
looke vpon me (me	*quagathoma*	my Brother	*addagrim*
hold your peace	*aiſta*	my Siſter	*adhoaſſeue*
let vs go with ȳ boat	*caſigno caſnouy*		

They of Canada ſay, that it is a monethes ſayling to goe to a lande where Cinnamom and Cloues are gathered.

Here endeth the Relation of Iames Cartiers diſcouery and Nauigation to the Newfoundlands, by him named New France.

The third voyage of diſcouery made by Captaine *Iaques Cartier*, 1540. vnto the Countreys of *Canada, Hochelaga*, and *Saguenay*.

King Francis the firſt hauing heard the report of Captaine Cartier his Pilot generall in his two former Voyages of diſcouery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which hee had found and ſeene in the Weſterne partes diſcouered by him in the perts of Canada and Hochelaga, and hauing alſo ſeene and talked with the people, which the ſayd Cartier had brought out of thoſe Countreys, whereof one was king of Canada, whoſe name was Donnacona, and others: which after that they had bene a long time in France and Britaine, were baptized at their owne deſire and requeſt, and died in the ſayd countrey of Britaine. And albeit his Maieſtie was aduertized by the ſayd Cartier of the death and deceaſe of all the people which were brought ouer by him (which were tenne in number) ſauing one little girle about tenne yeeres old, yet he reſolued to ſend the ſayd Cartier his Pilot thither againe, with Iohn Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberual, whome hee appointed his Lieutenant and Gouernour in the Countreys of Canada and Hochelaga, and the ſayd Cartier Captaine generall and leader of the ſhippes, that they might diſcouer more then was done before in the former voyages, and attaine (if it were poſſible) vnto the knowledge of the Countrey of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention vnto the King, that there were great riches, and very good countreys. And the King cauſed a certaine ſumme of money to be deliuered to furniſh out the ſayd voyage with fiue ſhippes: which thing was perfourmed by the ſayd Monſieur Roberual and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rigge the ſayd fiue ſhips at Saint Malo in Britaine, where the two former voyages had beene

Ten Sauages brought into France.

Iohn Francis de la Roche, lord of Roberual.

Great riches & very good ſoile in Saguenay, which is beyond ȳ faults.

prepared and ſet forth. And the ſaid Monſieur Roberual ſent Cartier thither for the ſame purpoſe. And after that Cartier had cauſed the ſaid fiue ſhips to bee built and furniſhed and ſet in good order, Monſieur Roberual came downe to S.Malo and found the ſhips fallen downe to the roade, with their yards acroſſe full ready to depart and ſet ſaile, ſtaying for nothing elſe but the comming of the Generall, and the payment of the furniture. And becauſe Monſieur Roberual the kings lieutenant had not as yet his artillery, powder and munitions, and other things neceſſary come downe, which he had prouided for the voyage, in the Countreys of Champaigne and Normandie: and becauſe the ſaid things were very neceſſary, and that hee was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from S.Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ſhip or two at Honfleur, whether he thought his things were come: And that the ſaid Cartier ſhoulde depart with the fiue ſhippes which he had furniſhed, and ſhould goe before. Conſidering alſo that the ſaid Cartier had receiued letters from the king, whereby hee did expreſly charge him to depart and ſet ſayle immediatly vpon the ſight and receit thereof, on payne of incurring his diſpleaſure, and to lay all the fault on him. And after the concluſion of theſe things, and the ſaid Monſieur Roberual had taken muſter and view of the gentlemen, ſouldiers, and mariners which were retained and choſen for the performance of the ſayd voyage, hee gaue vnto Captaine Cartier full authoritie to depart and goe before, and to gouerne all things as if he had bene there in perſon: and himſelfe departed to Honfleur to make his farther preparation. After theſe things thus diſpatched, the winde comming faire, the foreſayd fiue ſhips ſet ſayle together well furniſhed and victualled for two yeere, the 23. of May, 1540. And we ſailed ſo long with contrary winds and continuall torments, which fell out by reaſon of our late departure, that wee were on the ſea with our ſayd fiue ſhips full three moneths before wee could arriue at the Port and Hauen of Canada, without euer hauing in all that time 30. houres of good wind to ſerue vs to keepe our right courſe: ſo that our fiue ſhippes through thoſe ſtormes loſt company one of another, all ſaue two that kept together, to wit that wherein the Captaine was, and the other wherein went the Vicount of Beaupre, vntill at length at the ende of one moneth wee met all together at the Hauen of Carpont in Newfoundland. But the length of time which we were in paſſing betweene Britayne and Newfoundland was the cauſe that we ſtood in great neede of water, becauſe of the cattell, aſwell Goates, Hogges, as other beaſtes which we caried for breede in the Countrey, which wee were conſtrained to water with Sider and other drinke. Now therefore becauſe we were the ſpace of three moneths in ſayling on the ſea, and ſtaying in Newfoundland, wayting for Monſieur Roberual, and taking in of freſh water and other things neceſſary, wee arriued not before the Hauen of Saincte Croix in Canada, (where in the former voyage we had remayned eight moneths) vntill the 23. day of Auguſt. In which place the people of the Countrey came to our ſhippes, making ſhew of ioy for our arriuall, and namely he came thither which had the rule and gouernment of the Countrey of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Donacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France: And hee came to the Captaines ſhip with 6. or 7. boates, and with many women and children. And after the ſayd Agona had inquired of the Captaine where Donacona and the reſt were, the Captaine anſwered him, That Donacona was dead in France, and that his body reſted in the earth, and that the reſt ſtayed there as great Lords, and were maried, and would not returne backe into their Countrey: the ſaid Agona made no ſhewe of anger at all theſe ſpeeches: and I thinke he tooke it ſo well becauſe he remained Lord and Gouernour of the countrey by the death of the ſaid Donacona. After which conference the ſaid Agona tooke a piece of tanned leather of a yellow ſkin edged about with Eſnoguy (which is their riches and the thing which they eſteeme moſt precious, as wee eſteeme gold) which was vpon his head in ſtead of a crowne, and he put the ſame on the head of our Captaine, and tooke from his wriſts two bracelets of Eſnoguy, and put them vpon the Captaines armes, colling him about the necke and ſhewing vnto him great ſignes of ioy: which was all diſſimulation, as afterward it wel appeared. The captaine tooke his ſaid crowne of leather and put it againe vpon his head, and gaue him and his wiues certaine ſmal preſents, ſignifying vnto him, that he had brought certaine new things, which afterward he would beſtow vpon him: for which the ſayd Agona thanked the Captaine. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drinke, they departed and returned to the ſhore with their boates. After which things the ſayd Captaine went with two of his boates vp the riuer, beyond Canada and the Port of Saincte Croix, to view a Hauen and a ſmall riuer, which is about 4. leagues higher: which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ſhips, then the former. And therefore he returned and cauſed all his ſhips to be brought before the ſayd riuer, and at a lowe water he cauſed his Ordinance to bee planted to place his ſhips in more ſaftie, which he meant to keepe and ſtay in the Countrey, which were three: which hee did the day following,

The kings letters to Cartier.

23. of May, 1540.

The great miſchiefe of letting the ſeaſon.

Carpont Hauen.

Tranſporting of diuers ſorts of cattell to breed.

The 23. of Auguſt.

The new king of Canada.

Great diſſimulation of a Sauage.

A good roade 4. leagues aboue Saincte Croix.

and the reſt remayned in the roade in the midſt of the riuer (In which place the victuals and other furniture were diſcharged, which they had brought) from the 26. of Auguſt vntill the ſecond of September, what time they departed to returne for S. Malo, in which ſhips he ſent backe Mace Iolloberte his brother in lawe, and Steuen Noel his Nephew, ſkilfull and excellent pilots, with letters vnto the king, and to aduertiſe him what had bene done and found: and how Monſieur de Roberual was not yet come, and that hee feared that by occaſion of contrary winds and tempeſts he was driuen backe againe into France.

The deſcription of the aforeſaid Riuer and Hauen.

The ſayd Riuer is ſmall, not paſt 50. paſes broad, and ſhippes drawing three fathoms water may enter in at a full ſea: and at a low water there is nothing but a chanell of a foote deepe or thereabout. On both ſides of the ſaid Riuer there are very good and faire grounds, full of as faire and mightie trees as any be in the world, and diuers ſorts, which are aboue tenne fathoms higher then the reſt, and there is one kind of tree aboue three fathoms about, which they in the Countrey call Hanneda, which hath the moſt excellent vertue of all the trees of the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreouer there are great ſtore of Okes the moſt excellent that euer I ſaw in my life, which were ſo laden with Maſt that they cracked againe: beſides this there are fairer Arables, Cedars, Beeches, and other trees, then grow in France: and hard vnto this wood on the South ſide the ground is all couered with Vines, which we found laden with grapes as blacke as Mulberies, but they be not ſo kind as thoſe of France becauſe the Vines bee not tilled, and becauſe they grow of their owne accord. Moreouer there are many white Thornes, which beare leaues as bigge as oken leaues, and fruit like vnto Medlers. To bee ſhort, it is as good a Countrey to plow and mannure as a man ſhould find or deſire. We ſowed ſeedes here of our Countrey, as Cabages, Naueaus, Lettiſes and others, which grew and ſprong vp out of the ground in eight dayes. The mouth of the riuer is toward the South, and it windeth Northward like vnto a ſnake: and at the mouth of it toward the Eaſt there is a high and ſteepe cliffe, where we made a way in maner of a payre of ſtaires, and aloft we made a Fort to keepe the nether Fort and the ſhips, and all things that might paſſe aſwell by the great as by this ſmall riuer. Moreouer a man may behold a great extenſion of ground apt for tillage, ſtraite and handſome and ſomewhat enclining toward the South, as eaſie to be brought to tillage as I would deſire, and very well repleniſhed with faire Okes and other trees of great beauty, no thicker then the Forreſts of France. Here wee ſet twenty men to worke, which in one day had laboured about an acre and an halfe of the ſaid ground, and ſowed it part with Naueaus or ſmall Turneps, which at the ende of eight dayes, as I ſaid before, ſprang out of the earth. And vpon that high cliffe wee found a faire fountaine very neere the ſayd Fort: adioyning whereunto we found good ſtore of ſtones, which we eſteemed to be Diamants. On the other ſide of the ſaid mountaine and at the foote thereof, which is towards the great Riuer is all along a goodly Myne of the beſt yron in the world, and it reacheth euen hard vnto our Fort, and the ſand which we tread on is perfect refined Myne, ready to be put into the fornace. And on the waters ſide we found certaine leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans nayle. And Weſtward of the ſaid Riuer there are, as hath bene ſayd, many faire trees: and toward the water a goodly Medow full of as faire and goodly graſſe as euer I ſawe in any Medowe in France: and betweene the ſayd Medow and the Wood are great ſtore of Vines: and beyond the ſaid Vines the land groweth full of Hempe which groweth of it ſelfe, which is as good as poſſibly may be ſeene, and as ſtrong. And at the ende of the ſayd Medow within an hundred paſes there is a riſing ground, which is of a kind of ſlate ſtone blacke and thicke, wherein are veines of mynerall matter, which ſhewe like gold and ſiluer: and throughout all that ſtone there are great graines of the ſayd Myne. And in ſome places we haue found ſtones like Diamants, the moſt faire, poliſhed and excellently cut that it is poſſible for a man to ſee, when the Sunne ſhineth vpon them, they gliſter as it were ſparkles of fire.

Trees aboue 3. fathoms about.

Hanneda the moſt excellent tree of the world.

Abundance of Vines full of grapes.

Fruit like Medlers.

Seed ſprong out of the ground within 8 dayes.

A great plaine of very good arable ground.

Diamants of Canada.

An yron Myne.

Leaues of fine gold as thicke as a mans naile found in Canada.

Excellent and ſtrong hempe.

How after the departure of the two ſhippes which were ſent backe into *Britaine*, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, the Captaine prepared two boates to goe vp the great Riuer to diſcouer the paſſage of the three Saults or falles of the Riuer.

The ſayd Captaine hauing diſpatched two ſhips to returne to carry newes, according as hee had in charge from the king, and that the Fort was begun to be builded, for preſeruation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Vicount of Beaupre, and other Gentlemen, Maſters, and Pilots choſen for counſayle, to make a voyage with two boates furniſhed with men and victuals to goe as farre as Hochelaga, of purpoſe to view and vnderſtand the faſhion of the Saults of water, which are to be paſſed to goe to Saguenay, that hee might be the readier in the ſpring to paſſe farther, and in the Winter time to make all things needefull in a readineſſe for their buſineſſe. The foreſaid boates being made ready, the Captaine and Martine de Paimpont, with other Gentlemen and the remnant of the Mariners departed from the ſayd place of Charleſburg Royal the ſeuenth day of September in the yeere aforeſayd 1540. And the Vicount of Beaupre ſtayed behind for the garding and gouernement of all things in the Fort. And as they went vp the riuer, the Captaine went to ſee the Lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth betweene Canada and Hochelaga: which in the former voyage had giuen vnto the ſaid Captaine a little girle, and had oftentimes enformed him of the treaſons which Taignoagny and Domagaya (whom the Captaine in his former voyage had caried into France) would haue wrought againſt him. In regard of which his curteſie the ſaid Captaine would not paſſe by without viſiting of him, and to let him vnderſtand that the Captaine thought himſelfe beholding vnto him, hee gaue vnto him two yong boyes, and left them with him to learne their language, and beſtowed vpon him a cloake of Paris red, which cloake was ſet with yealow and white buttons of Tinne, and ſmall belles. And withall hee gaue him two Baſins of Laton, and certaine hachets and kniues: whereat the ſayde Lord ſeemed highly to reioyce, and thanked the Captaine. This done, the Captaine and his company departed from that place: And wee ſailed with ſo proſperous a wind, that we arriued the eleuenth day of the moneth at the firſt Sault of water, which is two leagues diſtant from the Towne of Tutonaguy. And after wee were arriued there, wee determined to goe and paſſe as farre vp as it was poſſible with one of the boates, and that the other ſhould ſtay there till it returned: and wee double manned her to rowe vp againſt the courſe or ſtreame of the ſayde Sault. And after wee had paſſed ſome part of the way from our other boate, wee found badde ground and great rockes, and ſo great a current, that wee could not poſſibly paſſe any further with our Boate. And the Captaine reſolued to goe by land to ſee the nature and faſhion of the Sault. And after that we were come on ſhore, wee found hard by the water ſide a way and beaten path going toward the ſayde Saults, by which wee tooke our way. And on the ſayd way, and ſoone after we found an habitation of people which made vs great cheere, and entertained vs very friendly. And after that he had ſignified vnto them, that wee were going toward the Saults, and that wee deſired to goe to Saguenay, foure yong men went along with vs to ſhewe vs the way, and they brought vs ſo farre, that wee came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell ouer againſt the ſecond Sault, which came and brought vs of their victuals, as Pottage and Fiſh, and offered vs of the ſame. After that the Captaine had enquired of them as well by ſignes as wordes, how many more Saults wee had to paſſe to goe to Saguenay, and what diſtance and way it was thither, this people ſhewed vs and gaue vs to vnderſtand, that wee were at the ſecond Sault, and that there was but one more to paſſe, that the Riuer was not nauigable to goe to Saguenay, and that the ſayd Sault was but a third part farther then we had trauailed, ſhewing vs the ſame with certaine little ſtickes, which they layd vpon the ground in a certaine diſtance, and afterward layde other ſmall branches betweene both, repreſenting the Saults. And by the ſayde marke, if their ſaying be true, it can be but ſixe leagues by land to paſſe the ſayd Saults.

The Vicount of Beaupre and the reſt of their councell.

The rich countrey of Saguenay ſituated beyond the Saults which are in 44 deg.

They depart from Charleſburg Royal the 7. of Septem.

They delight in red cloth.

The 11 of September. The Towne of Tutonaguy.

Bad ground, and a great current.

A Towne of friendly people.

Another village of good people which dwell ouer againſt the ſecond Sault.

They were at the ſecond Sault.

The riuer not nauigable to paſſe to Saguenay.

Here after followeth the figure of the three *Saults*.

After that we had bene aduertiſed by the ſayde people, of the things abouementioned, both becauſe the day was farre ſpent, and we had neither drunke nor eaten the ſame day, we concluded to returne vnto our boats, and we came thither, where we found great ſtore of people to the number of 400. perſons or thereabout, which ſeemed to giue vs very good entertainment and to reioyce of our comming: And therefore our Captaine gaue eche of them certaine ſmall trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other ſmal toyes, and vnto the chiefe men euery one his little hatchet & hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonies of ioy. But a man muſt not truſt them for all their faire ceremonies and ſignes of ioy, for if they had thought they had bene too ſtrong for vs, then would they haue done their beſt to haue killed vs, as we vnderſtood afterward. This being done, we returned with our boats, and paſſed by the dwelling of the Lord of Hochelay, with whom the Captaine had left the two youths as hee came vp the riuer, thinking to haue found him: But hee coulde find no body ſaue one of his ſonnes, who tolde the Captaine that hee

400 perſons about their boates.

Like thoſe of new Albion.

The Sauages are great diſſemblers.

was gone to Maiſouna, as our boyes alſo told vs, ſaying, that it was two dayes ſince he departed. But in truth hee was gone to Canada to conclude with Agona, what they ſhould doe againſt vs. And when we were arriued at our Fort, wee vnderſtoode by our people, that the Sauages of the Countrey came not any more about our Fort as they were accuſtomed, to bring vs fiſh, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and feare of vs. Wherefore our Captaine, hauing bene aduertiſed by ſome of our men which had bene at Stadacona to viſite them, that there were a wonderfull number of the Countrey people aſſembled together, cauſed all things in our fortreſſe to bee ſet in good order: &c.

Maiſouna.

The Sauages conſpire together againſt the French.

A very great number of Sauages aſſembled together.

The reſt is wanting.

A letter written to M. *Iohn Growte* ſtudent in *Paris*, by *Iaques Noel* of *S. Malo*, the nephew of *Iaques Cartier*, touching the foreſaid diſcouery.

Maſter Growte, your brother in law Giles Walter ſhewed me this morning a Mappe printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt an Engliſh Gentleman: wherein all the Weſt Indies, the kingdome of New Mexico, and the Countreys of Canada, Hochelaga and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the Riuer of Canada which is deſcribed in that Mappe is not marked as it is in my booke, which is agreeable to the booke of Iaques Cartier: and that the ſayd Chart doth not marke or ſet downe The great Lake, which is aboue the Saults, according as the Sauages haue aduertiſed vs, which dwell at the ſayd Saults. In the foreſayd Chart which you ſent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the North. The Saults or falles of the Riuer ſtand in 44. degrees of latitude: it is not ſo hard a matter to paſſe them, as it is thought: The water falleth not downe from any high place, it is nothing elſe but that in the middeſt of the Riuer there is bad ground. It were beſt to build boates aboue the Saults: and it is eaſie to march or trauell by land to the end of the three Saults: it is not aboue fiue leagues iourney. I haue bene vpon the toppe of a mountaine, which is at the foot of the Saults, where I haue ſeene the ſayd Riuer beyond the ſayd Saultes, which ſhewed vnto vs to be broader then it was where we paſſed it. The people of the Countrey aduertiſed vs, that there are ten dayes iourney from the Saults vnto this Great Lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a dayes iourney. At this preſent I cannot write vnto you more at large, becauſe the meſſenger can ſtay no longer. Here therefore for the preſent I will ende, ſaluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to giue you your hearts deſire. From S. Malo in haſte this 19 day of Iune. 1587.

The Saults are in 44. deg. and eaſie to paſſe.

But 5. leagues iourney to paſſe the 3. Saults.

Ten dayes iourney from the Saults to this great Lake.

Your louing Friend, IAQVES NOEL.

COſin, I pray you doe me ſo much pleaſure as to ſend mee a booke of the diſcouery of New Mexico, and one of thoſe new Mappes of the Weſt Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the Engliſh Gentleman, which you ſent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not faile to informe my ſelfe, if there be any meane to find out thoſe deſcriptions which Captaine Cartier made after his two laſt voyages into Canada.

Vnderneath the aforeſaid vnperfite relation that which followeth is written in another letter ſent to M. *Iohn Growte* ſtudent in *Paris* from *Iaques Noel* of *S. Malo*, the grand nephew of *Iaques Cartier*.

I Can write nothing elſe vnto you of any thing that I can recouer of the writings of Captaine Iaques Cartier my vncle diſceaſed, although I haue made ſearch in all places that I could poſſibly in this Towne: ſauing of a certaine booke made in maner of a ſea Chart, which was drawne by the hand of my ſaid vncle, which is in the poſſeſſion of maſter Cremeur: which booke is paſſing well marked and drawne for all the Riuer of Canada, whereof I am well aſſured, becauſe I my ſelfe haue knowledge thereof as farre as to the Saults, where I haue bene: The height of which Saults is in 44. degrees. I found in the ſayd Chart beyond the place where the Riuer is diuided in twaine in the midſt of both the branches of the ſaid riuer ſomewhat neereſt that arme which runneth towards the Northweſt, theſe words following written in the hand of Iaques Cartier.

The Saults are in the latitude of 44. deg.

By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was ſaid, That here is the land of *Saguenay*, which is rich and wealthy in precious ſtones.

And about an hundred leagues vnder the ſame I found written theſe two lines following in the ſaid Carde enclining toward the Southweſt. Here in this Countrey are Cinamon and Cloues, which they call in their language *Canodeta*.

Touching the effect of my booke whereof I ſpake vnto you, it is made after the maner of a ſea Chart, which I haue deliuered to my two ſonnes Michael and Iohn, which at this preſent are in Canada. If at their returne, which will be God willing about Magdalene tyde, they haue learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not faile to aduertiſe you thereof.

Your louing Friend, IAQVES NOEL.

Here followeth the courſe from *Belle Iſle*, *Carpont*, and the *Grand Bay* in *Newfoundland* vp the Riuer of *Canada* for the ſpace of 230. leagues, obſerued by *Iohn Alphonſe of Xanctoigne* chiefe Pilote to *Monſieur Roberual*, 1542.

BElles Iſles are in 51 degrees and ⅔. Belles Iſles and Carpont are Northnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt, and they are ten leagues diſtant. Carpont is in 52 degrees. Carpont and Bell Iſle from the Grand Bay are Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance from Bell Iſle to the Grand Bay is 7 leagues. The midſt of the Grand Bay is in 52 degrees and a halfe, and on the Northſide therof there is a rocke: halfe a league from the Iſle, ouer againſt Carpont toward the Eaſt there is a ſmall flat Iſland, and on the ſide toward the Northeaſt there is a flat rocke. And when thou commeſt out of the harborough of Carpont thou muſt leaue this rocke on the ſtarreboord ſide, and alſo on the larboord ſide there are two or three ſmall Iſles: and when thou commeſt out on the Northweſt ſide, ranging along the ſhore toward the Weſt about two pikes length in the midway there is a ſhold which lieth on thy ſtarboord ſide: and ſaile thou by the North coaſt, and leaue two partes of the Grand Bay toward the South; becauſe there is a rocke which runneth 2 or 3 leagues into the ſea. And when thou art come athwart the hauen of Butes, run along the North ſhore about one league or an halfe off, for the coaſt is without all danger: Bell Iſle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Iſles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, neere vnto the North ſhore lie Northeaſt, Weſt and Southweſt, & the diſtance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but 7 leagues broad from land to land vntill it come ouer againſt the Bay des Chaſteaux: and from thence forward it hath not paſt 5 leagues in breadth. And againſt Blanc Sablon it is 8 leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the South ſhore is all low land along the ſea coaſt. The North ſhore is reaſonable high land. Blanc Sablon is in 51 degrees ⅔. The Iſles of Blanc Sablon & the Iſles de la Damoiſelle, are Northeaſt, Weſtſouthweſt, and take a little of the Weſtſouthweſt, and they are diſtant 36 leagues: theſe Iles are in 50. deg. ¾. And there is a good hauen: & you may enter by an high Cape which lieth along toward the Northeaſt, and within the diſtance of a pike & an half, becauſe of a rocke which lieth on your larreboord ſide, & you may ancre in 10 fathome water ouer againſt a litle nooke: and from the great headland vnto the place where thou doeſt ancre there is not aboue the length of 2 Cables. And if thou wouldeſt go out by the Weſt ſide, thou muſt ſaile neere the Iſle by the ſtarreboord, & giue roome vnto the Iſle on the larboord at the comming forth: and when thou art not paſt a cables length out thou muſt ſaile hard by the Iſles on the larboord ſide, by reaſon of a ſuncken flatte which lieth on the ſtarreboord, and thou ſhalt ſaile ſo on to the Southſouthweſt, vntill thou come in ſight of a rocke which ſhineth, which is about halfe a league in the ſea diſtant from the Iſles, and thou ſhalt leaue it on the larreboord: (and from the Iſles of Damoiſelle vnto Newfoundland the ſea is not in bredth aboue 36. leagues, becauſe that Newfoundland turn vnto Cape Briton runneth not but Northnortheaſt & Southſouthweſt.) Betweene the Iſles de la Damoiſelle and the Iſles of Blanck Sablon there be many Iſles and good harbours: and on this coaſt there are faulcons & haukes, and certaine foules which ſeeme to be feaſants. The Iſles de la Damoiſelle & Cape Tienot are Northeaſt & Weſtſouthweſt & take a little of the Northeaſt and ſouthweſt, & they are diſtant 18. leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50. deg. and ¼. And there the ſea is broadeſt. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton 70 leagues, which is the greateſt bredth of this ſea. And there are 6 or 7 Iſles betweene the Iſles de la Damoiſelle & Cape Tienot. Cape Tienot hath in ye ſea 5 or 6 leagues diſtant frō it a ſunkē Iland dangerous for ſhips. The Cape Tienot and the midſt of the Iſle of Aſcenſion are Northeaſt and ſouthſouthweſt, & they are 22. leagues diſtant, the midſt of the Iſle of Aſcenſion is in 49 deg. & ½. The ſaid Iſle lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt, the Northweſt end is in 50. degrees of latitude and the Southeaſt end is in 48. degrees and a halfe, and it is about 25. leagues long and 4. or 5. leagues

Belle Iſle.

Carpont in 52. degrees.

The Grand Bay in 52. and an halfe.

A flatte rocke.

Butes.

The Iſle of Blanc Sablon or white ſand.

The ſeuerall breadths of the Grand Bay.

Blanc Sablon in 51. deg 2. third parts.

The Iſles de la Damoiſelle in 50 deg. 3 fourth parts.

Many Iſles & good harbors.

Cape Tienot in 50 deg. one fourth part.

The Iſle Aſcention, Aſſumption or Natiſcotec.

leagues broad: and from the Northweſt end of the Iſle vnto the firme land of the North ſide the Sea is not aboue ſeuen leagues broad, but vnto the firme land on the South ſide are about 15. leagues. Cape Tienot and the end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion toward the Southeaſt are Northeaſt and Southweſt, and are diſtant 30. leagues. The ſaid Cape of Tienot and the Northweſt end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion are Eaſt and Weſt, and take a little of the Northeaſt and Southweſt, and they are diſtant 34. leagues. The Iſle of Aſcenſion is a goodly Iſle, and a goodly champion land without any hilles, ſtanding all vpon white rocks and Alablaſter, all couered with trees vnto the Sea ſhore, and there are al ſorts of trees as there be in France: and there be wild beaſts, as beares, Luſerns, Porkeſpicks. And from the Southeaſt end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion vnto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50. leagues. The Northweſt end of the Iſle & the Cape des Monts noſtre Dame, which is on the maine land towards the South, are Northeaſt and Weſtſouthweſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 15. leagues. The Cape is in 49. degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Iſle of Aſcenſion toward the Southeaſt are Eaſt and Weſt and there is 15. leagues diſtance betweene them. The Bay of Molues or Gaſpay is in 48. degrees, and the coaſt lyeth North and South, and taketh a quarter of the Northeaſt and Southweſt vnto the Bay of Heate: and there are 3. Iſles, one great one and two ſmal: from the Bay of Heate vntill you paſſe the Monts noſtre Dame al the land is high and good ground al couered with trees. Ognedoc is a good Bay and lyeth Northnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt, and it is a good Harbour: and you muſt ſaile along the ſhore on the Northſide by reaſon of the low point at the entrance thereof: and when you are paſſed the poynt bring your ſelfe to an ancre in 15. or 20. fathoms of water toward the South ſhore, and here within this Hauen are two riuers, one which goeth toward the Northweſt, and the other to the Southweſt. And on this coaſt there is great fiſhing for Coddes and other fiſh, where there is more ſtore then is in Newfoundland, and better fiſh. And here is great ſtore of riuer foule, as Malards, wild Geeſe, and others: And here are all ſorts of trees, Roſe trees, Raſpeſſes, Filbird trees, Apple trees, Peare trees, and it is hotter here in Sommer then in France. The Iſle of Aſcenſion and the 7. Iſles which lie on the North ſhore lie Southeaſt and Weſtnorthweſt, and are diſtant 24. leagues. The Cape of Ognedoc and the 7. Iſles are Northnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt, & are diſtant 35. leagues. The Cape of Monts noſtre Dame and the 7. Iſles are North and South, and the cut ouer from the one to the other is 25. leagues: and this is the breadth of this Sea, and from thence vpward it beginneth to waxe narrower and narrower. The 7. Iſles are in 50. degrees and ½. The 7. Iſles and the poynt of Ongear lie Northeaſt and Southweſt and the diſtance betweene them is 15. leagues, and betweene them are certaine ſmall Iſlands: and the point of Ongear and the mountaines Noſtre Dame, which are on the South ſide of the entrance of the riuer, are North and South: and the cut ouer from the one to the other is ten leagues: and this is here the breadth of the Sea. The poynt of Ongear and the riuer of Caen lie Eaſt and Weſt, and they are diſtant 12. leagues. And all the coaſt from the Iſle of Aſcenſion hither is very good ground, wherein growe all ſortes of trees that are in France and ſome fruits. The poynt of Ongear is in 49. degrees and ¼. And the riuer of Caen and the Iſle of Raquelle lye Northeaſt and Southweſt, and they are diſtant 12. leagues. The Iſle of Raquelle is in 48. degrees and ⅔. In this riuer of Caen there is great ſtore of fiſh. And here the Sea is not paſt 8. leagues broad. The Iſle of Raquelle is a very low Iſle, which is neere vnto the South ſhore, hard by a high Cape which is called the Cape of Marble. There is no danger there at all. And betweene Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ſhips may paſſe. And there is not from the Iſle to the South ſhore aboue one league, and from the Iſle vnto the North ſhore about foure leagues. The Iſle of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are Northeaſt Weſtſouthweſt, and are diſtant 14. leagues, and there are betweene them two ſmall Iſlandes neere the North ſhore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48. degrees and ⅔, and the entrance hath not paſt a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the Southweſt: and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to waxe wider and wider: and it ſeemeth to bee as it were an arme of the Sea: And I thinke that the ſame runneth into the Sea of Cathay, for it ſendeth foorth there a great current, and there doth runne in that place a terrible raſe or tyde. And here the riuer from the North ſhore to the South ſhore is not paſt foure leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous paſſage betweene both the lands, becauſe there lie bankes of rockes in the riuer. The Iſle of Raquelle and the Iſle of Hares lye Northeaſt and Southweſt, and take ¼ of the Eaſt and the Weſt, and they are diſtant 18. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Iſle of Liepueres or Hares lie Northnortheaſt & Southſouthweſt, and are diſtant 5. leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Iſle of Raquelle are Northnorthweſt, and Southſouthweſt, and are diſtant three leagues. The Iſle of Hares is in 48. and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a degree. From the Mountaines of Noſtre

The commendation of the Iſle of Aſcentiõ.

From Cape Briton to the Southeaſt end of the Iſle of Aſcention is but 50 leagues.

The Cape of Mon z noſtre Dame.

The Bay of Molues or Gaſpay.

The Bay de Chaleur or of Heate

The Bay of Ognedoc.

Greater ſtore and better fiſh then in Newfoundland.

Foules.

Trees.

The mouth of the riuer of Canada twenty fiue leagues broad.

The 7 Iſles in 50 degrees and a halfe.

The riuer is here but 10 leagues broad.

The point of Ongear in 49 degrees and a quarter.

The Iſle of Raquelle in 48 degrees and two third parts.

The riuer 8 leagues broad.

The entrance of Saguenay.

The ſea of Cathay.

The riuer not paſt 4 leagues ouer.

The Iſle of Hares in 48 and one ſixteenth part.

Noſtre Dame vnto Canada and vnto Hochelaga, all the land on the South coaſt is faire, a lowe land and goodly champaigne, all couered with trees vnto the brink of the riuer. And the land on the North ſide is higher, and in ſome places there are high mountaines. And from the Iſle of Hares vnto the Iſle of Orleans the riuer is not paſt 4 or 5 leagues broad. Betweene the Iſle of Hares and the high land on the North ſide the ſea is not paſt a league and an halfe broad, and it is very deepe, for it is aboue 100. fathoms deepe in the middeſt. To the Eaſt of the Iſle of Hares there are 2 or 3 ſmall Iſles and rockes. And from hence to the Iſle Des Coudres or of Filbeards, all is nothing but Iſles and rockes on the South ſhore: and towards the North the ſea is fayre and deepe. The Iſle of Hares and the Iſle of Filbeards lie northeaſt, Weſt and Southweſt, and they are diſtant 12 leagues. And you muſt alwayes run along the high land on the north ſhore; for on the other ſhore there is nothing but rocks. And you muſt paſſe by the ſide of the Iſle of Filbeards, and the riuer there is not paſt a quarter of a league broad, and you muſt ſayle in the middeſt of the chanel: and in the middeſt runneth the beſt paſſage either at an hie or a low water, becauſe the ſea runneth there ſtrongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had neede of good ancre and cable. The iſle of Filbeards is a ſmall iſle, about one league long, and halfe a league broad, but they are all banks of ſand. The iſle of Filberds ſtands in 47. deg. and ¾. The iſle of Filberds and the iſle of Orleans lie northeaſt and ſouthweſt, and they are diſtant 10 leagues, and thou muſt paſſe by the high land on the northſide about a quarter of a league, becauſe that in the midſt of the riuer there is nothing but ſholds and rocks. And when thou ſhalt bee ouer againſt a round Cape, thou muſt take ouer to the South ſhore ſouthweſt, and a quarter toward the South; and thou ſhalt ſayle in 5.6 and 7 fathoms: and there the riuer of Canada beginneth to bee freſh, and the ſalt water endeth. And when thou ſhalt be athwart the point of the iſle of Orleans, where the riuer beginneth to be freſh, thou ſhalt ſayle in the midſt of the riuer, and thou ſhalt leaue the iſle on the ſtarreboord, which is on the right hand: and here the riuer is not paſt a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And towards the South ſhore there is a ledge of Iſles all couered with trees, and they end ouer againſt the point of the Iſle of Orleans. And the poynt of the iſle of Orleans toward the Northeaſt is in 47 degrees and one terce of a degree. And the Iſle of Orleans is a fayre Iſle, all couered with trees euen vnto the riuers ſide: and it is about 5 leagues long, and a league and an halfe broade. And on the North ſhore there is another Riuer, which falleth into the mayne Riuer at the ende of the Iland: and Shippes may very well paſſe there. From the middeſt of the Iſle vnto Canada the Riuer runneth Weſt; and from the place of Canada vnto France-Roy the riuer turneth Weſt Southweſt: and from the Weſt ende of the Iſle to Canada is but one league; and vnto France-Roy 4 leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the Iſle, thou ſhalt ſee a great Riuer which falleth fifteene or twenty fathoms downe from a rocke, and maketh a terrible noyſe. The Fort of France-roy ſtands in 47 degrees, and one ſixt part of a degree.

Note

The iſle of Filbeards in 47 degrees and 3. quarters.

The beginning of the freſh water.

The riuer but a quarter of a league broad.

The Iſle of Orleans in 47. degrees and one third part.

Canada 1 league to the Weſt of the Iſle of Orleans.

The Fort of France-Roy ſtood in 47 degrees and one ſixt part.

The extenſion of all theſe lands, vpon iuſt occaſion is called New France. For it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the ſame latitude. And the reaſon wherefore it is colder in the Winter is, becauſe the freſh Riuer is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is alſo broad and deepe: and in ſome places it is halfe a league and aboue in breadth. And alſo becauſe the land is not tylled, nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cauſe of colde, becauſe there is not ſtore of fire nor cattel. And the ſunne hath his Meridian as high as the Meridian at Rochel: and it is noone here when the Sunne is at South Southweſt at Rochel. And here the north ſtarre by the compaſſe ſtandeth North northeaſt. And when at Rochel it is noone, it is but halfe an houre paſt nine at France-Roy. From the ſayde place vnto the Ocean ſea and the coaſt of New France, is not aboue 50 leagues diſtance. And from the entrance of Norumbega vnto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues: and vnto ẏ Iſle of Raſus 30 leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entreth into the riuer of Canada, and vnto the Sea of Saguenay. And from the Fort of France-Roy vntill a man come foorth of the Grande Bay is not aboue 230 leagues. And the courſe is Northeaſt and Weſt Southweſt not aboue 5 degrees and ⅓ difference: and reckon 16 leagues and an halfe to a degree. By the nature of the climate the lands toward Hochelaga are ſtill better and better, and more fruitfull. And this land is fitte for Figges and Peares. And I thinke that golde and ſiluer will be found here, according as the people of the countrey ſay. Theſe landes lye ouer againſt Tartarie, and I doubt not but that they ſtretch toward Aſia, according to the roundneſſe of the world. And therefore it were good to haue a ſmall Shippe of 70 tunnes to diſcouer the coaſt of New France on the backe ſide of Florida: for I haue bene at a Bay as farre as 42 degrees betweene Norumbega and Florida, and I haue not ſearched the ende thereof, and I

Why the countrey is colder in the Winter then France.

A ſecond reaſon.

The variation of ẏ compaſſe.

From the fort of France Roy vnto ẏ mouth of the Grand Bay 230 leagues.

Gold and ſiluer like to be found in Canada.

A Bay in 42. degrees giuing ſome hope of a paſſage.

knowe

Trees.

Redde plums.

Fowle.

Corne.

Wheate to be ſowen in March.

The cauſe of the often ſnowing in Canada.

knowe not whether it paſſe through. And in all theſe Countreys there are okes, and borts, aſhes, elmes, arables, trees of life, pines, pruſſetrees, ceders, great wall nut trees, and wilde nuts, haſeltrees, wilde peare trees, wilde grapes, and there haue bene found redde plummes. And very faire corne groweth there, and peaſon grow of their owne accord, gooſeberries and ſtrawberries. And there are goodly Forreſts, wherein men may hunt. And there are great ſtore of ſtagges, deere, porkepicks, and the Sauages ſay there bee Unicornes. Fowle there are in abundance, as buſtards, wilde geeſe, cranes, turtle doues, rauens, crowes, and many other birds. All things which are ſowen there, are not paſt 2. or 3. dayes in comming vp out of the ground. I haue tolde in one eare of corne an hundred and twenty graines, like the corne of France. And ye neede not to ſowe your Wheate vntill March, and it will be ripe in the middeſt of Auguſt. The waters are better and perfecter then in France. And if the Countrey were tilled and repleniſhed with people, it would be as hotte as Rochel. And the reaſon why it ſnoweth there oftener then in France is, becauſe it raineth there but ſeldome: for the raine is conuerted into ſnowes.

All things aboue mentioned, are true.

Iohn Alphonſe made this Voyage with *Monſieur Roberual.*

There is a pardon to be ſeene for the pardoning of *Monſieur de Saine terre*, Lieutenant of the ſayd *Monſieur de Roberual*, giuen in *Canada* in the preſence of the ſayde *Iohn Alphonſe.*

The Voyage of *Iohn Francis de la Roche*, knight, Lord of *Roberual*, to the Countries of *Canada*, *Saguenai*, and *Hochelaga*, with three tall Ships, and two hundred perſons, both men, women, and children, begun in April, 1542. In which parts he remayned the ſame ſummer, and all the next winter.

SIr Iohn Francis de la Roche knight, lord of Roberual, appoynted by the king as his Lieutenant general in the countreis of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, furniſhed 3. tall Ships, chiefly at the kings coſt: And hauing in his fleete 200. perſons, aſwel men as women, accompanied with diuers gentlemen of qualitie, as namely with Monſieur Saine-terre his lieutenãt, l'Eſpiney his Enſigne, captain Guinecourt, Monſieur Noire fontaine, Dieu lamont, Frote, la Broſſe, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Roieze, and Iohn Alfonſe of Xanctoigne an excellent pilot, ſet ſayle from Rochel the 16. of April 1542. The ſame day about noone we came athwart of Cheſe de boys, where we were enforced to ſtay the night following. On Munday the ſeuenteenth of the ſayde Moneth wee departed from Cheſe deboys. The winde ſerued vs notably for a time: but within fewe dayes it came quite contrary, which hindered our iourney for a long ſpace: For wee were ſuddenly enforced to turne backe, and to ſeeke Harborough in Belle Iſle, on the coaſt of Bretaigne, where wee ſtayed ſo long, and had ſuch contrary weather by the way, that wee could not reach Newfound lande, vntill the ſeuenth of Iune. The eight of this Moneth wee entred into the Rode of Saint Iohn, where wee founde ſeuenteene Shippes of fiſhers. While wee made ſomewhat long abode heere, Iaques Cartier and his company returning from Canada, whither hee was ſent with fiue ſayles the yeere before, arriued in the very ſame Harbour. Who, after hee had done his duetie to our Generall, tolde him that hee had brought certaine Diamonts, and a quantitie of Golde ore, which was found in the Countrey. Which ore the Sunday next enſuing was tryed in a Furnace, and found to be good.

Diamonts. Golde found.

Iaques Cartier ſtole away.

Furthermore, hee enformed the Generall that hee could not with his ſmall company withſtand the Sauages, which went about dayly to annoy him: and that this was the cauſe of his returne into France. Neuertheleſſe, hee and his company commended the Countrey to bee very rich and fruitfull. But when our Generall being furniſhed with ſufficient forces, commaunded him to goe backe againe with him, hee and his company, mooued as it ſeemeth with ambition, becauſe they would haue all the glory of the diſcouerie of thoſe partes themſelues, ſtole priuily away the next night from vs, and without taking their leaues departed home for Bretaigne.

Wee ſpent the greateſt part of Iune in this Harbour of Saint Iohn, partly in furniſhing our ſelues with freſh water, whereof wee ſtoode in very great neede by the way, and partly in compoſing and taking vp of a quarell betweene ſome of our Countreymen, and certaine Portugals. At length, about the laſt of the aforeſayde Moneth, wee departed hence, and entred into the Grand Baye, and paſſed by the Iſle of Aſcenſion: and finally arriued foure leagues Weſtward of the Iſle of Orleans. In this place wee found a conuenient Harbour for our ſhipping, where wee caſt anchor, went a ſhoare with our people, and choſe out a conuenient place to fortifie our ſelues in, fitte to commaund the mayne Riuer, and of ſtrong ſituation againſt all inuaſion of enemies. Thus towarde the ende of Iuly, wee brought our victuals and other munitions and prouiſions on ſhore, and began to trauaile in fortifying of our ſelues.

Iuly.

Of the Fort of *France-Roy*, and that which was done there.

Hauing deſcribed the beginning, the middeſt, and the ende of the Voyage made by Monſieur Roberual in the Countreyes of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other Countreyes in the Weſt partes: He ſayled ſo farre, (as it is declared in other bookes) that hee arriued in the ſayde Countrey, accompanyed with two hundred perſons, ſouldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture neceſſary for a Fleete. The ſayde Generall at his firſt arriuall built a fayre Fort, neere and ſomewhat Weſtward aboue Canada, which is very beautifull to beholde, and of great force, ſituated vpon an high mountaine, wherein there were two courtes of buyldings, a great Towre, and another of fortie or fiftie foote long: wherein there were diuers Chambers, an Hall, a Kitchine, houſes of office, Sellers high and lowe, and neere vnto it were an Ouen and Milles, and a ſtoue to warme men in, and a Well before the houſe. And the buylding was ſituated vpon the great Riuer of Canada, called France prime, by Monſieur Roberual. There was alſo at the foote of the mountaine another lodging, part whereof was a great Towre of two ſtories high, two courtes of good buylding, where at the firſt all our victuals, and whatſoeuer was brought with vs was ſent to be kept: and neere vnto that Towre there is another ſmall riuer. In theſe two places aboue and beneath, all the meaner ſort was lodged.

France prime.

And in the Moneth of Auguſt, and in the beginning of September euery man was occupied in ſuch worke as eche one was able to doe. But the fourteenth of September, our aforeſayde Generall ſent backe into France two Shippes which had brought his furniture, and he appoynted for Admirall Monſieur de Saine-terre, and the other captaine was Monſieur Guine-court, to carie newes vnto the King, and to come backe againe vnto him the yeere next enſuing, furniſhed with victuals and other things, as it ſhould pleaſe the King: and alſo to bring newes out of France how the King accepted certaine Diamants which were ſent him, and were found in this countrey.

Auguſt 1542.
September 14.

After theſe two Shippes were departed, conſideration was had how they ſhould doe, and how they might paſſe out the Winter in this place. Firſt they tooke a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out ſhort: and they were ſcantled ſo, that in eche meſſe they had but two loaues weighing a pound a piece, and halfe a pound of biefe. They ate Bacon at dinner with halfe a pound of butter: and Biefe at ſupper, and about two handfuls of Beanes without butter.

The proportion of their victuals.

On the Wedneſday, Friday, and Saturday they did eate dry Cod, and ſometimes they did eate it greene at dinner with butter, and they ate of Porpoſes and beanes at ſupper.

About that time the Sauages brought vs great ſtore of Aloſes, which is a fiſh ſomewhat redde like a Salmon, to get kniues and other ſmall trifles for them.

In the ende many of our people fell ſicke of a certaine diſeaſe in their legges, reynes, and ſtomacke, ſo that they ſeemed to bee depriued of all their lymmes, and there dyed thereof about fiftie.

Note that the yce began to breake vp in April.

The length of the winter.

Monſieur Roberual vſed very good iuſtice, and puniſhed euery man according to his offence. One whoſe name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. Iohn of Nantes was layde in yrons, and kept priſoner for his offence, and others alſo were put in yrons, and diuers were whipped, as well men as women: by which meanes they liued in quiet.

They had women with them.

The

The maners of the Sauages.

TO declare vnto you the ſtate of the Sauages, they are people of a goodly ſtature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked: and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would bee as white and as fayre: but they paynt themſelues for feare of heat and ſunne burning.

Their apparell. So haue they of Ceuola, and Quiuira, and Meta Incognita.

In ſtead of apparell, they weare ſkinnes vpon them like mantles; and they haue a ſmall payre of breeches, wherewith they couer their priuities, aſwell men as women. They haue hoſen and ſhooes of lether excellently made. And they haue no ſhirts: neither couer they their heads, but their hayre is truſſed vp aboue the crowne of their heads, and palyted or broyded. Touching their victuals, they eate good meate, but all vnſalted, but they drye it, and afterward they broyle it, aſwell fiſh as fleſh. They haue no certaine dwelling place, and they goe from place to place, as they thinke they may beſt finde foode, as Aloſes in one place, and other fiſh, Salmons, Sturgions, Mullets, Surmullets, Barz, Carpes, Eeles, Pinperneaux, and other freſh water fiſh, and ſtore of Porpoſes. They feede alſo of Stagges, wilde Bores, Bugles, Porkeſpynes, and ſtore of other wilde beaſtes. And there is as great ſtore of Fowle as they can deſire.

Their victuals. They remoue from place to place. Fiſh. Beaſtes. Fowle.

Their bread of great Myl or Maiz.

Touching their bread, they make very good: and it is of great myll: and they liue very well, for they take care for nothing elſe.

Drinke of Seale oyle at their great feaſts.

They drinke Seale oyle, but this is at their great feaſts.

Their gouernment.

They haue a King in euery Countrey, and are wonderfull obedient vnto him: and they doe him honour according vnto their maner and faſhion. And when they trauayle from place to place, they cary all their goods with them in their boates.

The weomen nurſe their children with the breaſt, and they ſit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with ſkinnes of furre.

The voyage of *Monſieur Roberual* from his Fort in *Canada* vnto *Saguenay*, the fifth of Iune, 1543.

The 5. of Iune. The 6. of Iune.

MOnſieur Roberual the kings Lieutenant generall in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, departed toward the ſaid prouince of Saguenay on the Tueſday the 5. day of Iune 1543. after ſupper: and he with all his furniture was imbarked to make the ſayd voyage. But vpon a certaine occaſion they lay in the Rode ouer againſt the place before mentioned: but on the Wedneſday about ſixe of the clocke in the morning they ſet ſayle, and ſayled againſt the ſtreame: in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, aſwell great as ſmall, and to the number of threeſcore and ten perſons, with the aforeſayd Generall.

The Generall left behinde him in the aforeſayde place and Fort thirtie perſons to remayne there vntill his returne from Saguenay, which hee appoynted to bee the firſt of Iuly, or elſe they ſhould returne into France. And hee left there behinde him but two Barkes to cary the ſayde thirtie perſons, and the furniture which was there, while hee ſtayed ſtill in the Countrey.

Monſieur de Royeze.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his Lieutenant a gentleman named Monſieur de Royeze, to whom he gaue commiſſion, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandement of the ſayd lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their mayntenance vntill the ſayd firſt day of Iuly, were receiued by the ſayd Lieutenant Royeze.

The 14. of Iune.

On Thurſday the 14. of Iune Monſieur de l'Eſpiney, la Broſſe, Monſieur Frete, Monſieur Longeual, and others, returned from the Generall, from the voyage of Saguenay.

And note that eight men and one Barke were drowned and loſt, among whom was Monſieur de Noirefontaine, and one named la Vaſſeur of Conſtance.

The 19. of Iune. Maiz. The 22. of Iuly 1543.

On Tueſday the 19. of Iune aforeſayd, there came from the Generall, Monſieur de Villeneufue, Talebot, and three others, which brought ſixeſcore pounds weight of their corne, and letters to ſtay yet vntill Magdalentyde, which is the 22. day of Iuly.

The reſt of this Voyage is wanting.

THE VOYAGES AND NAVIGATIONS OF the Engliſh nation to *Virginia*, and the ſeuerall diſcoueries therof chiefly at the charges of the honourable *Sir Walter Ralegh* knight, from 33 to 40 degrees of latitude: together with the ſucceſſe of the Engliſh colonies there planted; as likewiſe a deſcription of the Countrey, with the Inhabitants, and the manifold commodities. Whereunto are annexed the Patents, letters, diſcourſes, &c. to this part belonging.

The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Maieſtie to M. VValter *Ralegh* now Knight, for the diſcouering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the ſpace of 6. yeeres and no more.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom theſe preſents ſhal come, greeting. Know ye that of our eſpecial grace, certaine ſcience, & meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors doe giue and grant to our truſty and welbeloued ſeruant Walter Ralegh Eſquire, and to his heires and aſſignes for euer, free liberty & licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to diſcouer, ſearch, finde out, and view ſuch remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreis, and territories, not actually poſſeſſed of any Chriſtian prince, nor inhabited by Chriſtian people, as to him, his heires and aſſignes, and to euery or any of them ſhall ſeeme good, and the ſame to haue, holde, occupy & enioy to him, his heires and aſſignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iuriſdictiõs, royalties, priuileges, franchiſes and preeminences, thereto or thereabouts both by ſea and land, whatſoeuer we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore granted to any perſon or perſons, bodies politique or corporate: and the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and all ſuch as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, ſhal goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the diſcretion of the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires & aſſignes, the ſtatutes or act of Parliament made againſt fugitiues, or againſt ſuch as ſhall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other ſtatute, act, law, or any ordinance whatſoeuer to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And we do likewiſe by theſe preſents, of our eſpecial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and leade in the ſayde voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him or them, and euery or any of them, ſuch, and ſo many of our ſubiects as ſhall willingly accompany him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom alſo we doe by theſe preſents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and alſo to haue, take and employ, and vſe ſufficient ſhipping and furniture for the tranſportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, ſo that none of the ſame perſons or any of them be ſuch as hereafter ſhall be reſtrained by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors.

And further that the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them, ſhall haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them for euer, all the ſoyle of all ſuch landes, territories, and Countreis, ſo to be diſcouered and poſſeſſed as aforeſayd, and of all ſuch Cities, Caſtles, Townes, Villages, and places in the ſame, with the right, royalties, franchiſes, and iuriſdictions, as well marine as other within the ſayd landes, or Countreis, or the ſeas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vſed, with full power to diſpoſe thereof, and of euery part in fee ſimple or otherwiſe, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the ſame conueniently may be, at his, and their wil and pleaſure, to any perſons then being, or that ſhall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors: reſeruing alwayes to vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, for all ſeruices, duties, and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of golde and ſiluer, that from time to time, and at all times after ſuch diſcouerie, ſubduing and poſſeſſing, ſhall be there gotten and obteined: All which landes, Countries, and territories ſhall for euer be holden of the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, by homage, and by the ſayd payment of the ſayd fift part, reſerued onely for all ſeruices.

And moreouer, we do by theſe preſents, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and grant licence to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulſe, repell and reſiſt aſwell by ſea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatſoeuer, all and euery ſuch perſon and perſons whatſoeuer, as without the eſpeciall liking and licence of the ſayd Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and aſſignes, ſhall attempt to inhabite within the ſayde Countreyes, or any of them, or within the ſpace of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within ſuch Countreyes as aforeſayde (if they ſhall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforeſayd with the ſubiects of any Chriſtian Prince being in amitie with vs) where the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, or aſſignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their aſſociats or company, ſhall within ſixe yeeres (next enſuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy, eyther by Sea or Lande the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giuing, and graunting by theſe preſents further power and authoritie to the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and ſurpriſe by all maner of meanes whatſoeuer, all and euery thoſe perſon or perſons, with their Shippes, Veſſels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the ſayde Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or aſſignes, as aforeſayd, ſhalbe found traffiquing into any Harbour, or Harbours, Creeke, or Creekes, within the limits aforeſayd, (the ſubiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other perſons in amitie with vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fiſhing as heretofore they haue commonly vſed, or being driuen by force of a tempeſt, or ſhipwracke onely excepted:) and thoſe perſons, and euery of them, with their ſhippes, veſſels, goods, and furniture to deteine and poſſeſſe as of good and lawfull prize, according to the diſcretion of him the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of ſuch Countreyes, landes, and territories ſo to be poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayd with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to theſe enterpriſes: we doe by theſe preſents, graunt and declare that all ſuch Countries, ſo hereafter to be poſſeſſed and inhabited as is aforeſayd, from thenceforth ſhall be of the allegiance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours. And wee doe graunt to the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other perſon and perſons, being of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be noted or entred in ſome of our Courts of recorde within our Realme of England, that with the aſſent of the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, ſhall in his iourneis for diſcouerie, or in the iourneis for conqueſt, hereafter trauaile to ſuch lands, countreis and territories, as aforeſayd, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being eyther borne within our ſayde Realmes of England or Irelande, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter ſhall be inhabiting within any the Lands, Countryes, and Territories, with ſuch licence, (as aforeſayd) ſhall and may haue all the priuiledges of free Denizens, and perſons natiue of England, and within our allegiance in ſuch like ample maner and forme, as if they were borne and perſonally reſident within our ſaid Realme of England, any law, cuſtome, or vſage to the contrary not withſtanding.

Note.

Free denization granted.

And foraſmuch as vpon the finding out, diſcouering, or inhabiting of ſuch remote lands, countries, and territories as aforeſaid, it ſhalbe neceſſary for the ſafety of all men, that ſhall aduenture themſelues in thoſe iourneyes or voyages, to determine to liue together in Chriſtian peace, and ciuill quietneſſe eche with other, whereby euery one may with more pleaſure and profit enioy that whereunto they ſhall atteine with great paine and perill, wee for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, are likewiſe pleaſed and contented, and by theſe preſents doe giue & grant to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, ſhall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the ſaid mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the ſeas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, puniſh, pardon, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good diſcretions and policies, aſwell in cauſes capitall, or criminall, as ciuil, both marine and other, all ſuch our ſubiects, as ſhal from time to time aduenture themſelues in the ſaid iourneis or voyages, or that ſhall at any time hereafter inhabite any ſuch lands, countreis, or territories as aforeſayd, or that ſhall abide within 200. leagues of any of the ſayde place or places, where the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or any of his or their aſſociats or companies, ſhall inhabite within 6. yeeres next enſuing the date hereof, according to ſuch ſtatutes, lawes and ordinances as ſhall be by him the ſayd Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them deuiſed, or eſtabliſhed, for the better gouernment of the ſaid people as aforeſaid. So alwayes as the ſaid ſtatutes, lawes, and ordinances may be, as nere as conueniently may bee, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, ſtatutes, gouernement, or pollicie of England, and alſo ſo as they be not againſt the true Chriſtian faith, nowe profeſſed in the Church of England, nor in any wiſe to withdrawe any of the ſubiectes or people of thoſe lands or places from the alleageance of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God.

And further, we doe by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and grant ful power and authoritie to our truſtie and welbeloued Counſailour Sir William Cecill knight, Lorde Burghley, our high Treaſourer of England, and to the Lorde Treaſourer of England for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors for the time being, and to the priuie Counſaile of vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure or more of them, ſhall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or Seales by vertue of theſe preſents, authoriſe and licence the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and euery or any of them by him, & by themſelues, or by their, or any of their ſufficient Atturneis, Deputies, Officers, Miniſters, Factors, and ſeruants, to imbarke & tranſport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their aſſociats and companies, and euery or any of them, with ſuch other neceſſaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the ſayde Lorde Treaſurer, or foure or more of the priuie Counſaile, of vs our heires and ſucceſſors for the time being (as aforeſaid) ſhalbe from time to time by his or their wiſedomes, or diſcretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better reliefe and ſupportation of him the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires, and aſſignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their aſſociats and companies, any act, ſtatute, law, or any thing to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our wil and pleaſure is, and we do hereby declare to all Chriſtian kings, princes, and ſtates, that if the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, ſhall at any time or times hereafter robbe or ſpoile by ſea or by land, or doe any acte of vniuſt or vnlawfull hoſtilitie, to any of the ſubiects of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, or to any of the ſubiects of any the kings, princes, rulers, Gouernours, or eſtates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, and that vpon ſuch iniurie, or vpon iuſt complaint of any ſuch Prince, Ruler, Gouernour or eſtate, or their ſubiects, wee, our heires and ſucceſſors, ſhall make open Proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and adherents, or any to whom theſe our Letters patents may extende, ſhall within the termes to bee limited, by ſuch Proclamation, make full reſtitution, and ſatiſfaction of all ſuch iniuries done: ſo as both we and the ſaid Princes, or other ſo complaining, may hold vs and themſelues fully contented: And that if the ſaid Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, ſhall not make or cauſe to be made ſatiſfaction accordingly within ſuch time ſo to be limitted, that then it ſhal be lawful to vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, to put the ſayde Walter Ralegh, his heires and aſſignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the ſaide places to be diſcouered (as is aforeſaid) or any of them out of our allegeance and protection, and that from and after ſuch time of putting out of protection of the ſaide Walter Ralegh, his heires, aſſignes and adherents, and others ſo to be put out, and the ſaid places within their habitation, poſſeſſion and rule, ſhall be out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others to purſue with hoſtilitie, as being not our ſubiects, nor by vs any way to be auouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegeance any way belonging: for that expreſſe mention of the cleere yeerely value of the certaintie of the premiſſes, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our progenitors, or predeceſſors to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, before this time made in theſe preſents bee not expreſſed, or any other grant, ordinance, prouiſion, proclamation, or reſtraint to the contrary thereof, before this time, giuen, ordained, or prouided, or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoeuer, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witneſſe whereof, wee haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made Patents. Witneſſe our ſelues, at Weſtminſter the fiue and twentie day of March, in the ſixe and twentie yeere of our Raigne. Anno 1584.

The firſt voyage made to the coaſts of *America*, with two barks, wherein were Captaines M. *Philip Amadas*, and M. *Arthur Barlowe*, who diſcouered part of the Countrey now called *Virginia*, *Anno* 1584. Written by one of the ſaid Captaines, and ſent to ſir *Walter Ralegh* knight, at whoſe charge and direction, the ſaid voyage was ſet forth.

The 27 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584 we departed the Weſt of England, with two barkes well furniſhed with men and victuals, hauing receiued our laſt and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former inſtructions, and commandements deliuered by your ſelfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnneceſſary, for the manifeſt diſcouerie of the Countrey, as alſo for tediouſneſſe ſake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our courſe, ſayling thither and returning: onely I haue preſumed to preſent vnto you this briefe diſcourſe, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to ſucceede, as well to your ſelfe, (by whoſe direction and charge, and by whoſe ſeruantes this our diſcouerie hath bene performed) as alſo to her Highneſſe, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wiſedome wilbe ſatiſfied, conſidering that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by thoſe ſmal meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.

A Southerly courſe not greatly needfull for Virginia.

The tenth of May we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of Iune in this preſent yeere, we were fallen with the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies, keeping a more Southeaſterly courſe then was needefull, becauſe wee doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexcio, diſbogging betweene the Cape of Florida and Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwardes we found it to bee. At which Iſlands we found the ayre very vnwholſome, and our men grew for the moſt part ill diſpoſed: ſo that hauing refreſhed our ſelues with ſweete water, & freſh victuall, we departed the twelfth day of our arriuall there. Theſe Iſlands, with the reſt adioyning, are ſo well knowen to your ſelfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

A ſweete ſmell from the land.

The ſecond of Iuly, we found ſhole water, wher we ſmelt ſo ſweet, and ſo ſtrong a ſmel, as if we had bene in the midſt of ſome delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were aſſured, that the land could not be farre diſtant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but ſlacke ſaile, the fourth of the ſame moneth we arriued vpon the coaſt, which we ſuppoſed to be a continent and firme lande, and we ſayled along the ſame a hundred and twentie Engliſh miles before we could finde any entrance, or riuer iſſuing into the Sea. The firſt that appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without ſome difficultie, & caſt anker about three harquebuz-ſhot within the hauens mouth, on the left hand of the ſame: and after thankes giuen to God for our ſafe arriuall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adioyning, and "to take poſſeſſion of the ſame, in the right of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, as rightfull Queene, and Princeſſe of the ſame, and after deliuered the ſame ouer to your vſe, according to her Maieſties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highneſſe great Seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies vſed in ſuch enterpriſes, we viewed the land about vs, being, whereas we firſt landed, very ſandie and low towards the waters ſide, but ſo full of grapes, as the very beating and ſurge of the Sea ouerflowed them, of which we found ſuch plentie, as well there as in all places elſe, both on the ſand and on the greene ſoile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little ſhrubbe, as alſo climing towardes the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my ſelfe hauing ſeene thoſe parts of Europe that moſt abound, find ſuch difference as were incredible to be written.

The firſt riuer.

" Iuly 13 poſſeſſion taken.

Abundance of grapes.

The Iſle of Wokokon.

We paſſed from the Sea ſide towardes the toppes of thoſe hilles next adioyning, being but of meane higth, and from thence wee beheld the Sea on both ſides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both wayes. This lande lay ſtretching it ſelfe to the Weſt, which after wee found to bee but an Iſland of twentie miles long, and not aboue ſixe miles broade. Vnder the banke or hill whereon we ſtoode, we beheld the vallyes repleniſhed with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing diſcharged our harquebuz-ſhot, ſuch a flocke of Cranes (the moſt part white) aroſe vnder vs, with ſuch a cry redoubled by many ecchoes, as if an armie of men had ſhowted all together.

This Iſland had many goodly woodes full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middeſt of Summer in incredible abundance. The woodes are not ſuch as you finde in Bohemia, Moſcouia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitles, but the higheſt and reddeſt Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Ceders of the Açores, of the Indies, or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Saſſaphras, the Lentiſk, or the tree that beareth the Maſticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinamon, of

Goodly Cedars, Pines, Cypres, Saſſaphras.

of which Maſter Winter brought from the ſtreights of Magellan, and many other of excellent ſmell and qualitie. We remained by the ſide of this Iſland two whole dayes before we ſaw any people of the Countrey: the third day we eſpied one ſmall boate rowing towardes vs hauing in it three perſons: this boat came to the Iſland ſide, foure harquebuz-ſhot from our ſhippes, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the ſhore ſide towards vs, and wee being then all within boord, he walked vp and downe vpon the point of the land next vnto vs: then the Maſter and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my ſelfe, and others rowed to the land, whoſe comming this fellow attended, neuer making any ſhewe of feare or doubt. And after he had ſpoken of many things not vnderſtood by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the ſhips, and gaue him a ſhirt, a hat & ſome other things, and made him taſte of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after hauing viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his owne boate againe, which hee had left in a little Coue or Creeke adioyning: aſſoone as hee was two bow ſhoot into the water, he fell to fiſhing, and in leſſe then halfe an houre, he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could ſwimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he deuided his fiſh into two parts, pointing one part to the ſhip and the other to the pinneſſe: which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefites receiued, departed out of our ſight.

Conference with a Sauage.

Abundance of fiſh.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handſome and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly and ciuill as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the countrey Wingandacoa, and now by her Maieſtie Virginia. The maner of his comming was in this ſort: hee left his boates altogether as the firſt man did a little from the ſhippes by the ſhore, and came along to the place ouer againſt the ſhips, followed with fortie men. When he came to the place, his ſeruants ſpread a long matte vpon the ground, on which he ſate downe, and at the other ende of the matte foure others of his companie did the like, the reſt of his men ſtood round about him, ſomewhat a farre off: when we came to the ſhore to him with our weapons, hee neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer miſtruſted any harme to be offred from vs, but ſitting ſtill he beckoned vs to come and ſit by him, which we performed: and being ſet hee made all ſignes of ioy and welcome, ſtriking on his head and his breaſt and afterwardes on ours, to ſhewe wee were all one, ſmiling and making ſhewe the beſt he could of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long ſpeech vnto vs, wee preſented him with diuers things, which hee receiued very ioyfully, and thankefully. None of the company durſt ſpeake one worde all the time: onely the foure which were at the other ende, ſpake one in the others eare very ſoftly.

The arriuall of the kings brother.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reuerenced: the King himſelfe in perſon was at our being there, ſore wounded in a fight which hee had with the King of the next countrey, called Wingina, and was ſhot in two places through the body, and once cleane through the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reaſon whereof and for that hee lay at the chiefe towne of the countrey, being ſixe dayes iourney off, we ſaw him not at all.

After we had preſented this his brother with ſuch things as we thought he liked, wee likewiſe gaue ſomewhat to the other that ſat with him on the matte: but preſently he aroſe and tooke all from them and put it into his owne basket, making ſignes and tokens, that all things ought to bee deliuered vnto him, and the reſt were but his ſeruants, and followers. A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging ſome things that we had, for Chamoys, Buffe, and Deere ſkinnes: when we ſhewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he ſawe, a bright tinne diſh moſt pleaſed him, which hee preſently tooke vp and clapt it before his breaſt, and after made a hole in the brimme thereof and hung it about his necke, making ſignes that it would defende him againſt his enemies arrowes: for thoſe people maintaine a deadly and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne diſh for twentie ſkinnes, woorth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie ſkins woorth fiftie Crownes. They offered vs good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for kniues, and would haue giuen any thing for ſwordes: but wee would not depart with any. After two or three dayes the Kings brother came aboord the ſhippes, and dranke wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few dayes ouerpaſſed, he brought his wife with him to the ſhips, his daughter and two or three children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane ſtature and very baſhfull: ſhee had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre ſide next to her body, and before her a piece of the ſame: about her forehead ſhee had a band of white Corall, and ſo had her husband many times: in her eares ſhee had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle,

Traffike with the Sauages.

Tinne much eſteemed.

White corall Perles.

whereof wee deliuered your worſhip a little bracelet) and thoſe were of the bignes of good peaſe. The reſt of her women of the better ſort had pendants of copper hanging in either eare, and ſome of the children of the kings brother and other noble men, haue fiue or ſixe in either eare: he himſelfe had vpon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being vnpoliſhed we knew not what metal it ſhould be, neither would he by any meanes ſuffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very eaſily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both ſides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowiſh, and their haire black for the moſt part, and yet we ſaw children that had very fine aburne, and cheſtnut coloured haire.

After that theſe women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great ſtore of people, bringing with them leather, corall, diuers kindes of dies very excellent, and exchanged with vs: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was preſent, none durſt trade but himſelfe: except ſuch as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himſelfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the gouernours of countreys, and the meaner ſort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderſtood ſince by theſe men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more reſpect to their King, Nobilitie and Gouernours, then theſe doe. The Kings brothers wife, when ſhe came to vs (as ſhe did many times) was followed with forty or fifty women alwayes: and when ſhe came into the ſhippe, ſhe left them all on land, ſauing her two daughters, her nurſe and one or two more. The Kings brother alwayes kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the ſhippes, ſo many fires would hee make on the ſhoare a farre off, to the end we might vnderſtand with what ſtrength and company he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine, or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge-tooles to make them withall: if they haue any they are very fewe, and thoſe it ſeemes they had twentie yeres ſince, which, as thoſe two men declared, was out of a wrake which happened vpon their coaſt of ſome Chriſtian ſhip, being beaten that way by ſome ſtorme and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were ſaued, but only the ſhip, or ſome part of her being caſt vpon the ſand, out of whoſe ſides they drew the nayles and the ſpikes, and with thoſe they made their beſt inſtruments. The manner of making their boates is thus: they burne downe ſome great tree, or take ſuch as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and roſen vpon one ſide thereof, they ſet fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their ſhels, and euer where they would burne it deeper or wider they lay on gummes, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they faſhion very fine boates, and ſuch as will tranſport twentie men. Their oares are like ſcoopes, and many times they ſet with long poles, as the depth ſerueth.

Pitch trees.

The manner of making their boates.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a ſword, and diuers other things which we had: and offered to lay a great boxe of pearle in gage for them: but we refuſed it for this time, becauſe we would not make them knowe, that we eſteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderſtoode in what places of the countrey the pearle grew: which now your Worſhippe doeth very well vnderſtand.

He was very iuſt of his promiſe: for many times we deliuered him merchandize vpon his word, but euer he came within the day and performed his promiſe. He ſent vs euery day a braſe or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fiſh the beſt of the world. He ſent vs diuers kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Peaſe, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire and well taſted, and groweth three times in fiue moneths: in May they ſow, in July they reape: in June they ſow, in Auguſt they reape: in July they ſow, in September they reape: onely they caſt the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the ſoft turfe with a with wodden mattock, or pickeaxe: our ſelues prooued the ſoile, and put ſome of our Peaſe in the ground, and in tenne dayes they were of fourteene ynches high: they haue alſo Beanes very faire of diuers colours and wonderfull plentie: ſome growing naturally, and ſome in their gardens, and ſo haue they both wheat and oates.

The ſoile is the moſt plentifull, ſweete, fruitfull and wholſome of all the worlde: there are aboue fourteene ſeuerall ſweete ſmelling timber trees, and the moſt part of their vnderwoods are Bayes, and ſuch like: they haue thoſe Okes that we haue, but farre greater and better. After they had bene diuers times aboord our ſhippes, my ſelfe, with ſeuen more went twentie mile into the Riuer, that runneth towarde the Citie of Skicoak, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following, wee came to an Iſland, which they call Raonoak, diſtant from the harbour by which we entred, ſeuen leagues: and at the North end thereof was a village of nine houſes, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with ſharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnepike very artificially: when wee came towardes it, ſtanding

Roanoak Iſland.

neere vnto the waters ſide, the wife of Granganimo, the kings brother came running out to meete vs very cheerefully and friendly, her husband was not then in the village; ſome of her people ſhee commanded to drawe our boate on ſhore for the beating of the billoe: others ſhe appointed to cary vs on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the houſe for feare of ſtealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing fiue roomes in her houſe, ſhe cauſed vs to ſit downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and waſhed them, and dryed them againe: ſome of the women plucked off our ſtockings and waſhed them, ſome waſhed our feete in warme water, and ſhee her ſelfe tooke great paines to ſee all things ordered in the beſt maner ſhee could, making great haſte to dreſſe ſome meate for vs to eate.

The great kindnes of the kings brothers wife.

After we had thus dryed our ſelues, ſhe brought vs into the inner roome, where ſhee ſet on the board ſtanding along the houſe, ſome wheate like furmentie, ſodden Veniſon, and roaſted, fiſh ſodden, boyled, and roaſted, Melons rawe, and ſodden, rootes of diuers kindes, and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape laſteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is ſodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and ſometimes Saſſaphras, and diuers other wholeſome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue and kindneſſe, and with as much bountie (after their maner) as they could poſſibly deuiſe. We found the people moſt gentle, louing, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treaſon, and ſuch as liue after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themſelues from the cold in their ſhort winter, and to feed themſelues with ſuch meat as the ſoile affoordeth: there meate is very well ſodden and they make broth very ſweet and ſauorie: their veſſels are earthen pots, very large, white and ſweete, their diſhes are wooden platters of ſweet timber: within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worſhip, of whome they ſpeake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from hunting, whom when wee eſpied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but aſſoone as ſhee eſpied our miſtruſt, ſhee was very much mooued, and cauſed ſome of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening and would not tary all night, ſhe was very ſorry, and gaue vs into our boate our ſupper halfe dreſſed, pottes and all, and brought vs to our boate ſide, in which wee lay all night, remoouing the ſame a prettie diſtance from the ſhoare: ſhee perceiuing our ielouſie, was much grieued, and ſent diuers men and thirtie women, to ſit all night on the banke ſide by vs, and ſent vs into our boates fiue mattes to couer vs from the raine, vſing very many wordes to intreate vs to reſt in their houſes: but becauſe wee were fewe men, and if wee had miſcaried, the voyage had bene in very great danger, wee durſt not aduenture any thing, although there was no cauſe of doubt: for a more kinde and louing people there can not be found in the worlde, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

A ſolemne banket.

Their Idols.

Beyond this Iſland there is the maine lande, and ouer againſt this Iſland falleth into this ſpacious water, the great riuer called Occam by the inhabitants, on which ſtandeth a towne called Pomeiock, & ſixe dayes iourney from the ſame is ſituate their greateſt citie, called Skicoak, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Sauages were neuer at it, only they ſpeake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they haue heard affirme it to bee aboue one houres iourney about.

Skicoak a great towne.

In to this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo, in which there is found great ſtore of Muſkles in which there are pearles: likewiſe there deſcendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one ſide whereof ſtandeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not ſubiect to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they cal Menatonon, and theſe three kings are in league with each other. Towards the Southweſt, foure dayes iourney is ſituate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermoſt towne of Wingandacoa, neere vnto which, ſixe and twentie yeres paſt, there was a ſhip caſt away, whereof ſome of the people were ſaued, and thoſe were white people, whom the countrey people preſerued.

A ſhip caſt away.

And after ten dayes remaining in an out Iſland vnhabited, called Wocokon, they with the helpe of ſome of the dwellers of Sequotan, faſtened two boates of the countrey together & made maſtes vnto them, and ſailes of their ſhirtes, and hauing taken into them ſuch victuals as the countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Iſland 3 weekes: but ſhortly after it ſeemed they were caſt away, for the boates were found vpon the coaſt, caſt a land in another Iſland adioyning: other then theſe, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either ſeene, or heare of amongſt theſe people, and theſe aforeſaid were ſeene onely of the inhabitantes of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondred maruelouſly when we were amongſt them at the whitenes of our ſkins, euer coueting to touch our breaſts, and to view the ſame. Beſides they had our ſhips in maruelous admiration, & all things els were ſo ſtrange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer ſeene the like. When we diſcharged any piece, were it but an harquebuz, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſame: for the weapons which themſelues vſe are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of ſmall canes, headed with a ſharpe ſhell or tooth of a fiſh ſufficient ynough to kill a naked man. Their ſwordes be of wood hardened: likewiſe they vſe wooden breaſtplates for their defence. They haue beſide a kinde of club, in the end whereof they faſten the ſharpe hornes of a ſtagge, or other beaſt. When they goe to warres they cary about with them their idol, of whom they aſke counſel, as the Romans were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They ſing ſongs as they march towardes the battell in ſtead of drummes and trumpets: their warres are very cruell and bloody, by reaſon whereof, and of their ciuill diſſentions which haue happened of late yeeres amongſt them, the people are marueilouſly waſted, and in ſome places the countrey left deſolate.

Their weapons.

Or Paramuſioc.

Adioyning to this countrey aforeſaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adioyning towards the ſetting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newſiok, ſituate vpon a goodly riuer called Neus: theſe kings haue mortall warre with Wingina king of Wingandacoa: but about two yeeres paſt there was a peace made betweene the king Piemacum, and the Lord of Secotan, as theſe men which we haue brought with vs to England, haue giuen vs to vnderſtand: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many iniuries & ſlaughters done vpon them by this Piemacum. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women of the beſt of his countrey to their towne to a feaſt: and when they were altogether merry, & praying before their Idol, (which is nothing els but a meer illuſion of the deuil) the captaine or Lord of the town came ſuddenly vpon them, and ſlewe them euery one, reſeruing the women and children: and theſe two haue oftentimes ſince perſwaded vs to ſurprize Piemacum his towne, hauing promiſed and aſſured vs, that there will be found in it great ſtore of commodities. But whether their perſwaſion be to the ende they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the tryall hereafter.

Beyond this Iſland called Roanoak, are maine Iſlands very plentifull of fruits and other naturall increaſes, together with many townes, and villages, along the ſide of the continent, ſome bounding vpon the Iſlands, and ſome ſtretching vp further into the land.

When we firſt had ſight of this countrey, ſome thought the firſt land we ſaw to bee the continent: but after we entred into the Hauen, we ſaw before vs another mighty long Sea: for there lyeth along the coaſt a tracte of Iſlands, two hundreth miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean ſea, and betweene the Iſlands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (theſe Iſlands being very narrow for the moſt part, as in moſt places ſixe miles broad, in ſome places leſſe, in fewe more) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in bredth in ſome places, forty, and in ſome fifty, in ſome twenty miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this incloſed Sea there are aboue an hundreth Iſlands of diuers bigneſſes, whereof one is ſixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it a moſt pleaſant and fertile ground, repleniſhed with goodly Cedars, and diuers other ſweete woods, full of Corrants, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leaſure to view. Beſides this Iſland there are many, as I haue ſayd, ſome of two, of three, of foure, of fiue miles, ſome more, ſome leſſe, moſt beautifull and pleaſant to behold, repleniſhed with Deere, Conies, Hares and diuers beaſts, and about them the goodlieſt and beſt fiſh in the world, and in greateſt abundance.

Roanoak ſixteene miles long.

Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our diſcouery made this preſent voyage, as farre foorth as the ſhortneſſe of the time we there continued would affoord vs to take viewe of: and ſo contenting our ſelues with this ſeruice at this time, which wee hope hereafter to inlarge, as occaſion and aſſiſtance ſhalbe giuen, we reſolued to leaue the countrey, and to apply our ſelues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued ſafely in the Weſt of England about the middeſt of September.

And whereas wee haue aboue certified you of the countrey taken in poſſeſſion by vs, to her Maieſties vſe, and ſo to yours by her Maieſties grant, wee thought good for the better aſſurance thereof, to record ſome of the particular Gentlemen, & men of accompt, who then were preſent, as witneſſes of the ſame, that thereby all occaſion of cauill to the title of the countrey, in her Maieſties behalfe may be preuented, which otherwiſe, ſuch as like not the action may vſe and pretend, whoſe names are:

Maſter

Maſter Philip Amadas, Maſter Arthur Barlow,	Captaines.
William Greeneuile, Iohn Wood, Iames Browewich, Henry Greene, Beniamin Wood, Simon Ferdinando, Nicholas Petman, Iohn Hewes,	Of the companie.

We brought home alſo two of the Sauages being luſtie men, whoſe names were Wancheſe and Manteo.

The voiage made by Sir *Richard Greenuile*, for Sir *VValter Ralegh*, to *Virginia*, in the yeere 1585.

The 9. day of Aprill, in the yeere aboueſayd, we departed from Plymmouth, our Fleete conſiſting of the number of ſeuen ſailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of ſeuen ſcore tunnes, a Flie-boat call'd the Roe-bucke, of the like burden, the Lyon of a hundred tunnes or thereabouts, the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a ſmall barke: whereunto were alſo adioyned for ſpeedy ſeruices, two ſmall pinneſſes. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were theſe, M. Ralph Lane, M. Tomas Candiſh, M. Iohn Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. Iohn Clarke, and diuers others, whereof ſome were Captaines, and other ſome Aſſiſtants for counſell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill wee fell with Lancerota and Forteuentura, Iſles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our courſe for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the Weſt India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of May, and the 10. day following wee came to an anker at Coteſa, a little Iland ſituate neere to the Iland of S. Iohn, where we landed, and refreſhed our ſelues all that day.

The 12. day of May wee came to an anker in the Bay of Moskito, in the Iland of S. Iohn, within a Faulcon ſhot of the ſhoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greeneuil, and the moſt part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie very neere to the Sea ſide: the riuer ran by the one ſide of our forte, and the other two ſides were inuironed with woods.

They land vpon the Iland of S. Iohn de Porto Rico.

The 13. day we began to build a new pinneſſe within the Fort, with the timber that wee then felled in the countrey, ſome part whereof we fet three miles vp in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer reſiſtance.

The 16. day there appeared vnto vs out of the woods eight horſemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our Fort, ſtaying about halfe an houre in viewing our forces: but aſſoone as they ſaw ten of our ſhot marching towards them, they preſently retired into the woods.

The 19. day Maſter Candiſh, who had bene ſeparated from our fleete in a ſtorme in the Bay of Portugall, arriued at Coteſa, within the ſight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to haue beene either a Spaniard or Frenchman of warre, thought it good to weigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tiger did, and diſcerned him at laſt to be one of our conſorts, for ioy of whoſe comming our ſhips diſcharged their ordinance, and ſaluted him according to the maner of the Seas.

The 22. day twentie other Spaniſh horſemen ſhewed themſelues to vs vpon the other ſide of the riuer: who being ſeene, our Generall diſpatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horſmen of ours, mounted vpon Spaniſh horſes, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they ſhewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made ſignes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the ſands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great ſalutations to our men, but began according to their Spaniſh proud humors, to expoſtulate with them about their arriuall and fortifying in their countrey, who notwithſtanding by our mens diſcreet anſwers were ſo cooled, that (whereas they were told, that our principall intention was onely to furniſh our ſelues with water and victuals, and other neceſſaries, whereof we ſtood in neede, which we craued might be yeelded vs with faire and friendly meanes, otherwiſe our reſolution was to practiſe force, and to releeue our ſelues by the ſworde) the Spaniards in concluſion ſeeing our men ſo reſolute, yeelded to our requeſtes with large promiſes of all curteſie, and great fauour, and ſo our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinneſſe was finiſhed, and lanched: which being done, our Generall with his Captaines and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Countrey about the ſpace of 4. miles, where in a plaine marſh they ſtayed expecting the comming of the Spaniards according to their promiſe, to furniſh vs with victuals: who keeping their olde cuſtome for periurie and breach of promiſe, came not, whereupon our Generall fired the woods thereabout, and ſo retired to our Fort, which the ſame day was fired alſo, and each man came aboord to be ready to ſet ſaile the next morning.

The 29. day wee ſet ſaile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs ſtung before vpon ſhoare with the Muſkitos: but the ſame night wee tooke a Spaniſh Frigat, which was forſaken by the Spaniards vpon the ſight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early we tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and diuers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards wee ranſomed for good round ſummes, and landed them in S. Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Maſter Ralph Lane went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay vpon the Southweſt ſide of Saint Iohns, to fetch ſalt, being thither conducted by a Spaniſh Pilot: as ſoone as hee arriued there, hee landed with his men to the number of 20. and intrenched himſelfe vpon the ſandes immediatly, compaſſing one of their ſalte hils within the trench: who being ſeene of the Spaniards, there came downe towardes him two or three troopes of horſemen and footmen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durſt not come neere him to offer any reſiſtance, ſo that Maſter Lane maugre their troopes, caryed their ſalte aboord and laded his Frigat, and ſo returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at S. Germans Bay. The ſame day we all departed, and the next day arriued in the Iland of Hiſpaniola.

Iune.

THe 1. day of Iune we anchored at Iſabella, on the North ſide of Hiſpaniola.

The 3. day of Iune, the Gouernour of Iſabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of ſundry Spaniards, who had beene well intertained aboord our ſhippes by our Generall, that in our fleete were many braue and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly deſired to ſee the Gouernour aforeſayd, he thereupon ſent gentle commendations to our Generall, promiſing within few dayes to come to him in perſon, which he perfourmed accordingly.

The 5. day the aforeſayd Gouernour accompanied with a luſty Fryer, and twenty other Spaniards, with their ſeruants, and Negroes, came downe to the Sea ſide, where our ſhips road at anker, who being ſeene, our Generall manned immediatly the moſt part of his boates with the chiefe men of our Fleete, euery man appointed, and furniſhed in the beſt ſort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spaniſh gouernour receiued him very courteouſly, and the Spaniſh Gentlemen ſaluted our Engliſh Gentlemen, and their inferiour ſort did alſo ſalute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our men, and likewiſe their qualities, although at the firſt they ſeemed to ſtand in feare of vs, and of ſo many of our boates whereof they deſired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courteſies that paſſed on both ſides were ſo great, that all feare and miſtruſt on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our Engliſh Generall and the Spaniſh Gouernour diſcourſed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the ſtate of the Countrey, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men prouided two banquetting houſes couered with greene boughes, the one for the Gentlemen, the other for the ſeruaunts, and a ſumptuous banquet was brought in ſerued by vs all in plate, with the ſound of trumpets, and conſort of muſicke, wherewith the Spaniards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniardes in recompence of our courteſie, cauſed a great heard of white buls, and kyne to be brought together from the mountaines, and appoynted for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horſe ready ſadled, and then ſingled out three of the beſt of them to bee hunted by horſemen after their maner, ſo that the paſtime grewe very pleaſant for the ſpace of three houres, wherein all three of the beaſts were killed, whereof one tooke the Sea, and there was ſlaine with a muſket. After this ſport, many rare preſents and gifts were giuen and beſtowed on both parts, and the next day wee played the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange of diuers of their commodities, as horſes, mares, kine, buls, goates, ſwine, ſheepe, bull-hides, ſugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and ſuch like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spaniards from the Iland of Hiſpaniola: but the wiſer ſort doe impute this great ſhew of friendſhip, and courteſie vſed towards vs by the Spaniards rather to the force that wee were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulneſſe that was amongſt vs, then to any heartie good will, or ſure friendly intertainement: for doubtleſſe if they had bene ſtronger then wee, wee might haue looked for no better curteſie at their handes, then Maſter Iohn Haukins receiued at Saint Iohn de Vllua, or Iohn Oxnam neere the ſtreights of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day we ankered at a ſmall Iland to take Seales, which in that place wee vnderſtood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinneſſe were in very great danger to haue beene all caſt away, but by the helpe of God they eſcaped the haſard, and returned aboord the Admirall in ſafetie.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Iſle of Caycos, in which Iland we ſearched for ſalte-pondes, vpon the aduertiſment and information of a Portugall: who in deede abuſed our Generall and vs, deſeruing a halter for his hire, if it had ſo pleaſed vs.

They land on the Iles of Caicos.

The 12. we ankered at Guanima, and landed.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Cyguateo.

Guanima. Cyguateo.

The 20. we fell with the maine of Florida.

The 23. we were in great danger of a wracke on a breach called the Cape of Feare.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbour, where wee caught in one tyde ſo much fiſh as would haue yeelded vs twentie pounds in London: this was our firſt landing in Florida.

They land in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee weighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the vnſkilfulneſſe of the Maſter whoſe name was Fernando, the Admirall ſtrooke on ground, and ſunke.

The 3. we ſent word of our arriuing at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

Iuly.

The 6. M. Iohn Arundel was ſent to the maine, and Manteo with him: and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the ſame day were ſent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, ſome 20. dayes before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Maſter Iohn Arundell, Maſter Stukeley, and diuers other Gentlemen, Maſter Lane, Maſter Candiſh, Maſter Hariot, and twentie others in the new pinneſſe, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with ten others in a ſhipboat, Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ſhip-boate, paſſed ouer the water from Wococon to the maine land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we firſt diſcouered the townes of Pomeiok, Aquaſcogoc and Secotan, and alſo the great lake called by the Sauages Paquipe, with diuers other places, and ſo returned with that diſcouery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeiok.

The 13. we paſſed by water to Aquaſcogok.

The 15. we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Sauages.

The 16. wee returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was ſent to Aquaſcogok, to demaund a ſiluer cup which one of the Sauages had ſtollen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promiſe, wee burnt, and ſpoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people being fled.

The 18. we returned from the diſcouery of Secotan, and the ſame day came aboord our Fleete ryding at Wococon.

The 21. our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we reſted.

The 29. Grangino brother to king Wingina came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

The 2. the Admirall was ſent to Weapomeiok.

The 5. M. Iohn Arundell was ſent for England.

Auguſt.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and ſet ſaile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spaniſh ſhip of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of cheſts, which fell aſunder, and ſunke at the ſhips ſide, aſſoone as euer he and his men were out of it.

The 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then ſhipped in the prize, loſt ſight of the Tyger.

September.

The 6. the Tyger fell with the Landsend, and the ſame day came to anker at Falmouth.

October.

The 18. the Generall came with the prize to Plymmouth, and was courteouſly receiued by diuers of his worſhipfull friends.

The names of thoſe as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole yeere in *Virginia*, vnder the Gouernement of Maſter *Ralph Lane*.

Maſter Philip Amadas, Admirall of the countrey,
Maſter Hariot.
Maſter Acton.
Maſter Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Maſter Maruyn.
Maſter Gardiner.
Captaine Vaughan.
Maſter Kendall.
Maſter Prideox.
Robert Holecroft.
Riſe Courtney.
Maſter Hugh Rogers.
Maſter Thomas Haruie.
Maſter Snelling.
Maſter Anthony Ruſſe.
Maſter Allyne.
Maſter Michael Poliſon.
Iohn Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Gefferey Churchman.
William Farthow.
Iohn Taylor.
Philip Robyns.
Thomas Philips.
Valentine Beale.
Thomas Foxe.
Darby Glande.
Edward Nugen.
Edward Kelley.
Iohn Goſtigo.
Eraſmus Clefs.
Edward Ketcheman.
Iohn Linſey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane.
Iohn Harris.
Francis Norris.
Matthew Lyne.
Edward Kettell.
Thomas Wiſſe.
Robert Biſcombe.
William Backhouſe.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Ioſeph Borges.
Doughan Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Mill.
Richard Gilbert.
Steuen Pomarie.
Iohn Brocke.
Bennet Harrie.
Iames Steuenſon.
Charles Steuenſon.
Chriſtopher Lowde.
Ieremie Man.
Iames Maſon.
Dauid Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookener.
William Philips.
Randall Mayne.
Iames Skinner.
George Eſeuen.
Iohn Chandeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Conſtable.
Thomas Hesket.
William Waſſe.
Iohn Feuer.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
Iohn Wright.
Gabriel North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
Iames Lacie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert.
Iohn Euans.
Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Francis Whitton.
Rowland Griffyn.
William Millard.
Iohn Twit.
Edward Seclemore.
Iohn Anwike.
Chriſtopher Marſhall.
Dauid Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Silueſter Beching.
Vincent Cheyne.
Hance Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
William Walters.

An extract of Maſter *Ralph Lanes* letter to M. *Richard Hakluyt* Eſquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from *Virginia*.

In the meane while you ſhall vnderſtand that ſince Sir Richard Greenuils departure from vs, as alſo before, we haue diſcouered the maine to be the goodlieſt ſoyle vnder the cope of heauen, ſo abounding with ſweete trees, that bring ſuch ſundry rich and pleaſant gummes, grapes of ſuch greatneſſe, yet wilde, as France, Spaine nor Italie haue no greater, ſo many ſorts of Apothecarie drugs, ſuch ſeuerall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like ſilke, the ſame gathered of a graſſe, as common there, as graſſe is here. And now within theſe fewe dayes we haue found here Maiz or Guinie wheate, whoſe eare yeeldeth corne for bread 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect ſugar, alſo Terra Samia, otherwiſe Terra ſigillata. Beſides that, it is the goodlieſt and moſt pleaſing Territorie of the world: for the continent is of an huge and vnknowen greatneſſe, and very well peopled and towned, though ſauagely, and the climate ſo wholeſome, that wee had not one ſicke ſince we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horſes and kine in ſome reaſonable proportion, I dare aſſure my ſelfe being inhabited with Engliſh, no realme in Chriſtendome were comparable to it. For this already we finde, that what commodities ſoeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the Eaſt partes doe yeeld vnto vs, in wines of all ſortes, in oyles, in flaxe, in roſens, pitch, frankenſence, corrans, ſugers, and ſuch like, theſe parts doe abound with the growth of them all, but being Sauages that poſſeſſe the land, they know no vſe of the ſame. And ſundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they Weſt or Eaſt Indies, haue, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are moſt curteous, and very deſirous to haue clothes, but eſpecially of courſe cloth rather then ſilke, courſe canuas they alſo like well of, but copper caryeth the price of all, ſo it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and M. H. I haue ioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearely well, and commending me moſt heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almightie. From the new Fort in Virginia, this third of September, 1585.

The rich and manifold commodities of Virginia.

Commodities fit to carie to Virginia.

Your moſt aſſured friend RALPH LANE.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the Engliſh men left in *Virginia* by Sir *Richard Greenevill* vnder the charge of Maſter *Ralph Lane* Generall of the ſame, from the 17. of Auguſt 1585. vntill the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: ſent and directed to Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

That I may proceede with order in this diſcourſe, I thinke it requiſite to diuide it into two parts. The firſt ſhall declare the particularities of ſuch parts of the Countrey within the maine, as our weake number, and ſupply of things neceſſarie did inable vs to enter into the diſcouery of.

The ſecond part ſhall ſet downe the reaſons generally mouing vs to reſolue on our departure at the inſtant with the Generall Sir Francis Drake, and our common requeſt for paſſage with him, when the barkes, pinneſſes, and boates with the Maſters and Mariners meant by him to bee left in the Countrey for the ſupply of ſuch, as for a further time meant to haue ſtayed there, were caryed away with tempeſt and foule weather: In the beginning whereof ſhall bee declared the conſpiracie of Pemiſapan, with the Sauages of the maine to haue cut vs off, &c.

2. parts of this diſcourſe.

The firſt part declaring the particularities of the Countrey of *Virginia*.

First therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand that our diſcouerie of the ſame hath beene extended from the Iland of Roanoak, (the ſame hauing bene the place of our ſettlement or inhabitatiō) into the South, into the North, into the Northweſt, and into the Weſt.

The vttermoſt place to the Southward of any diſcouery was Secotan, being by eſtimation fourescore miles diſtant from Roanoak. The paſſage from thence was through a broad ſound within the mayne, the ſame being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and ſhoalds: we had but one boate with foure oares to paſſe through the ſame, which boate could not carry aboue fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for ſeuen dayes at the moſt: and as for our pinneſſe, beſides that ſhe drew too deep water for that ſhallow ſound, ſhe would not ſtirre for an oare: for theſe and other reaſons (winter alſo being at hand) we thought good wholly to leaue the diſcouery of thoſe parts vntill our ſtronger ſupply.

To the Northward our furtheſt diſcouery was to the Cheſepians, diſtant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the paſſage to it was very ſhallow and moſt dangerous, by reaſon of the bredth of the ſound, and the little ſuccour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and ſoyle of the Cheſepians (being diſtant fifteene miles from the ſhoare) was for pleaſantnes of ſeate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of ſoyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, beſides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victuall) with great woods of Saſſafras, and Wallnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatſoeuer.

The excellencie of the ſeate of Cheſepiook.

There be ſundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adioyning to the ſame, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opoſſians, which all came to viſite the Colonie of the Engliſh, which I had for a time appointed to be reſident there.

To the Northweſt the fartheſt place of our diſcouery was to Chawanook diſtant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our paſſage thither lyeth through a broad ſound, but all freſh water, and the chanell of a great depth, nauigable for good ſhipping, but out of the chanell full of ſhoalds.

The Townes about the waters ſide ſituated by the way are theſe following: Paſſaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muſcamunge, & Metackwem: all theſe being vnder the iuriſdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okiſco: from Muſcamunge we enter into the Riuer, and iuriſdiction of Chawanook: There the Riuer beginneth to ſtraighten vntill it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betweene Weſtminſter, and Lambeth.

Betweene Muſcamunge and Chawanook vpon the left hand as wee paſſe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging vnto it: it is ſubiect to Chawanook.

The towne of Chawanook able to make 700. men of warre.

Chawanook it ſelfe is the greateſt Prouince & Seigniorie lying vpon that Riuer, and the very Towne it ſelfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, beſides the forces of the Prouince it ſelfe.

The King of the ſayd Prouince is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwiſe for a Sauage, a very graue and wiſe man, and of a very ſingular good diſcourſe in matters concerning the ſtate, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the diſpoſition of his owne men, but alſo of his neighbours round about him as well farre as neere, and of the commodities that eache Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him priſoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue mee more vnderſtanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the ſearches and Sauages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March laſt paſt 1586. Amongſt other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a Canoa vp his Riuer of Chawanook, and then deſcending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to paſſe ouer land Northeaſt to a certaine Kings countrey, whoſe Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greateſt ſtrength is an Iſland ſituate, as hee deſcribed vnto mee, in a Bay, the water round about the Iſland very deepe.

An Iland in a Bay.

Pearles in exceeding quantitie.

Out of this Bay hee ſignified vnto mee, that this King had ſo great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth ſo ordinarily take the ſame, as that not onely his owne ſkinnes that hee weareth, and the better ſort of his gentlemen and followers are full ſet with the ſayd Pearle, but alſo his beds, and houſes are garniſhed with them, and that hee hath ſuch quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to ſee.

He ſhewed me that the ſayd King was with him at Chawanook two yeeres before, & brought him certaine Pearle, but the ſame of the worſt ſort, yet was he faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought. Hee gaue mee a rope of the ſame pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongſt a number very orient and round, all which I loſt with other things of mine, comming aboord Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the ſayd King had great ſtore of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of ſhallow water, but the white Pearle his men fiſhed for in very deepe water.

It ſeemed to me by his ſpeach, that the ſayd King had traffique with white men that had clothes as we haue, for theſe white Pearle, and that was the reaſon that hee would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to thoſe of the ſame countrey.

The king of Chawanook promiſed to giue me guids to go ouer land into that kings countrey whenſoeuer I would: but he aduiſed me to take good ſtore of men with me and good ſtore of victuall, for he ſaid, that king would be loth to ſuffer any ſtrangers to enter into his Countrey, and eſpecially to meddle with the fiſhing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the field which he ſayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I reſolued with my ſelfe, that if your ſupplie had come before the ende of Aprill, and that you had ſent any ſtore of boates or men, to haue had them made in any reaſonable time, with a ſufficient number of men and victuals to haue found vs vntill the new corne were come in, I would haue ſent a ſmall barke with two pinneſſes about by Sea to the Northward to haue found out the Bay he ſpake of, and to haue ſounded the barre if there were any, which ſhould haue ridden there in the ſayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the ſmall boates I could make, and with two hundred men would haue gone vp to the head of the riuer of Chawanook with the guids that Menatonon would haue giuen me, which I would haue bene aſſured ſhould haue beene of his beſt men, (for I had his beſt beloued ſonne priſoner with me) who alſo ſhould haue kept me company in an handlocke with the reſt, foote by foote, all the voyage ouer land.

An enterpriſe of ſpeciall importance.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my deſcent where I would haue left my boates, to haue raiſed a ſconſe with a ſmall trench, and a palliſado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boates I would haue left fiue and twentie, or thirtie men, with the reſt would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue caried, with their furniture, mattocks, ſpades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my march vpon ſome conuenient plot would I haue raiſed another ſconſe according to the former, where I would haue left fifteene or twentie. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I would haue raiſed my ſaide ſconſe vpon ſome Corne fielde, that my company might haue liued vpon it.

And ſo I would haue holden this courſe of inſconſing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arriued at the Bay or Port hee ſpake of: which finding to bee worth the poſſeſſion, I would there haue raiſed a maine fort, both for the defence of the harborough, and our ſhipping alſo, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) vnto this other beforementioned, from whence, in the foure dayes march before ſpecified, could I at al times returne with my company back vnto my boates riding vnder my ſconſe, very neere whereunto directly from the Weſt runneth a moſt notable Riuer, and in all thoſe parts moſt famous, called the Riuer of Moratoc. This Riuer openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the Riuer of Chawanook, and all the other Sounds, and Bayes, ſalt and freſh, ſhewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Moratoc hath ſo violent a current from the Weſt and Southweſt, that it made me almoſt of opinion that with oares it would ſcarſe be nauigable: it paſſeth with many creekes and turnings, and for the ſpace of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Green-wich and the Iſle of dogges, in ſome place more, and in ſome leſſe: the current runneth as ſtrong, being entred ſo high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a vale water.

Whither M. Ralfe Lane meant to remoue.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but alſo the Sauages of Moratoc themſelues doe report ſtrange things of the head of that Riuer, and that from Moratoc it ſelfe, which is a principall Towne vpon that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as ſome of them ſay, and ſome ſay fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they ſay ſpringeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a moſt violent ſtreame: and further, that this huge rock ſtandeth ſo neere vnto a Sea, that many times in ſtormes (the winde comming outwardly from the ſea) the waues thereof are beaten into the ſaid freſh ſtreame, ſo that the freſh water for a certaine ſpace, groweth ſalt and brackiſh: I tooke a reſolution with my ſelfe, hauing diſmiſſed Menatonon vpon a ranſome agreed for, and ſent his ſonne into the Pinneſſe to Roanoak, to enter preſently ſo farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie perſons one or other, as I could haue victuall to cary vs, vntil we could meete with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kinde of Sauages, dwelling more to the Weſtward of the ſaid Riuer: but the hope of recouering more victuall from the Sauages made mee and my company as narrowly to eſcape ſtaruing in that diſcouerie before our returne, as euer men did, that miſſed the ſame.

For Pemiſapan, who had changed his name of Wingina vpon the death of his brother Granganimo, had giuen both the Choaniſts, and Mangoaks worde of my purpoſe touching them, I hauing bene inforced to make him priuie to the ſame, to bee ſerued by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet hee did neuer reſt to ſolicite continually my going vpon them, certifying mee of a generall aſſembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of three thouſand bowes, preparing to come vpō vs at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks alſo were ioyned in the ſame confederacie, who were able of themſelues to bring as many more to the enterpriſe: And true it was that at that time the aſſembly was holden at Chawanook about vs, as I found at my comming thither, which being vnlooked for did ſo diſmay them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie againſt vs of the Choaniſts and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemiſapan himſelfe, as Menatonon confeſſed vnto me, who ſent them continual word, that our purpoſe was fully bent to deſtroy them: on the other ſide he told me, that they had the like meaning towards vs.

Wingina changed his name.

Conſpiracie of the Sauages againſt the Engliſh.

Hee in like ſort hauing ſent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to paſſe vp into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he ſaide) both they and the Moratoks, with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had euer dealt kindly with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retired themſelues with their * Crenepos, and their Corne within the maine: inſomuch as hauing paſſed three dayes voyage vp the Riuer, wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any their Townes: whereupon conſidering with my ſelfe that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, beſides caſualtie of contrary windes or ſtormes, and ſuſpecting treaſon of our owne Sauages in the diſcouerie of our voyage intended, though wee had no intention to bee hurtfull to any of them, otherwiſe

* Their women.

then for our copper to haue had corne of them: I at night vpon the Corps of guard, before the putting foorth of Centinels, aduertiſed the whole company of the caſe wee ſtoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpoſe drawen foorth by them vpon vaine hope to be in the ende ſtarued, ſeeing all the Countrey fled before vs, and therefore while wee had thoſe two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homeward, and that it were neceſſary for vs to get the other ſide of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieued vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled.

Thus much I ſignified vnto them, as the ſafeſt way: neuertheleſſe I did referre it to the greateſt number of voyces, whether wee ſhould aduenture the ſpending of our whole victuall in ſome further viewe of that moſt goodly Riuer in hope to meete with ſome better happe, or otherwiſe to retire our ſelues backe againe. And for that they might be the better aduiſed, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aborde to ſet our courſe according to the deſires of the greateſt part. Their reſolution fully and wholy was (and not three founde to bee of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one halfe pinte of Corne for a man, wee ſhould not leaue the ſearch of that Riuer, and that there were in the companie two Maſtiues, vpon the pottage of which with Saſſafras leaues (if the worſt fell out) the company would make ſhift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the current to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the Sound, and in two dayes more at the fartheſt they hoped to croſſe the Sound and to bee relieued by the weares, which two dayes they would faſt rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had ſeene the Mangoaks, either as friendes or foes. This reſolution of theirs did not a little pleaſe mee, ſince it came of themſelues, although for miſtruſt of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

A marueilous Mineral in the countrey of Chaunis Temoatan.

And that which made me moſt deſirous to haue ſome doings with the Mangoaks either in friendſhip or otherwiſe to haue had one or two of them priſoners, was, for that it is a thing moſt notorious to all the countrey, that there is a Prouince to the which the ſaid Mangoaks haue recourſe and traffique vp that Riuer of Moratoc, which hath a marueilous and moſt ſtrange Minerall. This Mine is ſo notorious amongſt them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling vp the ſaid riuer, and alſo to the Sauages of Chawanook, and all them to the Weſtward, but alſo to all them of the maine: the Countreis name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The Minerall they ſay is Waſſador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Waſſador euery mettall whatſoeuer: they ſay it is of the colour of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reaſon is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very ſoft, and pale: they ſay that they take the ſaide mettall out of a riuer that falleth very ſwift from hie rockes and hils, and they take it in ſhallow water: the maner is this. They take a great bowle by their deſcription as great as one of our targets, and wrappe a ſkinne ouer the hollow part thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then ſuddenly chop downe the ſaid bowle with the ſkinne, and receiue into the ſame as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle will holde, which preſently they caſt into a fire, and foorthwith it melteth, and doeth yeelde in fiue parts, at the firſt melting, two parts of mettall for three parts of oare. Of this mettall the Mangoaks haue ſo great ſtore, by report of all the Sauages adioyning, that they beautifie their houſes with great plates of the ſame: and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the countrey, and particularly by yong Skiko, the King of Chawanooks ſonne my priſoner, who alſo himſelfe had bene priſoner with the Mangoaks, and ſet downe all the particularities to me before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himſelfe: for hee ſaid, it was twentie dayes iourney ouerland from the Mangoaks, to the ſaid Mineral Countrey, and that they paſſed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the ſaid Countrey.

Upon report of the premiſſes, which I was very inquiſitiue in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the Sauages that dwelt towards thoſe parts, and eſpecially of Menatonon himſelfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promiſed me guides of his owne men, who ſhould paſſe ouer with me, euen to the ſaid Country of Chaunis Temoatan (for ouerland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from Sunne riſing to Sunne ſetting, whereas by water it is ſeuen dayes with the ſooneſt:) Theſe things, I ſay, made me very deſirous by all meanes poſſible to recouer the Mangoaks, and to get ſome of that their copper for an aſſay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their reſolution: But it fell out very contrary to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victuall ſpent, lying on ſhoare all night, wee could neuer ſee man, onely fires we might perceiue made alongſt the ſhoare where we were to paſſe, and vp into the Countrey, vntill the very laſt day. In the euening whereof, about three of the clocke wee heard certaine Sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was alſo at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of ſome friendly conference with them, and making him to anſwere them, they preſently began a ſong, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo preſently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with vs: which worde was not ſo ſoone ſpoken by him, and the light horſeman ready to put to ſhoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongſt them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediatly the other boate lying ready with their ſhot to ſkoure the place for our hand weapons to lande vpon, which was preſently done, although the land was very high and ſteepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the ſhoare, and betooke themſelues to flight: wee landed, and hauing faire and eaſily followed for a ſmal time after them, who had wooded themſelues we know not where: the Sunne drawing then towards the ſetting, and being then aſſured that the next day if wee would purſue them, though we might happen to meete with them, yet wee ſhould be aſſured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cauſe to thinke of: therefore chooſing for the company a conuenient ground in ſafetie to lodge in for the night, making a ſtrong Corps of guard, and putting out good Centinels, I determined the next morning before the riſing of the Sunne to be going backe againe, if poſſibly we might recouer the mouth of the riuer, into the broad ſound, which at my firſt motion I found my whole company ready to aſſent vnto: for they were nowe come to their Dogges porredge, that they had beſpoken for themſelues if that befell them which did, and I before did miſtruſt we ſhould hardly eſcape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the Riuers mouth within foure or fiue miles of the ſame, hauing rowed in one day downe the current, as much as in foure dayes wee had done againſt the ſame: we lodged vpon an Iland, where we had nothing in the world to eate but pottage of Saſſafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer vſed before as I thinke. The broad ſound wee had to paſſe the next day all freſh and faſting: that day the winde blew ſo ſtrongly, and the billow ſo great, that there was no poſſibilitie of paſſage without ſinking of our boates. This was vpon Eaſter eue, which was faſted very truely. Vpon Eaſter day in the morning the winde comming very calme, we entred the ſound, and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum, whence all the Sauages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yeelde vs ſome fiſh, as God was pleaſed not vtterly to ſuffer vs to be loſt: for ſome of our company of the light horſemen were farre ſpent. The next morning wee arriued at our home Roanoak.

A conflict begun by the Sauages.

The great current of the riuer of Moratico.

I haue ſet downe this Voyage ſomewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the moſt to the leaſt amongſt vs, to haue perfited this diſcouerie of the Mine: for that the diſcouery of a good Mine, by the goodneſſe of God, or a paſſage to the South-ſea, or ſome way to it, and nothing elſe can bring this Countrey in requeſt to be inhabited by our nation. And with the diſcouery of either of the two aboue ſhewed, it will bee the moſt ſweete and healthfulleſt climate, and therewithall the moſt fertile ſoyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Saſſafras, and many other rootes and gummes there found make good marchandiſe and lading for ſhipping, which otherwiſe of themſelues will not be worth the fetching.

Prouided alſo, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which muſt be to the Northward, if any there bee, which was mine intention to haue ſpent this Summer in the ſearch of, and of the Mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barkes that I ſhould haue had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courteſie, had not bene driuen away by ſtorme: the other if your ſupply of more men, and ſome other neceſſaries had come to vs in any conuenient ſufficiencie. For this riuer of Moratico promiſeth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the deſcription of the Countrey, either riſeth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the ſame, that openeth out into the South ſea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doeth M. Youghan affirme, that though it be but copper, ſeeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richeſt Minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harborough found to the Northward, as before is ſaide, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the Riuer of Choanoak ſconſes being raiſed, from whence againe ouerland through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the firſt towne of the Mangoaks vp the Riuer of Moratico by the way, as alſo vpon the ſaid Riuer for the defence of our boats like ſconſes being ſet, in this courſe of proceeding you ſhall cleare your ſelfe from al thoſe dangers and broad ſhallow ſounds before mentioned, and gaine within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the maine 200. miles at the leaſt, and ſo paſſe your diſcouery into that moſt notable countrey, and to the likelieſt parts of the maine, with farre greater felicitie then otherwiſe can bee performed.

Thus Sir, I haue though ſimply, yet truely ſet downe vnto you, what my labour with the reſt of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company (not without both paine and perill, which the Lord in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeeld vnto you, which might haue bene performed in ſome more perfection, if the Lord had bene pleaſed that onely that which you had prouided for vs had at the firſt bene left with vs, or that hee had not in his eternall prouidence now at the laſt ſet ſome other courſe in theſe things, then the wiſedome of man coulde looke into, which truely the carying away by a moſt ſtrange & vnlooked for ſtorme of all our prouiſion, with Barks, Maſter, Mariners, and ſundry alſo of mine owne company, al hauing bene ſo courteouſly ſupplied by the generall Sir Francis Drake, the ſame hauing bene moſt ſufficient to haue performed the greateſt part of the premiſſes, muſt euer make me to thinke the hand of God onely (for ſome his good purpoſe to my ſelfe yet vnknowen) to haue bene in the matter.

The ſecond part touching the conſpiracie of *Pemiſapan*, the diſcouery of the ſame, and at the laſt, of our requeſt to depart with Sir *Francis Drake* for *England.*

ENſenore a Sauage father to Pemiſapan being the onely friend to our nation that we had amongſt them, and about the King, died the 20. of April 1586. Hee alone had before oppoſed himſelfe in their conſultations againſt all matters propoſed againſt vs, which both the King and all the reſt of them after Grangenoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to ſaue vs from hurt, as poyſonings and ſuch like, but alſo to doe vs very great good, and ſingularly in this.

The King was aduiſed and of himſelfe diſpoſed, as a ready meane to haue aſſuredly brought vs to ruine in the moneth of March 1586. himſelfe alſo with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Iland vnſowed: which if hee had done, there had bene no poſſibilitie in common reaſon, (but by the immediate hande of God) that wee coulde haue bene preſerued from ſtaruing out of hande. For at that time wee had no weares for fiſh, neither coulde our men ſkill of the making of them, neither had wee one graine of Corne for ſeede to put into the ground.

This ſkill of making weares would be learned.

In mine abſence on my voyage that I had made againſt the Chaoniſts, and Mangoaks, they had raiſed a bruite among themſelues, that I and my company were part ſlaine, and part ſtarued by the Chaoniſts, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be ſtarued, but the other falſe.

Neuertheleſſe vntill my returne it tooke ſuch effect in Pemiſapans breaſt, and in thoſe againſt vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but alſo (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in ſhew, of the Almightie God of heauen, and Ieſus Chriſt whom wee ſerue and worſhip, whom before they would acknowledge and confeſſe the only God) now they began to blaſpheme, and flatly to ſay, that our Lorde God was not God, ſince hee ſuffered vs to ſuſtaine much hunger, and alſo to be killed of the Renapoaks, for ſo they call by that generall name all the inhabitants of the whole maine, of what prouince ſoeuer. Inſomuch as olde Enſenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his ſake haue no more credite for vs: and it came ſo farre that the king was reſolued to haue preſently gone away as is aforeſaid.

But euen in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee ſawe contrary to his expectation, and the aduertiſement that hee had receiued: that not onely my ſelfe, and my company were all ſafe, but alſo by report of his owne 3. Sauages which had bene with mee beſides Manteo in that voyage, that is to ſay, Tetepano, his ſiſters huſband Eracano, and Coſſine, that the Chanoiſts and Mangoaks (whoſe name and multitude beſides their valour is terrible to all the reſt of the prouinces) durſt not for the moſt part of them abide vs, and that thoſe that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon priſoner, and brought his ſonne that he beſt loued to Roanoak with mee, it did not a little aſſwage all deuiſes againſt vs: on the other ſide, it made Enſenores opinions to bee receiued againe with greater reſpects. For he had often before tolde them, and then renewed thoſe his former ſpeeches, both to the king and the reſt, that wee were the ſeruants of God, and that wee were not ſubiect to bee deſtroyed by them: but contrarywiſe, that they amongſt them that ſought our deſtruction, ſhould finde their owne, and not bee able to worke our[illegible] and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wiſeſt amongſt them, and of their old men, as alſo, that they haue bene in the night, being [illegible]o. miles from any of vs, in the aire ſhot at, and ſtroken by ſome men of ours, that by ſickneſſe had died among them: and many of them holde opinion that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All theſe ſpeeches then againe grewe in ful credite with them, the King, and all, touching vs, when hee ſawe the ſmall troupe returned againe, and in that ſort from thoſe whoſe very names were terrible vnto them: But that which made vp the matter on our ſide for that time was an accident, yea rather (as all the reſt was) the good prouidence of the Almightie for the ſauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the ſayd iourney, Menatonon ſent a meſſenger to viſite his ſonne the priſoner with me, and ſent me certaine pearle for a preſent, or rather, as Pemiſapan tolde mee, for the ranſome of his ſonne, and therefore I refuſed them: But the greateſt cauſe of his ſending then, was to ſignifie vnto mee, that hee had commaunded Okisko King of Weopomiok, to yeelde himſelfe ſeruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh: to perfourme which commaundement receiued from Menatonon, the ſayde Okisko ioyntly with this Menatonons meſſenger ſent foure and twentie of his principalleſt men to Roanoak to Pemiſapan, to ſignifie that they were ready to perfourme the ſame, and ſo had ſent thoſe his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde, hee, and his ſucceſſours were to acknowledge her Maieſtie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is aforeſayd.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the preſence of Pemiſapan his father, and all his Sauages in counſell then with him, it did for the time thorowly (as it ſeemed) change him in diſpoſition toward vs: Inſomuch as foorthwith Enſenore wanne this reſolution of him, that out of hand he ſhould goe about, and withall, to cauſe his men to ſet vp weares foorthwith for vs: both which he at that preſent went in hande withall, and did ſo labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had ſowed a good quantitie of ground, ſo much as had bene ſufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God bleſſing the grouth) and that by the belly, for a whole yere: beſides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of ground for our ſelues to ſowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could paſſe from Aprill vntill the beginning of Iuly, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their harueſt,) that then a newe ſupply out of England or els our owne ſtore would well ynough maintaine vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane ſpace if the Sauages ſhould not helpe vs with Caſſaui, and Chyna, and that our weares ſhould faile vs, (as often they did,) we might very well ſtarue, notwithſtanding the growing corne, like the ſtaruing horſe in the ſtable, with the growing graſſe, as the prouerbe is: which wee very hardly had eſcaped but onely by the hand of God, as it pleaſed him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is ſaide, Enſenore our friend died, who was no ſooner dead, but certaine of our great enemies about Pemiſapan, as Oſacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wancheſe moſt principally, were in hand againe to put their old practiſes in vre againſt vs, which were readily imbraced, and all their former deuiſes againſt vs renued, and new brought in queſtion. But that of ſtaruing vs, by their forbearing to ſow, was broken by Enſenore in his life, by hauing made the King all at one inſtant to ſow his ground, not onely in the Iland, but alſo at Daſamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues ouer againſt vs. Neuertheleſſe there wanted no ſtore of miſchieuous practiſes among them, and of all they reſolued principally of this following.

The beginning of their harueſt in Iuly.

Firſt that Okisko king of Weopomeiok with the Mandoages ſhould bee mooued, and with great quantitie of copper intertained to the number of 7. or 8. hundreth bowes, to enterpriſe the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weopomeiok ſhould be inuited to a certaine kinde of moneths minde which they doe vſe to ſolemniſe in their Sauage maner for any great perſonage dead, and ſhould haue bene for Enſenore. At this inſtant alſo ſhould the Mandoaks, who were a great people, with the Cheſepians & their friends to the number of 700. of them, be armed at a day appointed to the maine of Daſamonquepeio, and there lying cloſe at the ſigne of fiers, which ſhould interchangeably be made on both ſides, when Pemiſapan with his troupe aboue named ſhould haue executed me, and ſome of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the maine forces of the reſt ſhould haue come ouer into the Iland, where they ment to haue diſpatched the reſt of the company, whom they did imagine to finde both diſmayed and diſperſed abroad in the Iland, ſeeking of crabs and fiſh to liue withall. The maner of their enterpriſe was this.

The conſpiracie of Pemiſapan.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemiſapan, and very luſtie fellowes,

with

The forme of the treaſon.

with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my perſon to ſee an order taken for the ſame, which they ment ſhould in this ſort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beſet my houſe, and put fire in the reedes that the ſame was couered with: meaning (as it was likely) that my ſelfe would haue come running out of a ſudden amazed in my ſhirt without armes, vpon the inſtant whereof they would haue knocked out my braines.

The ſufficiencie of our men to deale againſt the Sauages, 10. to an hundreth.

The Sauages liue by fiſhing, and hunting, till harueſt.

The ſame order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Heriots: ſo for all the reſt of our better ſort, all our houſes at one inſtant being ſet on fire as afore is ſaide, and that as well for them of the fort, as for vs at the towne. Now to the ende that we might be the fewer in number together, and ſo bee the more eaſily dealt withall (for in deed tenne of vs with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the beſt ſort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practiſe, that they ſhould not for any copper ſell vs any victuals whatſoeuer: beſides that in the night they ſhould ſende to haue our weares robbed, and alſo to cauſe them to bee broken, and once being broken neuer to be repaired againe by them. By this meanes the King ſtood aſſured, that I muſt bee enforced for lacke of ſuſtenance there, to diſband my company into ſundry places to liue vpon ſhell fiſh, for ſo the Sauages themſelues doe, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fiſhing and hunting, while their grounds be in ſowing, and their corne growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew ſo extreeme among vs, our weares failing vs of fiſh, that I was enforced to ſende Captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Croatoan my Lord Admirals Iland to ſerue two turnes in one, that is to ſay, to feede himſelfe and his company, and alſo to keepe watch if any ſhipping came vpon the coaſt to warne vs of the ſame. I ſent M. Pridiox with the pinneſſe to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the Prouoſt Marſhal to liue there, and alſo to wait for ſhipping: alſo I ſent euery weeke 16, or 20. of the reſt of the company to the maine ouer againſt vs, to liue of Caſada and oyſters.

In the meane while Pemiſapan went of purpoſe to Daſamonquepeio for three cauſes: The one to ſee his grounds there broken vp, and ſowed for a ſecond crop: the other to withdrawe himſelfe from my dayly ſending to him for ſupply of victuall for my company, for hee was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durſt hee in my preſence but by colour and with excuſes, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reaſon, to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuſes.

My purpoſe was to haue relied my ſelfe with Menatonon, and the Chaoniſts, who in trueth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the reſt, ſo are they more faithfull in their promiſes, and ſince my late being there had giuen many tokens of earneſt deſire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemiſapan and Weopomeiok for making him beleeue ſuch tales of vs.

The third cauſe of his going to Daſamonquepeio was to diſpatch his meſſengers to Weopomeiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforeſaid: all which he did with great impreſt of copper in hand, making large promiſes to them of greater ſpoile.

The anſwere within few dayes after came from Weopomeiok, which was deuided into two parts. Firſt for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himſelfe, or any of his eſpeciall followers, and therefore did immediatly retire himſelfe with his force into the maine: the other was concerning the reſt of the ſaid prouince who accepted of it: and in like ſort the Mandoags receiued the impreſt.

The day of their aſſembly aforeſaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10. of Iune: all which the premiſes were diſcouered by Skyco, the King Menatonon his ſonne my priſoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatning to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemiſapans requeſt: whereupon hee being perſwaded that hee was our enemie to the death, he did not onely feed him with himſelfe, but alſo made him acquainted with all his practiſes. On the other ſide, the yong man finding himſelfe as well vſed at my hande, as I had meanes to ſhew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly diſcouered al vnto me, which alſo afterwards was reueiled vnto me by one of Pemiſapans owne men, that night before he was ſlaine.

These miſchiefes being all inſtantly vpon me and my company to be put in execution, it ſtood mee in hand to ſtudy how to preuent them, and alſo to ſaue all others, which were at that time as aforeſaid ſo farre from me: whereupon I ſent to Pemiſapan to put ſuſpition out of his head, that I meant preſently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the ariuall of our Fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for ſo good aduenture,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fiſh for my company, & to hunt for me at Croatoan, as alſo to buy ſome foure dayes prouiſion to ſerue for my voyage.

He ſent me word that he would himſelfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, onely to bring the Weopomeioks with him & the Mandoags, whoſe time appointed was within eight dayes after. It was the laſt of May 1586 when all his owne Sauages began to make their aſſembly at Roanoak, at his commandement ſent abroad vnto them, and I reſolued not to ſtay longer vpon his comming ouer, ſince he meant to come with ſo good company, but thought good to go and viſit him with ſuch as I had, which I reſolued to do the next day: but that night I meant by the way to giue them in the Iſland a canuiſado, and at the inſtant to ſeize vpon all the canoas about the Iſland, to keepe him from aduertiſements.

But the towne tooke the alarme before I meant it to them; the occaſion was this. I had ſent the Maſter of the light horſeman, with a few with him, to gather vp all the canoas in the ſetting of the Sun, & to take as many as were going from vs to Daſamonquepeio, but to ſuffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a Canoa going from the ſhore, and ouerthrew the Canoa, and cut off two Sauages heads: this was not done ſo ſecretly but he was diſcouered from the ſhore; wherupon the cry aroſe: for in trueth they, priuy to their owne villanous purpoſes againſt vs, held as good eſpiall vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The ſlaughter and ſurpriſe of the Sauages.

The allarme giuen, they tooke themſelues to their bowes, and we to our armes: ſome three or foure of them at the firſt were ſlaine with our ſhot; the reſt fled into the woods. The next morning with the light horſman & one Canoa taking 25 with the Colonel of the Cheſepians, and the Sergeant maior, I went to Daſamonquepeio: and being landed, ſent Pemiſapan word by one of his owne Sauages that met me at the ſhore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Oſocon, who the night paſt was conueying away my priſoner, whom I had there preſent tied in an handlocke. Heereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my ſelfe amidſt ſeuen or eight of his principall Weroances and followers, (not regarding any of the common ſort) I gaue the watch-word agreed vpon, (which was, Chriſt our victory) and immediatly thoſe his chiefe men and himſelfe had by the mercy of God for our deliuerance, that which they had purpoſed for vs. The king himſelfe being ſhot thorow by the Colonell with a piſtoll, lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the ſauing of Manteos friends, as others were buſie that none of the reſt ſhould eſcape, ſuddenly he ſtarted vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, inſomuch as he ouerran all the company, being by the way ſhot thwart the buttocks by mine Iriſh boy with my petronell. In the end an Iriſh man ſeruing me, one Nugent, and the deputy prouoſt, vndertooke him; and following him in the woods, ouertooke him: and I in ſame doubt leaſt we had loſt both the king & my man by our owne negligence to haue beene intercepted by the Sauages, wee met him returning out of the woods with Pemiſapans head in his hand.

Pemiſapan ſlaine.

This fell out the firſt of Iune 1586, and the eight of the ſame came aduertiſement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Iſland, that he had diſcouered a great fleet of three and twenty ſailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet diſcerne. He aduiſed me to ſtand vpon as good guard as I could.

The ninth of the ſayd moneth he himſelfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, & that ſame day trauelled by land twenty miles: and I muſt truely report of him from the firſt to the laſt; hee was the gentleman that neuer ſpared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any ſeruice committed vnto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall Sir Francis Drake, with a moſt bountifull and honourable offer for the ſupply of our neceſſities to the performance of the action wee were entred into; and that not only of victuals, munition, and clothing, but alſo of barks, pinneſſes, and boats; they alſo by him to be victualled, manned, and furniſhed to my contentation.

A letter from Sir Francis Drake.

The tenth day he arriued in the road of our bad harborow: and comming there to an anker, the eleuenth day I came to him, whom I found in deeds moſt honourably to performe that which in writing and meſſage he had moſt curteouſly offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captaines of his fleet, and got their liking and conſent thereto.

With ſuch thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deſerued, but as I could both for my company and my ſelfe, I (being aforehand prepared what I would deſire) craued at his hands that it would pleaſe him to take with him into England a number of weake and vnfit men for my good action, which I would deliuer to him; and in place of them to ſupply me of his company with oare-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leaue vs ſo much ſhipping and victuall, as about Auguſt then next following would cary me and all my company into England, when we had diſcouered ſomewhat, that for lacke of needfull prouiſion in time left with vs as yet remained vndone.

That it woulde pleaſe him withall to leaue ſome ſufficient Maſters not onely to cary vs into England, when time ſhould be, but alſo to ſearch the coaſt for ſome better harborow, if there were any, and eſpecially to helpe vs to ſome ſmall boats and oare-men.

Alſo for a ſupply of calieuers, handweapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and ſuch like.

He hauing receiued theſe my requeſts, according to his vſuall commendable maner of gouernment (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counſell; the reſolution was that I ſhould ſend ſuch of my officers of my company as I vſed in ſuch matters, with their notes, to goe aboord with him; which were the Maſter of the victuals, the Keeper of the ſtore, and the Vicetreaſurer: to whom he appointed forthwith for me The Francis, being a very proper barke of 70 tun, and tooke preſent order for bringing of victual aboord her for 100 men for foure moneths, with all my other demaunds whatſoeuer, to the vttermoſt.

And further, he appointed for me two pinneſſes, and foure ſmall boats: and that which was to performe all his former liberality towards vs, was that he had gotten the full aſſents of two of as ſufficient experimented Maſters as were any in his fleet, by iudgement of them that knew them, with very ſufficient gings to tary with me, and to imploy themſelues moſt earneſtly in the action, as I ſhould appoint them, vntill the terme which I promiſed of our returne into England againe. The names of one of thoſe Maſters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While theſe things were in hand, the prouiſion aforeſayd being brought, and in bringing aboord, my ſayd Maſters being alſo gone aboord, my ſayd barks hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers, with others in like ſort of my company with them (all which was diſpatched by the ſayd Generall the 12 of the ſayde moneth) the 13 of the ſame there aroſe ſuch an vnwoonted ſtorme, and continued foure dayes, that had like to haue driuen all on ſhore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the Generall very prouidently foreſeene the worſt himſelfe, then about my diſpatch putting himſelfe aboord: but in the end hauing driuen ſundry of the fleet to put to Sea the Francis alſo with all my prouiſions, my two Maſters, and my company aboord, ſhe was ſeene to be free from the ſame, and to put cleere to Sea.

This ſtorme hauing continued from the 13 to the 16 of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforeſayd, the Generall comming aſhore made a new proffer vnto me; which was a ſhip of 170 tunne, called The Barke Bonner, with a ſufficient Maſter and guide to tary with me the time appointed, and victualled ſufficiently to cary me and my company into England, with all prouiſions as before: but he tolde me that he would not for any thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leaue her in the road, and to leaue the care of the reſt vnto my ſelfe, and aduiſed me to conſider with my company of our caſe, and to deliuer preſently vnto him in writing what I would require him to doe for vs; which being within his power, he did aſſure me aſwell for his Captaines as for himſelfe, ſhould be moſt willingly performed.

Hereupon calling ſuch Captaines and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand, who were all as priuy as my ſelfe to the Generals offer; their whole requeſt was to me, that conſidering the caſe that we ſtood in, the weakneſſe of our company, the ſmall number of the ſame, the carying away of our firſt appointed barke, with thoſe two eſpeciall Maſters, with our principall prouiſions in the ſame, by the very hand of God as it ſeemed, ſtretched out to take vs from thence; conſidering alſo, that his ſecond offer, though moſt honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, inſomuch as there was no poſſibility for her with any ſafety to be brought into the harbour: ſeeing furthermore, our hope for ſupply with Sir Richard Greenuill, ſo vndoubtedly promiſed vs before Eaſter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this yeere, c[illegible]ring the doings in England for Flanders, and alſo for America, that therefore I would [illegible] my ſelfe with my company to goe into England in that fleet, and accordingly to make requeſt to the Generall in all our names, that he would be pleaſed to giue vs preſent paſſage with him. Which requeſt of ours by my ſelfe deliuered vnto him, hee moſt readily aſſented vnto: and ſo he ſending immediatly his pinneſſes vnto our Iſland for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was ſo boiſterous, & the pinneſſes ſo often on ground, that the moſt of all we had, with all our Cards, Books and writings were by the Sailers caſt ouerboord, the greater number of the fleet being much agrieued with their long and dangerous abode in that miſerable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almighty, weying his ankers (hauing beſtowed vs among his fleet) for the reliefe of whom hee had in that ſtorme ſuſteined more perill of wracke then in all his former moſt honourable actions againſt the Spanyards, with praiſes vnto God for all, ſet ſaile the nineteenth of Iune 1586, and arriued in Portſmouth the ſeuen and twentieth of Iuly the ſame yeere.

The third voyage made by a ſhip ſent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in *Virginia*, at the ſole charges of Sir *Walter Ralegh.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1586 Sir Walter Ralegh at his owne charge prepared a ſhip of an hundred tunne, fraighted with all maner of things in moſt plentifull maner, for the ſupply and reliefe of his Colony then remaining in Virginia: but before they ſet ſaile from England it was after Eaſter, ſo that our Colony halfe deſpaired of the comming of any ſupply: wherefore euery man prepared for himſelfe, determining reſolutely to ſpend the reſidue of their life time in that countrey. And for the better performance of this their determination, they ſowed, planted, and ſet ſuch things as were neceſſary for their reliefe in ſo plentifull a maner as might haue ſufficed them two yeeres without any further labour. Thus truſting to their owne harueſt, they paſſed the Summer till the tenth of June: at which time their corne which they had ſowed was within one fortnight of reaping: but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his proſperous returne from the ſacking of Sant Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Auguſtine, determined in his way homeward to viſit his countreymen the Engliſh Colony then remaining in Virginia. So paſſing along the coaſts of Florida, he fell with the partes where our Engliſh Colony inhabited: and hauing eſpied ſome of that company, there he ankered and went aland, where hee conferred with them of their ſtate and welfare, and how things had paſt with them. They anſwered him that they liued all; but hitherto in ſome ſcarſity: and as yet could heare of no ſupply out of England: therefore they requeſted him that hee would leaue with them ſome two or three ſhips, that if in ſome reaſonable time they heard not out of England, they might then returne themſelues. Which hee agreed to. Whileſt ſome were then writing their letters to ſend into England, and ſome others making reports of the accidents of their trauels ech to other, ſome on land, ſome on boord, a great ſtorme aroſe, and droue the moſt of their fleet from their ankers to Sea, in which ſhips at that inſtant were the chiefeſt of the Engliſh Colony: the reſt on land perceiuing this, haſted to thoſe three ſailes which were appointed to be left there; and for feare they ſhould be left behinde they left all things confuſedly, as if they had bene chaſed from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt ſo they were; for the hand of God came vpon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by ſome of them againſt the natiue inhabitants of that countrey.

Immediatly after the departing of our Engliſh Colony out of this paradiſe of the world, the ſhip abouementioned ſent and ſet forth at the charges of Sir Walter Ralegh and his direction, arriued at Hatorask; who after ſome time ſpent in ſeeking our Colony vp in the countrey, and not finding them, returned with all the aforeſayd prouiſion into England.

This ſhip arriued in Virginia.

About foureteene or fifteene dayes after the departure of the aforeſayd ſhippe, Sir Richard Grinuile Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three ſhippes well appointed for the ſame voyage, arriued there; who not finding the aforeſayd ſhippe according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our Engliſh Colony there ſeated, and left by him anno 1585, himſelfe trauelling vp into diuers places of the countrey, aſwell to ſee if he could heare any newes of the Colony left there by him the yeere before, vnder the charge of Maſter Lane his deputy, as alſo to diſcouer ſome places of the countrey: but after ſome time ſpent therein, not hearing any newes of them, and finding the places which they inhabited deſolate, yet vnwilling to looſe the poſſeſſion of the countrey which Engliſhmen had ſo long held: after good deliberation, hee determined to leaue ſome men behinde to retaine poſſeſſion of the countrey: whereupon he landed fifteene men in the Iſle of Roanoak, furniſhed plentifully with all maner of prouiſion for two yeeres, and ſo departed for England.

Sir Richard Grinuils third voyage.

Fifteene men more left in Virginia.

Not long after he fell with the Iſles of Açores, on ſome of which Iſlands he landed, and ſpoiled the townes of all ſuch things as were worth carriage, where alſo he tooke diuers Spanyards. With theſe and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, aſwell outward as homeward, he returned into England.

A briefe

A briefe and true report of the new found land of *Virginia*: of the commodities there found, and to be raiſed, aſwell merchantable as others: Written by *Thomas Heriot*, ſeruant to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in diſcouering a full tweluemoneth.

Rafe Lane *one of her Maieſties Eſquiers, and Gouernour of the Colony in* Virginia, *aboue mentioned, for the time there reſident, to the gentle Reader wiſheth all happineſſe in the Lord.*

Albeit (gentle Reader) the credit of the reports in this Treatiſe contained can little be furthered by the teſtimony of one as my ſelfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without deſert: neuertheleſſe, forſomuch as I haue bene requeſted by ſome my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the ſame, not onely for the ſatisfying of them, but alſo for the true information of any other whoſoeuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: thus much vpon my credit I am to affirme, that things vniuerſally are ſo truely ſet downe is this Treatiſe by the authour thereof, an actor in the Colony, and a man no leſſe for his honeſty then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouch, it may very well paſſe with the credit of trueth euen amongſt the moſt true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am ready any way with my word to acknowledge, ſo alſo (of the certaintie thereof aſſured by mine owne experience) with this my publique aſſertion I doe affirme the ſame. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the enterpriſe for the inhabiting and planting in *Virginia*.

Since the firſt vndertaking by Sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of diſcouering of that countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voyages hauing beene thither made at ſundry times to his great charge; as firſt in the yere 1584, and afterwards in the yeres 1585, 1586, and now of late this laſt yeere 1587: there haue bene diuers and variable reports, with ſome ſlanderous and ſhamefull ſpeeches bruted abroad by many that returned from thence: eſpecially of that diſcouery which was made by the Colony tranſported by Sir Richard Grinuile in the yere 1585, being of all others the moſt principall, and as yet of moſt effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yere, when as in the other voyage before they ſtayed but ſixe weeks, and the others after were onely for ſupply and tranſportation, nothing more being diſcouered then had bene before. Which reports haue not done a little wrong to many that otherwiſe would haue alſo fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, beſides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themſelues the dealers therein, as I hope by the ſequel of euents, to the ſhame of thoſe that haue auouched the contrary, ſhall be manifeſt, if you the aduenturers, fauourers and welwillers doe but either increaſe in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing beene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the worthineſſe thereof already found; and as you ſhall vnderſtand hereafter to be requiſite. Touching which worthineſſe through cauſe of the diuerſity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the minds of ſome that are well diſpoſed be ſetled in any certainty.

I haue therefore thought it good, being one that haue beene in the diſcouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitants ſpecially imployed: and hauing therefore ſeene and knowen more then the ordinary, to impart ſo much vnto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriouſly the enterpriſe is ſlandered, and that in publique maner at this preſent, chiefly for two reſpects.

Firſt, that ſome of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the ſtate thereof, may ſee that there is ſufficient cauſe why the chiefe enterpriſer with the fauour of her Maieſty, notwithſtanding ſuch reports, hath not onely ſince continued the action by ſending into the countrey againe, and replanting this laſt yeere a new Colony, but is alſo ready, according as the times and meanes will afford, to follow and proſecute the ſame.

Secondly, that you ſeeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon conſider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may returne you profit and gains, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwiſe in furthering thereof.

And leaſt that the ſubſtance of my relation ſhould be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reaſon of their diuerſitie, I will firſt open the cauſe in a few words, wherefore they are ſo different, referring my ſelfe to your fauourable conſtructions, and to be adiudged of, as by good conſideration you ſhall finde cauſe.

Of our company that returned, ſome for their miſdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey haue bene there worthily puniſhed, who by reaſon of their bad natures, haue maliciouſly not onely ſpoken ill of their Gouernours, but for their ſakes ſlandered the countrey it ſelfe. The like alſo haue thoſe done which were of their conſort.

Some being ignorant of the ſtate thereof, notwithſtanding ſince their returne amongſt their friends & acquaintance, and alſo others, eſpecially if they were in company where they might not be gainſayd, would ſeeme to know ſo much as no men more, and make no men ſo great trauellers as themſelues. They ſtood ſo much, as it may ſeeme, vpon their credit and reputation, that hauing bene a tweluemoneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great diſgrace vnto them, as they thought, if they could not haue ſayd much, whether it were true or falſe. Of which ſome haue ſpoken of more then euer they ſaw, or otherwiſe knew to be there. Other ſome haue not bene aſhamed to make abſolute deniall of that, which although not by them, yet by others is moſt certainly and there plentifully knowen, & other ſome make difficulties of thoſe things they haue no ſkill of.

The cauſe of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were neuer out of the Iſland where we were ſeated, or not farre, or at the leaſt wiſe in few places els, during the time of our abode in the country: or of that many, that after gold & ſiluer was not ſo ſoone found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had litle vnderſtanding, leſſe diſcretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requiſite.

Some alſo were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or ſuch as neuer (as I may ſay) had ſeene the world before. Becauſe there were not to be found any Engliſh cities, nor ſuch faire houſes, nor at their owne wiſh any of their old accuſtomed dainty food, nor any ſoft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miſerable, and their reports thereof according.

Becauſe my purpoſe was but in briefe to open the cauſe of the variety of ſuch ſpeeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious, and ſlanderous reports and deuices els, by our owne countreymen beſides, as trifles that are not worthy of wiſe men to be thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withall, but will paſſe to the commodities, the ſubſtance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The Treatiſe whereof, for your more ready view and eaſier vnderſtanding, I will diuide into three ſpeciall parts. In the firſt I will make declaration of ſuch commodities there already found or to be raiſed, which will not onely ſerue the ordinary turnes of you which are and ſhall be the planters and inhabitants, but ſuch an ouerplus ſufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of ſkill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchange with our owne nation of England, will inrich your ſelues the prouiders: thoſe that ſhall deale with you, the enterpriſers in generall, and greatly profit our owne countreymen, to ſupply them with moſt things which heretofore they haue bene faine to prouide either of ſtrangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for diſtinction ſake, I call Merchantable.

In the ſecond I will ſet downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it ſelfe for victuall and ſuſtenance of mans life, ſuch as are vſually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as alſo by vs during the time we were there.

In the laſt part I will make mention generally of ſuch other commodities beſides, as I am able to remember, and as I ſhall thinke behoouefull for thoſe that ſhall inhabit, and plant there, to know of, which ſpecially concerne building, as alſo ſome other neceſſary vſes: with a briefe deſcription of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The firſt part of Merchantable commodities.

Silke of graſſe, or Graſſe ſilke. There is a kind of graſſe in the country, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good ſilke in forme of a thin glittering ſkin to be ſtript off. It groweth two foot & an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foot in length, and halfe an inch broad. The like groweth in Perſia, which is in the ſelfe ſame climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke works that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Perſia, it cannot in reaſon be otherwiſe, but that there will riſe in ſhort time great profit to the dealers therein, ſeeing there is ſo great vſe and vent thereof aſwel in our countrey as elſwhere. And by the meanes of ſowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithſtanding there is great ſtore thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which alſo by proofe here in England, in making a piece of Silke grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme ſilke. In many of our iourneys we found Silke-wormes faire and great, as bigge as our ordinary Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our hap to haue found ſuch plenty, as elſwhere to be in the countrey we haue heard of, yet ſeeing that the countrey doth naturally breed and nouriſh them, there is no doubt but if arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees, and others, fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding & nouriſhing, and ſome of them carefully gathered & huſbanded in that ſort, as by men of ſkil is knowen to be neceſſary: there wil riſe as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Perſians, Turks, Italians and Spanyards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great ſtore in any one place together, by reaſon it is not planted but as the ſoile doth yeeld of it ſelfe: and howſoeuer the leafe and ſtemme or ſtalke do differ from ours, the ſtuffe by iudgement of men of ſkill is altogether as good as ours: and if not, as further proofe ſhould finde otherwiſe, we haue that experience of the ſoile, as that there cannot be ſhewed any reaſon to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yeelded plentifully, ſeeing there is ſo much ground whereof ſome may well be applied to ſuch purpoſes. What benefit heereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot eaſily vnderſtand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the ſea coaſt for the ſpace of forty or fifty miles, whereof by the iudgement of ſome that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roch allum. The richneſſe of ſuch a commodity is ſo well knowen, that I need not to ſay any thing thereof. The ſame earth doth alſo yeeld White copraſſe, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing ſo plentifully as the common Allum, which be alſo of price, and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth ſo called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra ſigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene found by ſome of our Phyſicians and Chyrurgians, to be of the ſame kind of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants vſe it very much for the cure of ſores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plenty, and in ſome places of a blew ſort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are thoſe kinds of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great ſtore. In the very ſame Iſland where we were ſeated, being fifteene miles of length, and fiue or ſixe miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the ſame kinde, the whole Iſland being full.

Saſſafras, called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of moſt pleaſant and ſweet ſmell, and of moſt rare vertues in phyſicke for the cure of many diſeaſes. It is found by experience to be far better and of more vſes then the wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the deſcription, the maner of vſing, and the manifold vertues therof, I refer you to the booke of Monardes, tranſlated and entituled in Engliſh, The ioyfull newes from the Weſt Indies.

Cedar. A very ſweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if neſts of cheſts be there made, or timber thereof fitted for ſweet and fine bedſteds, tables, deſks, lutes, virginals, and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made already) to make vp fraight with other principall commodities, will yeeld profit.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the ſoile doth yeeld naturally, the one is ſmall and ſowre, of the ordinary bigneſſe as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himſelfe luſhious ſweet. When they are planted and huſbanded as they ought, a principall commodity of wines by them may be raiſed.

Oile. There are two ſorts of Walnuts, both holding oile; but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuices for the purpoſe, a commodity of them may be raiſed, becauſe there are infinite ſtore. There are alſo three ſeuerall kindes of berries in the forme of Oke-akornes, which alſo by the experience and vſe of the inhabitants, we find to yeeld very good and ſweet oile. Furthermore, the beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in ſome places there are many. Their fatneſſe, becauſe it is ſo liquid, may well be termed oile, and hath many ſpeciall vſes.

Furres. All along the Sea coaſt there are great ſtore of Otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpoſe, wil yeeld good profit. We hope alſo of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in ſome places of the countrey there are ſtore, although there were but two ſkinnes that came to our hands. Luzernes alſo we haue vnderſtanding of, although for the time we ſaw none.

Deers ſkinnes dreſſed after the maner of Chamoes, or vndreſſed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thouſands yerely by way of traffike for trifles, and no more waſte or ſpoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet-cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bin killed by a Sauage or inhabitant, & in another place the ſmel where one or more had lately bene before, whereby we gather, beſides then by the relation of the people, that there are ſome in the country: good profit will riſe by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey ſpecially, one about foureſcore, & the other ſix ſcore miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found nere the water ſide the ground to be rocky, which by the triall of a Minerall man was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the country els: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, conſidering there the ſmall charge for the labour & feeding of men, the infinite ſtore of wood, the want of wood & deereneſſe thereof in England, and the neceſſity of ballaſting of ſhips.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the maine in two townes we found with the inhabitants diuers ſmall plates of Copper, that had bene made as we vnderſtood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they ſay are mountaines and riuers that yeeld alſo white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed Siluer. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our firſt arriuall in the countrey, I ſaw, with ſome others with me, two ſmall pieces of Siluer groſly beaten, about the weight of a teſtron, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or chiefe lord that dwelt about foureſcore miles from vs: of whom through inquiry, by the number of dayes and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the ſame place or neere, where I after vnderſtood the Copper was made, and the white graines of metall found. The aforeſayd Copper we alſo found by triall to holde Siluer.

Pearle. Sometimes in feeding on Muſcles we found ſome Pearle; but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet diſcouered thoſe places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of ſkill in ſuch matters, had gathered together from among the Sauage people about fiue thouſand: of which number he choſe ſo many as made a faire chaine, which for their likeneſſe and vniformity in roundneſſe, orientneſſe, and pideneſſe of many excellent colours, with equality in greatneſſe, were very faire and rare: and had therefore beene preſented to her Maieſty, had we not by caſualty, and through extremity of a ſtorme loſt them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Fiue thouſand pearles gathered.

Sweet gummes of diuers kinds, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make ſpeciall mention, when we ſhall receiue it from ſuch men of ſkill in that kinde, that in taking reaſonable paines ſhal diſcouer them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now loſt, with other things by caſualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kinds: There is Shoemake well knowen, and vſed in England for blacke: the ſeed of an herbe called Waſebur, little ſmall roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which dies are for diuers ſorts of red: their goodneſſe for our Engliſh clothes remaine yet to be prooued. The inhabitants vſe them only for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere ſkinnes: and alſo for the dying of ruſhes to make artificiall works withall in their mats and baſkets: hauing no other thing beſides that they account of, apt to vſe them for. If they will not prooue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there ſhall finde apt vſes for them, as alſo for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of ſo great vent and vſes amongſt Engliſh Diers, which can not be yeelded ſufficiently in our owne countrey for ſpare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the Iſlands of the Açores it groweth plentifully, which are in the ſame climate. So likewiſe of Madder.

We caried thither Suger-canes to plant, which being not ſo well preſerued as was requiſite, and beſides the time of the yeere being paſt for their ſetting when we arriued, we could not make that proofe of them as we deſired. Notwithſtanding, ſeeing that they grow in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reaſon may yet continue. So likewiſe for Orenges and Limmons. There may be planted alſo Quinſes. Whereby may grow in reaſonable time, if the action be diligently proſecuted, no ſmall commodities in Sugars, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there alſo be raiſed, which I leaue to your diſcreet and gentle conſiderations: and many alſo may be there, which yet we haue not diſcouered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certeinty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raiſed, and in ſhort time to be prouided, and prepared, I might haue ſpecified. So likewiſe of thoſe commodities already ſet downe I might haue ſayd more: as of the particular places where they are found, and beſt to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reaſonable ſpace of time they might be raiſed to profit, and in what proportion: but becauſe others then welwillers might be therewithall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to thoſe that are well diſpoſed, I haue vttered, according to my promiſe and purpoſe, for this part ſufficient.

The ſecond part of ſuch commodities as *Virginia* is knowen to yeeld for victuall and ſuſtenance of mans life, vſually fed vpon by the naturall inhabitants; as alſo by vs, during the time of our abode: and firſt of ſuch as are ſowed and husbanded.

Pagatowr, a kinde of graine ſo called by the inhabitants: the ſame in the Weſt Indies is called Mayz: Engliſh men call it Guiny-wheat or Turky-wheat, according to the names of the countreys from whence the like hath beene brought. The graine is about the bigneſſe of our ordinary Engliſh peaze, and not much different in forme and ſhape: but of diuers colours: ſome white, ſome red, ſome yellow, and ſome blew. All of them yeeld a very white and ſweet flowre: being vſed according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the ſame in the countrey ſome Mault, whereof was brewed as good Ale as was to be deſired. So likewiſe by the helpe of Hops, thereof may be made as good Beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increaſe: of a thouſand, fifteene hundred, and ſome two thouſand folde. There are three ſorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen & twelue weeks at the moſt, ſometimes in tenne, after the time they are ſet, and are then of height in ſtalke about ſixe or ſeuen foot. The other ſort is ripe in foureteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the ſtalks ſome beare foure heads, ſome three, ſome one, and ſome two; euery head conteining fiue, ſixe, or ſeuen hundred graines, within a few more or leſſe. Of theſe graines, beſides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or ſeething them whole vntill they be broken; or boiling the flowre with water into a pap.

Okindgier, called by vs Beanes, becauſe in greatneſſe and partly in ſhape they are like to the beanes in England, ſauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and ſome pide. The leafe alſo of the ſtemme is much different. In taſte they are altogether as good as our Engliſh peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in reſpect of the Beanes, for diſtinction ſake, becauſe they are much leſſe; although in forme they litle differ: but in goodneſſe of taſte much like, and are far better then our Engliſh peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in ten weeks after they are ſet. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be ſoft, and beginne to breake, as is vſed in England, either by themſelues, or mixtly together: ſometime they mingle of the Wheat with them: ſometime alſo, being whole ſodden, they bruſe or punne them in a morter, and thereof make loaues or lumps of doughiſh bread, which they vſe to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their ſeueral formes, called by vs Pompions, Melons, and Gourds, becauſe they are of the like formes as thoſe kinds in England. In Virginia ſuch of ſeuerall formes are of one taſte, and very good, and do alſo ſpring from one ſeed. There are of two ſorts: one is ripe in the ſpace of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of thoſe that I deſcribe it vnto, take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fiue foot high: of the ſeed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taſte: of the ſtalke by burning into aſhes they make a kinde of ſalt earth, wherewithall many vſe ſometimes to ſeaſon their broths: other ſalt they know not. We our ſelues vſed the leaues alſo for pot-herbs.

There is alſo another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about ſixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a ſpanne in breadth. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the ſeeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the aforeſayd commodities for victuall are ſet or ſowed, ſometimes in grounds apart and ſeuerally by themſelues, but for the moſt part together in one ground mixtly: the maner thereof, with the dreſſing and preparing of the ground, becauſe I will note vnto you the fertility of the ſoile, I thinke good briefly to deſcribe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, dung, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in ſort as followeth. A few dayes before they ſowe or ſet, the men with wooden inſtruments made almoſt in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with ſhort peckers or parers, becauſe they vſe them ſitting, of a foot long, and about fiue inches in breadth, doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground to raiſe vp the weeds, graſſe, and olde ſtubbes of corne ſtalks with their roots. The which after a day or two dayes drying in the Sunne, being ſcrapt vp into many ſmall heaps, to ſaue them labour for carying them away, they burne into aſhes. And whereas ſome may thinke that they vſe the aſhes for to better the ground, I ſay that then they would either diſperſe the aſhes abroad, which wee obſerued they doe not, except the heaps be too great, or els would take ſpeciall care to ſet their corne where the aſhes lie, which alſo wee finde they are careleſſe of. And this is all the huſbanding of their ground that they vſe.

Then their ſetting or ſowing is after this maner. Firſt for their corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch aſunder) & couer them with the molde againe: and ſo throughout the whole plot making ſuch holes, and vſing them after ſuch maner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, euery ranke differing from other halfe a fadome or a yard, and the holes alſo in euery ranke as much. By this meanes there is a yard ſpare ground betweene euery hole: where according to diſcretion here and there, they ſet as many Beanes and Peaze; in diuers places alſo among the ſeeds of Macocquer, Melden, and *Planta ſolis*.

The ground being thus ſet according to the rate by vs experimented, an Engliſh acre conteining forty pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or ofcome of corne, Beanes and Peaze, at the leaſt two hundred Lopdon buſhels, beſides the Macocquer, Melden, and *Planta ſolis*; when as in England forty buſhels of our Wheat yeelded out of ſuch an acre is thought to be much.

I thought alſo good to note this vnto you, that you which ſhall inhabit, and plant there, may know how ſpecially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: beſides, the manifold wayes in applying it to victual, the increaſe is ſo much, that ſmall labor & paines is needful in reſpect of that which muſt be vſed for ours. For this I can aſſure you that according to the rate we haue made proofe of, one man may prepare and huſband ſo much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with leſſe then foure and twenty houres labour, as ſhall yeeld him victual in a large proportion for a tweluemoneth, if he haue nothing els but that which the ſame ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before ſpoken of: the ſayd ground being alſo but of fiue and twenty yards ſquare. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raiſed out of one and the ſelfeſame ground two harueſts or ofcomes: for they ſow or ſet, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midſt of March vntill the end of Iune: ſo that they alſo ſet when they haue eaten of their firſt croppe. In ſome places of the countrey notwithſtanding they haue two harueſts, as we haue heard, out of one and the ſame ground.

For Engliſh corne neuertheleſſe, whether to vſe or not to vſe it, you that inhabit may doe as you ſhall haue further cauſe to thinke beſt. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for Barley, Oats, and Peaze, we haue ſeene proofe of, not being purpoſely ſowen, but fallen caſually in the worſt ſort of ground, and yet to be as faire as any we haue euer ſeene heere in England. But of Wheat, becauſe it was muſty, and had taken ſalt water, we could make no triall: and of Rie we had none. Thus much haue I digreſſed, and I hope not vnneceſſarily: now will I returne againe to my courſe, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, apperteining to this chapter.

Tabacco.

There is an herbe which is ſowed apart by it ſelfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: in the Weſt Indies it hath diuers names, according to the ſeuerall places and countreys where it groweth and is vſed: the Spanyards generally call it Tabacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder, they vſe to take the fume or ſmoke thereof, by ſucking it thorow pipes made of clay, into their ſtomacke and head; from whence it purgeth ſuperfluous fleame and other groſſe humours, and openeth all the pores and paſſages of the body: by which meanes the vſe thereof not onely preſerueth the body from obſtructions, but alſo (if any be, ſo that they haue not bene of too long continuance) in ſhort time breaketh them: whereby their bodies are notably preſerued in health, and know not many grieuous diſeaſes, wherewithall we in England are often times afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of ſo precious eſtimation amongſt them, that they thinke their gods are maruellouſly delighted therewith: whereupon ſometime they make hallowed fires, and caſt ſome of the powder therin for a ſacrifice: being in a ſtorme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they caſt ſome vp into the aire and into the water: ſo a weare for fiſh being newly ſet vp, they caſt ſome therein and into the aire: alſo after an eſcape of danger, they caſt ſome into the aire likewiſe: but all done with ſtrange geſtures, ſtamping, ſometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and ſtaring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithall, and chattering ſtrange words and noiſes.

We our ſelues, during the time we were there, vſed to ſucke it after their maner, as alſo ſince our returne, and haue found many rare and woonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it ſelfe: the vſe of it by ſo many of late men and women of great calling, as els, and ſome learned Phyſicians alſo, is ſufficient witneſſe.

And theſe are all the commodities for ſuſtenance of life, that I know and can remember, they vſe to huſband: all els that follow, are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

Monardes parte 2. lib. 1. cap. 4.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, ſome of the bigneſſe of Walnuts, ſome farre greater, which are found in moiſt and mariſh grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were faſtened with a ſtring. Being boiled or ſodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth theſe roots, Beads or Pater noſtri of Santa Helena.

Okeepenauk are alſo of round ſhape, found in dry grounds: ſome are of the bigneſſe of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground: for by reaſon of their drineſſe they will neither roſt nor ſeethe. Their taſte is not ſo good as of the former roots: notwithſtanding for want of bread, and ſometimes for variety the inhabitants vſe to eat them with fiſh or fleſh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the houſholde bread made of Rie here in England.

Kaiſhucpenauk, a white kinde of roots about the bigneſſe of hennes egges, and neere of that forme: their taſte was not ſo good to our ſeeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing not ſo much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithſtanding vſed to boile and eat many.

Tſinaw, a kind of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the Eaſt Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the ſame kinde. Theſe roots grow many together in great cluſters, and do bring foorth a brier ſtalke, but the leafe in ſhape farre vnlike: which being ſupported by the trees it groweth neereſt vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the higheſt. From theſe roots while they be new or freſh, being chopt into ſmall pieces, and ſtampt, is ſtrained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and alſo being boiled, a very good ſpoonmeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taſte, if it be tempered with oile. This Tſinaw is not of that ſort, which by ſome was cauſed to be brought into England for the China root; for it was diſcouered ſince, and is in vſe as is aforeſayd: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to ſerue for any vſe or purpoſe, although the roots in ſhape are very like.

The iuice of Coſcuſhaw is poiſon.

Coſcuſhaw ſome of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the Weſt Indies call Caſſauy, whereupon alſo many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddy pooles, and moiſt grounds. Being dreſſed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and alſo a good ſpoonmeat, and is vſed very much by the inhabitants. The iuice of this root is poiſon, & therefore heed muſt be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots muſt be firſt ſliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and ſtampt: loaues of the ſame to be layd nere or ouer the fire vntill it be ſowre; and then being well punned againe, bread or ſpoonmeat very good in taſte and holeſome may be made thereof.

Habaſcon is a root of hote taſte, almoſt of the forme and bigneſſe of a Parſnip: of it ſelfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe, being boiled together with other meats.

There are alſo Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey; of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

Of Fruits.

CHeſtnuts there are in diuers places great ſtore: ſome they vſe to eat raw, ſome they ſtampe and boile to make ſpoonmeat, and with ſome being ſodden, they make ſuch a maner of dough bread as they vſe of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of Walnuts, and of them infinite ſtore: in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are Walnut trees. The one kinde is of the ſame taſte and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker ſhelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard ſhell; but the kernel great, very oily and ſweet. Beſides their eating of them after our ordinary maner, they breake them with ſtones, and punne them in morters with water, to make a milke which they vſe to put into ſome ſorts of their ſpoonemeat; alſo among their ſodde wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions, which maketh them haue a farre more pleaſant taſte.

Medlars, a kinde of very good fruit; ſo called by vs chiefly for theſe reſpects: firſt in that they are not good vntill they be rotten, then in that they open at the head as our Medlars, and are about the ſame bigneſſe: otherwiſe in taſte and colour they are farre different; for they are as red as cheries, and very ſweet: but whereas the chery is ſharpe ſweet, they are luſhious ſweet.

Metaqueſunnauk, a kinde of pleaſant fruit almoſt of the ſhape and bigneſſe of Engliſh peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour aſwell within as without. They grow on a plant whoſe leaues are very thicke, and full of prickles as ſharpe as needles. Some that haue beene in the Indies, where they haue ſeene that kind of red die of great price, which is called Cochinile, to grow, doe deſcribe his plant right like vnto this of Metaqueſunnauk; but whether it be the true Cochinile, or a baſtard or wilde kinde, it cannot yet be certified, ſeeing that alſo, as I heard, Cochinile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for ſuch matter we haue not ſo ſpecially obſerued.

There are iii. kinds of Tunas whereof that which beareth no fruit bringeth foorth the Cochinillo.

Grapes there are of two ſorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberies there are as good and as great as thoſe which we haue in our Engliſh gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, ſuch as we haue in England.

Sacquenummener, a kinde of berries almoſt like vnto Capers, but ſomewhat greater, which grow together in cluſters vpon a plant or hearbe that is found in ſhallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde, are very good meat and holeſome; otherwiſe if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely ſicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a ſeed almoſt like vnto our Rie or Wheat; and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in ſome places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were leſſe, which are alſo good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

There is a kinde of berry or acorne, of which there are fiue ſorts that grow on ſeuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the ſecond Oſamener, the third Pummuckoner. Theſe kinde of acornes they vſe to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire underneath, almoſt after the maner as we dry Malt in England. When they are to be vſed, they firſt water them vntill they be ſoft, and then being ſod, they make a good victuall, either to eat ſo ſimply, or els being alſo punned to make loaues or lumps of bread. Theſe be alſo the three kinds, of which I ſayd before the inhabitants vſed to make ſweet oile.

Another ſort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taſte like vnto Cheſnuts. They ſometime alſo make bread of this ſort.

The fift ſort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the firſt ſorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their ſeruants, or ſometime the chiefe themſelues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fiſh or fleſh.

Of Beaſts.

Deere, in ſome places there are great ſtore: neere vnto the Sea coaſt they are of the ordinary bigneſſe of ours in England, and ſome leſſe: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the ſnags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies. Thoſe that we haue ſeene, and all that we can heare of are of a gray colour like vnto Hares: in ſome places there are ſuch plenty that all the people of ſome townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the ſkinnes of thoſe which they vſually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kinds of ſmall beaſts greater then Conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our ſelues, but ſometime eat of ſuch as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirels, which are of a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Beares, which are of blacke colour. The beares of this countrey are good meat. The inhabitants in time of Winter do vſe to take & eat many; ſo alſo ſometime did we. They are taken commonly in this ſort: In ſome Iſlands or places where they are, being hunted for, aſſoone as they haue ſpiall of a man, they preſently run away, and then being chaſed, they clime and get vp the next tree they can; from whence with arrowes they are ſhot downe ſtarke dead, or with thoſe wounds that they may after eaſily be killed. We ſometime ſhot them downe with our calieuers.

I haue the names of eight and twenty ſeuerall ſorts of beaſts, which I haue heard of to be here and there diſperſed in the countrey, eſpecially in the maine: of which there are only twelue kinds that we haue yet diſcouered; and of thoſe that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants ſometime kill the Lion, and eat him: and we ſometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluiſh dogs, which I haue not ſet downe for good meat, leaſt that ſome would vnderſtand my iudgement therein to be more ſimple then needeth, although I could alleage the difference in taſte of thoſe kinds from ours, which by ſome of our company haue bene experimented in both.

Of Fowle.

TVrkie cocks and Turkie hennes, Stockdoues, Partridges, Cranes, Hernes, and in Winter great ſtore of Swannes and Geeſe. Of all ſorts of fowle I haue the names in the countrey language of fourescore and ſixe, of which number, beſides thoſe that be named, we haue taken, eaten, & haue the pictures as they were there drawen, with the names of the inhabitants, of ſeuerall ſtrange ſorts of water fowle eight, and ſeuenteene kinds more of land fowle, although we haue ſeene and eaten of many more, which for want of leaſure there for the purpoſe, could not be pictured: and after we are better furniſhed and ſtored vpon further diſcouery with their ſtrange beaſts, fiſh, trees, plants, and herbs, they ſhalbe alſo publiſhed.

There are alſo Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vſed for meat, yet for other cauſes I thought good to mention.

Of Fiſh.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons. And alſo in the ſame moneths of Herrings, ſome of the ordinary bigneſſe of ours in England, but the moſt part farre greater, of eighteene, twenty inches, and ſome two foot in length and better: both theſe kinds of fiſh in thoſe moneths are moſt plentifull, and in beſt ſeaſon, which we found to be moſt delicate and pleaſant meat.

There are alſo Trouts, Porpoiſes, Rayes, Oldwiues, Mullets, Plaice, and very many other ſorts of excellent good fiſh, which we haue taken and eaten, whoſe names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue the pictures of twelue ſorts more, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

In the gulfe of California they vſe the like fiſhing.

The inhabitants vſe to take them two maner of wayes; the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that countrey are very ſtrong: the other way, which is more ſtrange, is with poles made ſharpe at one end, by ſhooting them into the fiſh after the maner as Iriſh men caſt darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or els as they are wading in the ſhallowes for the purpoſe.

There are alſo in many places plenty of theſe kinds which follow:

Sea-crabs, ſuch as we haue in England.

Oiſters, ſome very great, and ſome ſmall, ſome round, and ſome of a long ſhape: they are found both in ſalt water and brackiſh, and thoſe that we had out of ſalt water are farre better then the other, as in our countrey.

Alſo Muſcles, Scalops, Periwinkles, and Creuiſes.

Seekanauk, a kinde of cruſty ſhel-fiſh, which is good meat, about a foot in bredth, hauing a cruſty taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in ſhallowes of waters, and ſometime on the ſhore.

There are many Tortoiſes both of land and ſea kinde, their backs and bellies are ſhelled very thicke; their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, ſeeme ougly, as though they were members of a ſerpent or venimous beaſts: but notwithſtanding they are very good meat, as alſo their egges. Some haue bene found of a yard in bredth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all ſorts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as alſo the inhabitants themſelues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are ſpecially worthy to be remembred.

The third and laſt part of ſuch other things as are behouefull for thoſe which ſhall plant and inhabite to know of, with a deſcription of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

Of commodities for building and other neceſſary vſes.

Thoſe other things which I am more to make rehearſal of, are ſuch as concerne building, & other mechanicall neceſſary vſes, as diuers ſorts of trees for houſe and ſhip-timber, and other vſes elſe: Alſo lime, ſtone, and bricke, leaſt that being not mentioned ſome might haue bene doubted of, or by ſome that are malitious the contrary reported.

Okes there are as faire, ſtraight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and alſo great ſtore, and in ſome places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue ſaid before very many, ſome haue bene ſeene excellent faire timber of foure and fiue fadome, and aboue foureſcore foote ſtreight without bough.

Firre trees fit for maſts of ſhips, ſome very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees ſo called that are ſweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates or Canoas of the forme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of ſtones, and ſhels: we haue knowen ſome ſo great being made in that ſort of one tree, that they haue caried well 20. men at once, beſides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, ſtreight, ſoft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (beſides other vſes) to be fit alſo for maſts of ſhips.

Cedar, a ſweete wood good for ſeelings, cheſts, boxes, bedſteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue alſo ſaid before. Some of our company which haue wandered in ſome places where I haue not bene, haue made certaine affirmation of Cyprus, which for ſuch and other excellent vſes is alſo a wood of price and no ſmall eſtimation.

Maple, and alſo Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vſe to make their bowes.

Holly, a neceſſary thing for the making of birdlime.

Willowes good for the making of weares and weeles to take fiſh after the Engliſh maner, although the inhabitants vſe onely reedes, which becauſe they are ſo ſtrong as alſo flexible, doe ſerue for that turne very well and ſufficiently.

Beech and Aſhe, good for caſke-hoopes, and if neede require, plowe worke, as alſo for many things els.

Elme. Saſſafras trees.

Aſcopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawrell, the barke is hot in taſte and ſpicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardes deſcribeth to be Caſſia Lignea of the Weſt Indies.

There are many other ſtrange trees whoſe names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is it ſo conuenient for the preſent to trouble you with particular relation: ſeeing that for timber and other neceſſary vſes I haue named ſufficient. And of many of the reſt, but that they may be applied to good vſe, I know no cauſe to doubt.

Now for ſtone, bricke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coaſt where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of ſtones to be found (except a few ſmall pebbles about foure miles off) but ſuch as haue bene brought from further out of the maine. In ſome of our voyages we haue ſeene diuers hard raggie ſtones, great pebbles, and a kinde of grey ſtone like vnto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleaue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all ſorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither haue they vſe of any ſtore whereupon they ſhould haue occaſion to ſeeke any. For if euery houſholde haue one or two to cracke nuts, grinde ſhels, whet copper, and ſometimes other ſtones for hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vſe they any digging, but onely for graues about three foote deepe: and therefore no maruelle that they know neither quarries, nor lime-ſtones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntil there be diſcouery of ſufficient ſtore in ſome place or other conuenient, the want of you which are & ſhalbe the planters therein may be as well ſupplied by bricke: for the making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie, and alſo by lime made of oyſter ſhels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vſe in the Iſles of Tenet and Shepy, and alſo in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyſter ſhels there is plentie ynough: for beſides diuers other particular places where are abundance, there is one ſhallow Sound along the coaſt, where for the ſpace of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the moſt part.

Thus much can I ſay furthermore of ſtones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the ſide of a hill, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge ſtones, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

IT reſteth I ſpeake a word or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leauing large diſcourſe thereof vntil time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely ſo farre foorth, as that you may know, how that they in reſpect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they ſhall haue cauſe both to feare and loue vs, that ſhall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with looſe mantles made of deere ſkinnes, and aprons of the ſame round about their middles, all els naked, of ſuch a difference of ſtatures onely as wee in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or ſteele to offend vs withall, neither knowe they how to make any: thoſe weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witch-hazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons alſo of wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themſelues but targets made of barkes, and ſome armours made of ſticks wickered together with thread.

Iaques Cartier, voyage 2. chap. 8.

Their townes are but ſmall, and neere the Sea coaſt but fewe, ſome contayning but tenne or twelue houſes: ſome 20. the greateſt that we haue ſeene hath bene but of 30. houſes: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made faſt to ſtakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright, and cloſe one by another.

Their houſes are made of ſmall poles, made faſt at the tops in round forme after the maner as is vſed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in moſt townes couered with barkes, and in ſome with artificiall mats made of long ruſhes, from the tops of the houſes downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in ſome places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other ſome we haue ſeene of foure and twentie.

In ſome places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other ſome two or three, in ſome ſixe, eight, and more: the greateſt Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue ſeuen or eight hundreth fighting men at the moſt. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are diſtant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongſt themſelues is either by ſudden ſurpriſing one an other moſt commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone-light, or els by ambuſhes, or ſome ſubtile deuiſes. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue ſome hope of defence, after the deliuery of euery arrow, in leaping behind ſome or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages againſt them ſo many maner of wayes, as by our diſcipline, our ſtrange weapons and deuiſes elſe, eſpecially Ordinance great and ſmall, it may eaſily bee imagined: by the experience wee haue had in ſome places, the turning vp of their heeles againſt vs in running away was their beſt defence.

In reſpect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of ſkill and iudgement in the knowledge and vſe of our things, doe eſteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithſtanding, in their proper maner (conſidering the want of ſuch meanes as we haue,) they ſeeme very ingenious. For although they haue no ſuch tooles, nor any ſuch crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in thoſe things they doe, they ſhew excellencie of wit. And by how much they vpon due conſideration ſhall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and ſpeed for doing or execution, by ſo much the more is it probable that they ſhould deſire our friendship and loue, and haue the greater reſpect for pleaſing and obeying vs. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good gouernment be vſed, that they may in ſhort time bee brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion.

Some religion they haue already, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the eaſier and ſooner reformed.

They beleeue that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different ſorts & degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when hee purpoſed to make the world, made firſt other gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and inſtruments to be vſed in the creation and gouernment to folow, and after the Sunne, moone, and ſtarres as pettie gods, and the inſtruments of the other order more principal. Firſt (they ſay) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diuerſitie of creatures that are viſible or inuiſible.

For mankinde they ſay a woman was made firſt, which by the working of one of the gods, conceiued and brought foorth children: And in ſuch ſort they ſay they had their beginning. But how many yeeres or ages haue paſſed ſince, they ſay they can make no relation, hauing no letters nor other ſuch meanes as we to keepe Records of the particularities of times paſt, but onely tradition from father to ſonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane ſhape, and therefore they repreſent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewaſowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houſes appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worſhip, pray, ſing, and make many times offring vnto them. In ſome Machicomuck we haue ſeene but one Kewas, in ſome two, and in other ſome three. The common ſort thinke them to be alſo gods.

They beleeue alſo the immortalitie of the ſoule, that after this life as ſoone as the ſoule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heauen the habitacle of gods, there to enioy perpetuall bliſſe and happineſſe, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furtheſt parts of their part of the world toward the Sunne ſet, there to burne continually: the place they call Popoguſſo.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two ſtories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being ſeene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his ſoule had bene, that is to ſay, very neere entring into Popoguſſo, had not one of the gods ſaued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teach his friends what they ſhould do to auoyd that terrible place of torment. The other happened in the ſame yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from vs, nd it was told me for ſtrange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the firſt, ſhewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his ſoule was aliue, & had trauailed farre in a long broad way, on both ſides whereof grew moſt delicate and pleaſant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, then euer hee had ſeene before, or was able to expreſſe, and at length came to moſt braue and faire houſes, neere which he met his father that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and ſhew his friendes what good they were to doe to enioy the pleaſures of that place, which when he had done he ſhould after come againe.

What ſubtiltie ſoeuer be in the Wiroances and prieſtes, this opinion worketh ſo much in ma-y of the common and ſimple ſort of people, that it maketh them haue great reſpect to their Go-ernours, and alſo great care what they doe, to auoyd torment after death, and to enioy bliſſe, al-hough notwithſtanding there is puniſhment ordeined for malefactours, as ſtealers, whoremongers, and other ſorts of wicked doers, ſome puniſhed with death, ſome with forfeitures, ſome ith beating, according to the greatneſſe of the facts.

And this is the ſumme of their Religion, which I learned by hauing ſpeciall familiaritie with ome of their prieſts. Wherein they were not ſo ſure grounded, nor gaue ſuch credite to their tra-itions and ſtories, but through conuerſing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their wne, and no ſmall admiration of ours, with earneſt deſire in many, to learne more then wee had eanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expreſſe.

Moſt things they ſawe with vs, as Mathematicall inſtruments, ſea Compaſſes, the vertue of e load-ſtone in drawing yron, a perſpectiue glaſſe whereby was ſhewed many ſtrange ſights, urning glaſſes, wilde fireworkes, gunnes, bookes, writing and reading, ſpring-clockes that eeme to goe of themſelues, and many other things that wee had were ſo ſtrange vnto them, and farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reaſon and meanes how they ſhould be made done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leaſtwiſe ey had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue ſuch opini-of vs, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had om vs whom God ſo ſpecially loued, then from a people that were ſo ſimple, as they found them-ues to be in compariſon of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that wee ſpake of, ncerning ſuch matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration he contents of the Bible, that therein was ſet foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes,that therein was conteined the true doctrine of ſaluation through Chriſt,with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe points of Religion, as I was able then to vtter,and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the booke materially and of it ſelfe was not of any ſuch vertue,as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it,to kiſſe it, to holde it to their breaſtes and heads, and ſtroke ouer all their body with it, to ſhew their hungry deſire of that knowledge which was ſpoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with vs at our Prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as alſo in others whither hee ſometimes accompanied vs,to pray and ſing Pſalmes,hoping thereby to be partaker of the ſame effects which we by that meanes alſo expected.

Twiſe this Wiroans was ſo grieuouſly ſicke that he was like to die,and as he lay languiſhing, doubting of any helpe by his owne prieſtes, and thinking hee was in ſuch danger for offending vs and thereby our God,ſent for ſome of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it would pleaſe him either that he might liue,or after death dwell with him in bliſſe,ſo likewiſe were the requeſts of many others in the like caſe.

On a time alſo when their corne began to wither by reaſon of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to paſſe by reaſon that in ſome thing they had diſpleaſed vs, many would come to vs and deſire vs to pray to our God of England,that he would preſerue their Corne,promiſing that when it was ripe we alſo ſhould be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any ſtrange ſickneſſe, loſſes, hurts, or any other croſſe vnto them,but that they would impute to vs the cauſe or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleaſing vs. One other rare and ſtrange accident,leauing others, wil I mention before I end, which moued the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of vs,to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where wee had any ſubtile deuiſe practiſed againſt vs,wee leauing it vnpuniſhed or not reuenged (becauſe we ſought by all meanes poſſible to win them by gentleneſſe) but that within a few dayes after our departure from euery ſuch Towne,the people began to die very faſt, and many in ſhort ſpace,in ſome Townes about twentie, in ſome fourtie,and in one ſixe ſcore,which in trueth was very many in reſpect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learne,but where we had bin,where they vſed ſome practiſe againſt vs,& after ſuch time. The diſeaſe alſo was ſo ſtrange, that they neither knewe what it was, nor how to cure it,the like by report of the oldeſt men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing ſpecially obſerued by vs, as alſo by the naturall inhabitants themſelues. Inſomuch that when ſome of the inhabitants which were our friends, and eſpecially the Wiroans Wingina, had obſerued ſuch effects in foure or fiue Townes to follow their wicked practiſes,they were perſwaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, and that we by him might kill and ſlay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderſtanding that any of their enemies had abuſed vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons,and fearing vpon ſome cauſe the matter ſhould ſo reſt: did come and intreate vs that we would be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like ſort die, alleadging how much it would bee for our credite and profite,as alſo theirs,and hoping furthermore that we would doe ſo much at their requeſts in reſpect of the friendſhip we profeſſed them.

Whoſe entreaties although wee ſhewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not ſubiect himſelfe to any ſuch prayers and requeſts of men : that indeede all things haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleaſure as he had ordeined : and that we to ſhewe our ſelues his true ſeruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth, and ſerue him in righteouſneſſe, but notwithſtanding in ſuch ſort,that wee referre that,as all other things,to bee done according to his diuine will and pleaſure, and as by his wiſedome he had ordeined to be beſt.

Yet becauſe the effect fell out ſo ſuddenly and ſhortly after according to their deſires, the thought neuertheleſſe it came to paſſe by our meanes,& that we in vſing ſuch ſpeeches vnto them did but diſſemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thankes in their maner, th although we ſatiſfied them not in promiſe,yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their deſires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought ſo ſtrange opinions of vs,that ſo people could not tell whether to thinke vs gods or men,and the rather becauſe that all the ſpace their ſicknes, there was no man of ours knowen to die,or that was ſpecially ſicke: they noted that we had no women amongſt vs,neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women,and therefore not mo but that we were men of an old generation many yeeres paſt, then riſen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewiſe ſeeme to prophecie, that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as ſome thought the purpoſe was, by that which was already done. Thoſe that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the aire, yet inuiſible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that ſort as they did, by ſhooting inuiſible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phiſitions (to excuſe their ignorance in curing the diſeaſe) would not be aſhamed to ſay, but earneſtly make the ſimple people beleeue, that the ſtrings of blood that they ſucked out of the ſicke bodies, were the ſtrings wherewithall the inuiſible bullets were ied and caſt. Some alſo thought that wee ſhot them our ſelues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended vs, as wee liſted, howe arre diſtant from vs ſoeuer it were. And other ſome ſaid, that it was the ſpeciall worke of God or our ſakes, as we our ſelues haue cauſe in ſome ſort to thinke no leſſe, whatſoeuer ſome doe, or may imagine to the contrary, ſpecially ſome Aſtrologers, knowing of the Eclipſe of the Sunne hich we ſaw the ſame yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very errible. And alſo of a Comet which began to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of he ſaide ſickneſſe. But to exclude them from being the ſpeciall cauſes of ſo ſpeciall an accident, here are further reaſons then I thinke fit at this preſent to be alleadged. Theſe their opinions haue ſet downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they ay be brought through diſcreete dealing and gouernment to the imbracing of the trueth, and onſequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although ſome of our company towards the end of the yeere, ſhewed themſelues too fierce ſlaying ſome of the people in ſome Townes, vpon cauſes that on our part might eaſily ynough ue bene borne withall: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe it was on their part iuſtly deſerued, the al- ration of their opinions generally and for the moſt part concerning vs is the leſſe to be doubted. nd whatſoeuer els they may be, by carefulneſſe of our ſelues neede nothing at all to be feared. The beſt neuertheleſſe in this, as in all actions beſides, is to be endeuoured and hoped, and of the orſt that may happen notice to be taken with conſideration, and as much as may be eſchewed.

The concluſion.

NOw I haue (as I hope) made relation not of ſo few and ſmall things, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well diſpoſed) may bee ſufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I haue mentioned, which doubtleſſe and in great reaſon is nothing to that which remaineth to be diſcouered, neither the ſoyle, nor com- dities. As we haue reaſon ſo to gather by the difference we found in our trauailes, for although which I haue before ſpoken of, haue bene diſcouered and experimented not farre from the Sea aſt, where was our abode and moſt of our trauailing: yet ſometimes as we made our iourneys rther into the maine and Countrey; we found the ſoile to be fatter, the trees greater and to grow inner, the ground more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer graſſe, and as od as euer we ſaw any in England; in ſome places rockie and farre more high and hilly ground, ore plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beaſtes, the more inhabited with people, and of eater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houſes.

Why may wee not then looke for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plen- , as well of other things, as of thoſe which wee haue already diſcouered? Unto the Spaniards ppened the like in diſcouering the maine of the Weſt Indies. The maine alſo of this Countrey Virginia, extending ſome wayes ſo many hundreds of leagues, as otherwiſe then by the relati- of the inhabitants wee haue moſt certaine knowledge of, where yet no Chriſtian prince hath a- poſſeſſion or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our couery haue not yet ſeene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the Climate, being anſwerable to the nd of Iapan, the land of China, Perſia, Iury, the Ilands of Cyprus and Candy, the South parts Greece, Italy and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreys, becauſe I meane to be tedious, I leaue to your owne conſideration.

Whereby alſo the excellent temperature of the aire there at all ſeaſons, much warmer then in gland, and neuer ſo vehemently hot, as ſometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or re them, cannot be knowen vnto you without further relation.

or the holſomneſſe thereof I neede to ſay but thus much: that for all the want of prouiſion,

as

at firſt of Engliſh victuall, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drinking water, and by the victuall of the Countrey, of which ſome ſorts were very ſtrange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in ſuch ſort, as to haue brought vs into ſome grieuous and dangerous diſeaſes: Secondly the want of Engliſh meanes, for the taking of beaſtes, fiſh and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes could not bee ſo ſuddenly and eaſily prouided for vs, nor in ſo great number and quantities, nor of that choiſe as otherwiſe might haue bene to our better ſatiſfaction and contentement. Some want alſo we had of clothes. Furthermore in al our trauailes, which were moſt ſpecially and often in the time of Winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I ſay for all this, there were but foure of our whole company (being one hundreth and eight) that died all the yeere, and that but at the latter ende thereof, and vpon none of the aforeſaide cauſes. For all foure, eſpecially three, were feeble, weake, and ſickly perſons before euer they came thither, and thoſe that knew them, much marueiled that they liued ſo long being in that caſe, or had aduentured to trauaile.

This want is hereafter to be ſupplied.

Seeing therefore the aire there is ſo temperate and holſome, the ſoyle ſo fertile, and yeelding ſuch commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the voyage alſo thither to and fro being ſufficiently experimented to be perfourmed twiſe a yeere with eaſe, and at any ſeaſon thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh ſo liberall in large giuing and granting lande there, as is already knowen, with many helpes and furtherances elſe: (The leaſt that he hath granted hath bene fiue hundreth acres to a man onely for the aduenture of his perſon) I hope there remaines no cauſe whereby the action ſhould be miſliked.

If that thoſe which ſhall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant bee but reaſonably prouided for the firſt yeere, as thoſe are which were tranſported the laſt, and being there, doe vſe but that diligence and care, that is requiſit, and as they may with eaſe: There is no doubt, but for the time following, they may haue victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, ſome more Engliſh ſorts of cattell alſo hereafter, as ſome haue bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and ſhall be (God willing) thither tranſported. So likewiſe, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and ſowed, as ſome haue bene already, and proue well: And in ſhort time alſo they may raiſe ſo much of thoſe ſorts of commodities which I haue ſpoken of, as ſhall both enrich themſelues, as alſo others that ſhall deale with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I haue thought neceſſary to aduertiſe you of at this preſent: What elſe concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of ſuch as haue bene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the firſt diſcouerers of the Countrey, of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Grinuil, and after his departure of our Gouernour there Maſter Ralph Lane, with diuers other directed and imployed vnder their gouernment: Of the Captaines and Maſters of the voyages made ſince for tranſportation, of the Gouernour and aſſiſtants of thoſe already tranſported, as of many perſons, accidents, and things els, I haue ready in a diſcourſe by it ſelfe in maner of a Chronicle, according to the courſe of times: which when time ſhall be thought conuenient, ſhall be alſo publiſhed.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable conſtructions, expecting good ſucceſſe of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the authour and gouernour, not onely of this, but all things els, I take my leaue of you, this moneth of February 1587.

The fourth voyage made to *Virginia* with three ſhips, in the yere 1587. Wherein was tranſported the ſecond Colonie.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to perſeuere i the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be ſent thither, vnder the charge of Iohn White, whom hee appointed Gouernour, and alſo appointed vnto him twelue Aſſiſtants, vnto whom hee gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouernour and Aſſiſtants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

April.

OVr Fleete being in number three ſaile, viz. the Admirall a ſhippe of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, a Flie-boate, and a Pinneſſe, departed the ſixe and twentieth of April from Porteſmouth, and the ſame day came to an ancker at the Cowes in the Iſle of Wight, where we ſtayed eight dayes.

Ma

May.

The firſt of May, at nine of the clocke at night we came to Plimmouth, where we remained the ſpace of two dayes.

The 8 we weyed anker at Plimmouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16 Simon Ferdinando, Maſter of our Admiral, lewdly forſooke our Fly-boate, leauing her diſtreſſed in the Bay of Portugal.

Iune.

The 19 we fell with “Dominica, and the ſame euening we ſayled betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21 the Fly-boat alſo fell with Dominica.

The 22 we came to an anker at an Iſland called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were ſet on land, ſtaying there till the 25 of the ſame moneth. At our firſt landing on this Iſland, ſome of our women, and men, by eating a ſmall fruit like greene Apples, were fearefully troubled with a ſudden burning in their mouthes, and ſwelling of their tongues ſo bigge, that ſome of them could not ſpeake. Alſo a child by ſucking one of thoſe womens breaſts, had at that inſtant his mouth ſet on ſuch a burning, that it was ſtrange to ſee how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24 houres, it ware away of it ſelfe.

“One of the Iſles of the Indies inhabited with Sauages. Circumſpection to be vſed in ſtrange places.

Alſo the firſt night of our being on this Iſland, we tooke fiue great Tortoſes, ſome of them of ſuch bignes, that ſixteene of our ſtrongeſt men were tired with carying of one of them but from the ſea ſide to our cabbins. In this Iſland we found no watring place, but a ſtanding ponde, the water whereof was ſo euill, that many of our company fell ſicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but waſh their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption, their faces did ſo burne and ſwell, that their eyes were ſhut vp, and could not ſee in fiue or ſixe dayes, or longer.

The ſecond day of our abode there, we ſent forth ſome of our men to ſearch the Iſland for freſh water, three one way, and two another way. The Gouernour alſo, with ſixe others, went vp to the top of an high hill, to viewe the Iſland, but could perceiue no ſigne of any men, or beaſtes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our cabbins another way, he found in the diſcent of a hill, certaine potſheards of ſauage making, made of the earth of that Iſland: whereupon it was iudged, that this Iſland was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had told vs for certaine the contrary. The ſame day at night, the reſt of our company very late returned to the Gouernour. The one company affirmed, that they had ſeene in a valley eleuen Sauages, and diuers houſes halfe a mile diſtant from the ſteepe, or toppe of the hill where they ſtayed. The other company had found running out of a high rocke a very faire ſpring of water, whereof they brought three bottels to the company: for before that time, wee drank the ſtinking water of the pond.

The ſame ſecond day at night Captaine Stafford, with the Pinneſſe, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Iſland, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohn, being ſo directed by Ferdinando, who aſſured him he ſhould there find great plenty of ſheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25 of Iune, we weyed anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The ſeuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the Pinneſſe riding at our comming.

The 28 we weyed anker at Cottea, and preſently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketos Bay, where we ſpent three dayes vnprofitably in taking in freſh water, ſpending in the meane time more beere then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

The firſt day we weyed anker at “Musketoes Bay, where were left behind two Iriſh men of our company, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coaſt of S. Iohns till euening, at which time wee fell with Roſſe Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promiſed wee ſhould take in ſalte, and had cauſed vs before, to make and prouide as many ſackes for that purpoſe, as we could. The Gouernour alſo, for that hee vnderſtood there was a Towne in the bottome of the Bay, not farre from the ſalt hils, appointed thirty ſhot, tenne pikes, and ten targets, to man the Pinneſſe, and to goe aland for ſalt. Ferdinando perceiuing them in a readines, ſent to the Gouernour, vſing great perſwaſions with him, not to take in ſalt there, ſaying that hee knew not well whether the ſame were the place or not: alſo, that if the Pinneſſe went into the Bay,

“Musketos Bay, is a harbour vpon the ſouth ſide of S. Iohns Iſland, where we take in freſh water.

ſhe could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any ſtorme ſhould riſe, the Admirall were in danger to bee caſt away. Whileſt he was thus perſwading, he cauſed the lead to be caſt, and hauing craftily brought the ſhippe in three fadome and a halfe water, he ſuddenly began to ſweare, and teare God in pieces, diſſembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: ſo we went off, and were diſappointed of our ſalt, by his meanes.

The next day ſayling along the Weſt end of S. Iohn, the Gouernour determined to go aland in S. Germans *Bay, to gather yong plants of Orenges, Pines, Mameas, and Plantanos, to ſet at Virginia, which we knew might eaſily be had, for that they grow neere the ſhore, and the places where they grew, well knowen to the Gouernour, and ſome of the planters: but our Simon denied it, ſaying: he would come to an anker at Hiſpaniola, & there land the Gouernour, and ſome other of the Aſſiſtants, with the pinneſſe, to ſee if he could ſpeake with his friend Alanſon, of whom he hoped to be furniſhed both of cattel, and all ſuch things as we would haue taken in at S. Iohn: but he meant nothing leſſe, as it plainely did appeare to vs afterwards.

* A pleaſant and fruitfull countrey, lying on the weſt end of S. Iohn Iland, where groweth plenty of Orenges, Limons, Plantains, & Pines.

The next day after, being the third of Iuly, we ſaw Hiſpaniola, and bare with the coaſt all that day, looking ſtill when the pinneſſe ſhould be prepared to goe for the place where Ferdinando his friend Alanſon was: but that day paſſed, and we ſaw no preparation for landing in Hiſpaniola.

The 4 of Iuly, ſayling along the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet ſeene for the ſtaying there, we hauing knowledge that we were paſt the place where Alanſon dwelt, and were come with Iſabella: hereupon Ferdinando was aſked by the Gouernour, whether he meant to ſpeake with Alanſon, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promiſe, or not: but he anſwered that he was now paſt the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh told him, the French Ambaſſador certified him, that the king of Spaine had ſent for Alanſon into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpoſe to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day we left ſight of Hiſpaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

The ſixt of Iuly we came to the Iland Caycos, wherein Ferdinando ſayd were two ſalt pondes, aſſuring vs if they were drie, we might find ſalt to ſhift with, vntill the next ſupply: but it prooued as true as finding of ſheepe at Baque. In this Iland, whileſt Ferdinando ſolaced himſelfe aſhore, with one of the company, in part of the Iland, others ſpent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Iland, ſome to ſeeke the ſalt pondes, ſome fowling, ſome hunting Swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weyed anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, that the firſt land that we ſaw next ſhould be Virginia.

About the 16 of Iuly we fel with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando tooke to be the Iland of Croatoan, where we came to anker, and rode there two or three dayes: but finding himſelfe deceiued, he weyed, and bare along the coaſt, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafford bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Ferdinando, we had bene all caſt away vpon the breach, called the Cape of Feare, for we were come within two cables length vpon it: ſuch was the careleſnes, and ignorance of our Maſter.

The two and twentieth of Iuly wee arriued ſafe at Hatoraſk, where our ſhip and pinneſſe ankered: the Gouernour went aboord the pinneſſe, accompanied with fortie of his beſt men, intending to paſſe vp to Roanoak foorthwith, hoping there to finde thoſe fifteene Engliſhmen, which Sir Richard Grinuile had left there the yeere before, with whom hee meant to haue conference, concerning the ſtate of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had ſo done, to returne againe to the fleete, and paſſe along the coaſt, to the Bay of Cheſepiok, where we intended to make our ſeate and forte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but aſſoone as we were put with our pinneſſe from the ſhip, a Gentleman by the meanes of Ferdinando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the ſailers in the pinneſſe, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but to leaue them in the Iland, except the Gouernour, & two or three ſuch as he approued, ſaying that the Summer was farre ſpent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Vnto this were all the ſaylers, both in the pinneſſe, and ſhippe, perſwaded by the Maſter, wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them, but paſſed to Roanoak, and the ſame night at ſunne-ſet went aland on the Iland, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any ſigne that they had bene there, ſauing onely wee found the bones of one of thoſe fifteene, which the Sauages had ſlaine long before.

An intent to plant in the Bay of Cheſepiok.

The three and twentieth of Iuly the Gouernour with diuers of his company, walked to the

North ende of the Iland, where Maſter Ralfe Lane had his forte, with ſundry neceſſary and decent dwelling houſes, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to find ſome ſignes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, we found the fort raſed downe, but all the houſes ſtanding vnhurt, ſauing that the nether roomes of them, and alſo of the forte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers ſortes, and Deere within them, feeding on thoſe Melons: ſo wee returned to our company, without hope of euer ſeeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The ſame day order was giuen, that euery man ſhould be employed for the repayring of thoſe houſes, which wee found ſtanding, and alſo to make other newe Cottages, for ſuch as ſhould neede.

The 25 our Flyboate and the reſt of our planters arriued all ſafe at Hatoraske, to the great ioy and comfort of the whole company: but the Maſter of our Admirall Ferdinando grieued greatly at their ſafe comming: for hee purpoſely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and ſtole away from them in the night, hoping that the Maſter thereof, whoſe name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had bene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in ſo dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of ſo many men of warre, as at that time were abroad, they ſhould ſurely be taken, or ſlaine: but God diſappointed his wicked pretenſes.

Edward Spicer.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelue Aſſiſtants was ſlaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoak, either of purpoſe to eſpie our company, and what number we were, or elſe to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Iland. Theſe Sauages being ſecretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they find the Deere aſleep, and ſo kill them, eſpied our man wading in the water alone, almoſt naked, without any weapon, ſaue only a ſmal forked ſticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and alſo being ſtrayed two miles from his company, and ſhot at him in the water, where they gaue him ſixteen wounds with their arrowes: and after they had ſlaine him with their wooden ſwords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of July Maſter Stafford and twenty of our men paſſed by water to the Iland of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kinred dwelling in that Iland, of whom wee hoped to vnderſtand ſome newes of our fifteene men, but eſpecially to learne the diſpoſition of the people of the countrey towards vs, and to renew our old friendſhip with them. At our firſt landing they ſeemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceiuing vs begin to march with our ſhot towardes them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countrey man called to them in their owne language, whom, aſſoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes and arrowes, and ſome of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, deſiring vs not to gather or ſpill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We anſwered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, ſhould be diminiſhed by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the old loue, that was betweene vs and them at the firſt, and to liue with them as brethren and friends: which anſwere ſeemed to pleaſe them well, wherefore they requeſted vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feaſted vs after their maner, and deſired vs earneſtly, that there might bee ſome token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friends, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Iland. They told vs further, that for want of ſome ſuch badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, being found out of the Iland by Maſter Lane his company, whereof they ſhewed vs one, which at that very inſtant lay lame, and had lien of that hurt euer ſince: but they ſayd, they knew our men miſtooke them, and hurt them in ſtead of Winginos men, wherefore they held vs excuſed.

Auguſt.

The next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquaſcogoc, & Pomeiok, willing them of Croatoan to certifie the people of thoſe townes, that if they would accept our friendſhip, we would willingly receiue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings paſt on both parts, ſhould be vtterly forgiuen and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan anſwered, that they would gladly doe the beſt they could, and within ſeuen dayes, bring the Wiroances and chiefe Gouernours of thoſe townes with them, to our Gouernour at Roanoak, or their anſwere. We alſo vnderſtood of the men of Croatoan, that our man Maſter Howe was ſlaine by the remnant of Winginos men dwelling then at Daſamonguepeuk, with whom Wancheſe kept companie: and alſo we vnderſtood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15 Engliſhmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Grinuile, were ſuddenly ſet vpon, by 30 of the men of Secota, Aquaſcogoc, and Daſamonguepeuk, in manner following. They conueyed themſelues ſecretly behind the trees, neere the houſes where our men careleſly liued: and hauing perceiued that of thoſe fifteene they could ſee but eleuen only, two of thoſe Sauages appeared to the 11 Engliſhmen, calling to them by friendly ſignes, that but two of their chiefeſt men ſhould come vnarmed to ſpeake with thoſe two Sauages, who ſeemed alſo to be vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefeſt of our Engliſhmen went gladly to them: but whileſt one of thoſe Sauages traiterouſly imbraced one of our men, the other with his ſworde of wood, which he had ſecretly hidden vnder his mantell, ſtrooke him on the head and ſlew him, and preſently the other eight and twenty Sauages ſhewed them ſelues: the other Engliſhman perceiuing this, fled to his company, whom the Sauages purſued with their bowes, and arrowes, ſo faſt, that the Engliſhmen were forced to take the houſe, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages forthwith ſet the ſame on fire: by meanes wherof our men were forced to take vp ſuch weapons as came firſt to hand, and without order to runne forth among the Sauages, with whom they ſkirmiſhed aboue an howre. In this ſkirmiſh another of our men was ſhotte into the mouth with an arrow, where hee died: and alſo one of the Sauages was ſhot into the ſide by one of our men, with a wild fire arrow, whereof he died preſently. The place where they fought was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themſelues, and ſo offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being ſome of them hurt, retyred fighting to the water ſide, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they eſpied their foure fellowes comming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oyſters: theſe foure they receiued into their boate, leauing Roanoak, and landed on a little Iſland on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remayned a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Hauing nowe ſufficiently diſpatched our buſineſſe at Croatoan, the ſame day we departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboord the fleete at Hatorask.

The eight of Auguſt, the Gouernour hauing long expected the comming of the Wiroanſes of Pomeiok, Aquaſcogoc, Secota, and Daſamonguepeuk, ſeeing that the ſeuen dayes were paſt, within which they promiſed to come in, or to ſend their anſweres by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly alſo informed by thoſe men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Daſamonquepeuk, were they which had ſlaine George Howe, and were alſo at the driuing of our eleuen Engliſhmen from Roanoak, hee thought to deferre the reuenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the ſame night about midnight, he paſſed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24 men, whereof Manteo was one, whom we tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where thoſe Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himſelfe toward vs as a moſt faithfull Engliſhman.

The next day, being the 9 of Auguſt, in the morning ſo early that it was yet darke, we landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, & very ſecretly conueyed our ſelues through the woods, to that ſide, where we had their houſes betweene vs and the water: and hauing eſpied their fire, and ſome ſitting about it, we preſently ſet on them: the miſerable ſoules herewith amazed, fled into a place of thicke reedes, growing faſt by, where our men perceiuing them, ſhot one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith we entred the reedes, among which we hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but we were deceiued, for thoſe Sauages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corne & fruit of that place, becauſe they vnderſtood our enemies were fled immediatly after they had ſlaine George Howe, and for haſte had left all their corne, Tabacco, and Pompions ſtanding in ſuch ſort, that al had bene deuoured of the birds, and Deere, if it had not bene gathered in time: but they had like to haue payd deerely for it: for it was ſo darke, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all ſo like others, wee knew not but that they were al men: and if that one of them which was a Wiroances wife had not had a child at her backe, ſhee had bene ſlaine in ſtead of a man, and as hap was, another Sauage knew Maſter Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby hee was ſaued. Finding our ſelues thus diſappointed of our purpoſe, we gathered al the corne, Peaſe, Pompions, and Tabacco that we found ripe, leauing the reſt vnſpoyled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong child, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the miſtaking of theſe Sauages ſomewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne folly, ſaying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promiſe in comming to the Gouernour at the day appointed, they had not knowen that miſchance.

The 13 of Auguſt our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was chriſtened in Roanoak, and called Lord thereof, and of Daſamonguepeuk, in reward of his faithfull ſeruice.

The 18 Elenor, daughter to the Gouernour, and wife to Ananias Dare one of the Aſſiſtants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the ſame was chriſtened there the Sonday following, and becauſe this child was the firſt Chriſtian borne in Virginia, ſhee was named Virginia. By this time our ſhips had vnladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and freſh water, and to new calke and trimme them for England: the planters alſo prepared their letters and tokens to ſend backe into England.

Our two ſhips, the Lion and the Flyboat almoſt ready to depart, the 21 of Auguſt, there aroſe ſuch a tempeſt at Northeaſt, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to ſea, where he lay beating off and on ſixe dayes before he could come to vs againe, ſo that we feared he had bene caſt away, and the rather for that at the time that the ſtorme tooke them, the moſt and beſt of their ſailers were left aland.

At this time ſome controuerſies aroſe betweene the Gouernour and Aſſiſtants, about chooſing two out of the twelue Aſſiſtants, which ſhould goe backe as factors for the company into England: for euery one of them refuſed, ſaue onely one, which all other thought not ſufficient: but at length by much perſwading of the Gouernour, Chriſtopher Cooper only agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perſwaſion of diuers of his familiar friends, hee changed his minde, ſo that now the matter ſtood as at the firſt.

The next day, the 22 of Auguſt, the whole company both of the Aſſiſtants and planters came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requeſted him to returne himſelfe into England, for the better and ſooner obtaining of ſupplies, and other neceſſaries for them: but he refuſed it, and alleaged many ſufficient cauſes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not ſo ſuddenly returne backe againe without his great diſcredite, leauing the action, and ſo many whome hee partly had procured through his perſwaſions, to leaue their natiue countrey, and vndertake that voyage, and that ſome enemies to him and the action at his returne into England would not ſpare to ſlander falſly both him and the action, by ſaying, hee went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other end but to leade ſo many into a countrey, in which hee neuer meant to ſtay himſelfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Alſo he alleaged, that ſeeing they intended to remoue 50 miles further vp into the maine preſently, he being then abſent, his ſtuffe and goods might be both ſpoiled, & moſt of them pilfered away in the cariage, ſo that at his returne he ſhould be either forced to prouide himſelfe of all ſuch things againe, or elſe at his comming againe to Virginia find himſelfe vtterly vnfurniſhed, whereof already he had found ſome proofe, being but once from them but three dayes. Wherefore he concluded that he would not goe himſelfe.

Their meaning to remoue 50 miles into the countrey.

The next day, not onely the Aſſiſtants but diuers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requeſts to the Gouernour againe, to take vpon him to returne into England for the ſupply, and diſpatch of all ſuch things as there were to be done, promiſing to make him their bond vnder all their handes and ſeales for the ſafe preſeruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, ſo that if any part thereof were ſpoyled or loſt, they would ſee it reſtored to him, or his Aſſignes, whenſoeuer the ſame ſhould be miſſed and demanded: which bond, with a teſtimony vnder their hands and ſeales, they forthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the teſtimony I thought good to ſet downe.

May it pleaſe you, her Maieſties ſubiects of England, we your friends and countrey-men, the planters in Virginia, doe by theſe preſents let you and euery of you to vnderſtand, that for the preſent and ſpeedy ſupply of certaine our knowen and apparant lackes and needes, moſt requiſite and neceſſary for the good and happy planting of vs, or any other in this land of Virginia, wee all of one minde & conſent, haue moſt earneſtly intreated, and vnceſſantly requeſted Iohn White, Gouernour of the planters in Virginia, to paſſe into England, for the better and more aſſured help, and ſetting forward of the foreſayd ſupplies: and knowing aſſuredly that he both can beſt, and wil labour and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and he not once, but often refuſing it, for our ſakes, and for the honour & maintenance of the action, hath at laſt, though much againſt his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernement, and all his goods among vs, and himſelfe in all our behalfes to paſſe into England, of whoſe knowledge and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, we doe aſſure our ſelues by theſe preſents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto, the 25 of Auguſt 1587.

The Gouernour being at the laſt through their extreame intreating conſtrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a dayes reſpite to prepare himſelfe for the ſame, departed from Roanoak the ſeuen and twentieth of Auguſt in the morning, and the ſame day about midnight, came aboord the Flieboat, who already had weyed anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the ſame morning was newly come thither againe. The ſame day both the ſhips weyed anker, and ſet ſaile for England: at this weying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flyboate were throwen from the Capſtone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came ſo faſt about vpon them, that the other two barres thereof ſtrooke and hurt moſt of them ſo ſore, that ſome of them neuer recouered it: neuertheleſſe they aſſayed preſently againe to wey their anker, but being ſo weakened with the firſt fling, they were not able to weye it, but were throwen downe and hurt the ſecond time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboord, and moſt of them by this vnfortunate beginning ſo bruiſed, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leeſe their anker. Neuertheleſſe, they kept company with the Admirall, vntill the ſeuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and ſaw Flores.

September.

The eighteenth, perceiuing of all our fifteene men in the Flyboate there remained but fiue, which by meanes of the former miſchance, were able to ſtand to their labour: and that the Admirall meant not to make any haſte for England, but to linger about the Iland of Tercera for purchaſe: the Flyboate departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arriue ſhortly: but by that time we had continued our courſe homeward about twenty dayes, hauing had ſometimes ſcarſe and variable windes, our freſh water alſo by leaking almoſt conſumed, there aroſe a ſtorme at Northeaſt, which for ſixe dayes ceaſed not to blowe ſo exceeding, that we were driuen further in thoſe ſixe then we could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our ſaylers began to fall very ſicke and two of them dyed, the weather alſo continued ſo cloſe, that our Maſter ſometimes in foure dayes together could ſee neither ſunne nor ſtarre, and all the beuerage we could make, with ſtinking water, dregs of beere, and lees of wine which remayned, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to periſh at Sea.

October.

The 16 of October we made land, but we knewe not what land it was, bearing in with the ſame land at that day: about ſunne ſet we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pinneſſe of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe aſhore, vntill the pinneſſe ſent off their boate to vs with 6 or 8 men, of whom we vnderſtood wee were in Smerwick in the Weſt parts of Ireland: they alſo releeued vs preſently with freſh water, wine, and other freſh meate.

Smerwick in the Weſt of Ireland

The 18 the Gouernour and the Maſter ryd to Dingen a Cuſhe, 5 miles diſtant, to take order for the new victualing of our Flieboate for England, and for reliefe of our ſicke and hurt men, but within foure daies after the Boatſwain, the Steward, and the Boatſwains mate died aboord the Flieboat, and the 28 the Maſters mate and two of our chiefe ſailers were brought ſicke to Dingen.

Nouember.

The firſt the Gouernour ſhipped himſelfe in a ſhip called the Monkie, which at that time was ready to put to ſea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyboat and all his companie in Ireland. The ſame day we ſet ſayle, and on the third day we fell with the North ſide of the lands end, and were ſhut vp the Seuerne, but the next day we doubled the ſame for Mounts Bay.

The 5 the Gouernour landed in England at Martaiew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8 we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderſtood that our conſort the Admiral was come to Portſmouth, and had bene there three weekes before: and alſo that Ferdinando the Maſter with all his company were not onely come home without any purchaſe, but alſo in ſuch weakneſſe by ſickneſſe, and death of their chiefeſt men, that they were ſcarſe able to bring their ſhip into harbour, but were forced to let fall anker without, which they could not wey againe, but might all haue periſhed there, if a ſmall barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that died are theſe, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and ſome other ſaylers, whoſe names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The names of all the men, women and children, which ſafely arriued in *Virginia*, and remained to inhabite there. 1587. *Anno regni Reginæ Elizabethæ.* 29.

IOhn White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Chriſtopher Cooper.
Thomas Steuens.
Iohn Sampſon.
Dyonis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George How.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Iohnſon.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
Iohn Iones.
William Willes.
Iohn Brooke.
Cutbert White.
Iohn Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
Iohn Cotſmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
Iohn Gibbes.
Iohn Stilman.
Robert Wilkinſon.
Iohn Tydway.
Ambroſe Viccars.
Edmond Engliſh.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
Iohn Spendloue.
Iohn Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
Iohn Burden.
Iames Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Tauerner.
Iohn Earneſt.
Henry Iohnſon.
Iohn Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
Iohn Wright.
William Dutton.
Mauris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
Iohn Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Biſhop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Paine.
Thomas Harris.
William Nichols.
Thomas Pheuens.
Iohn Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
Iohn Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenſon.
Martin Sutton.
Iohn Farre.
Iohn Bridger.
Griffen Iones.
Richard Shabedge.
Iames Laſie.
Iohn Cheuen.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.

Women.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Haruie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Ioyce Archard.
Iane Iones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Iane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Ioan Warren.
Iane Mannering.
Roſe Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Boyes and children.

Iohn Sampſon.
Robert Ellis.
Ambroſe Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Thomas Smart.
George How.
Iohn Prat.
William Wythers.

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
Haruie.

Sauages.

Manteo.
Towaye. } That were in England and returned home into Virginia with them.

To the Worſhipful and my very friend Maſter *Richard Hakluyt*, much happineſſe in the Lord.

SIr, as well for the ſatisfying of your earneſt requeſt, as the performance of my promiſe made vnto you at my laſt being with you in *England*, I haue ſent you (although in a homely ſtile, eſpecially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true diſcourſe of my laſt voyage into the Weſt *Indies*, and partes of *America* called *Virginia*, taken in hand about the end of February, in the yeare of our redemption 1590. And what euents happened vnto vs in this our iourney, you ſhall plainely perceiue by the ſequele of my diſcourſe. There were at the time aforeſaid three ſhips abſolutely determined to goe for the Weſt *Indies*, at the ſpeciall charges of M. *Iohn Wattes* of *London* Marchant. But when they were fully furniſhed, and in readineſſe to make their departure, a generall ſtay was commanded of all ſhips thorowout *England*. Which ſo ſoone as I heard, I preſently (as I thought it moſt requiſite) acquainted Sir *Walter Ralegh* therewith, deſiring him that as I had ſundry times afore bene chargeable and troubleſome vnto him, for the ſupplies and reliefes of the planters in *Virgima*: ſo likewiſe, that by his endeuour it would pleaſe him at that inſtant to procure licenſe for thoſe three ſhips to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in *Virginia* (if it were Gods pleaſure) might ſpeedily be comforted and relieued without further charges vnto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained licenſe of the Queenes Maieſtie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ſhips ſhould be bound vnto Sir *Walter Ralegh* or his aſſignes, in 3000 pounds, that thoſe 3 ſhips in conſideration of their releaſement ſhould take in, & tranſport a conuenient number of paſſengers, with their furnitures and neceſſaries to be landed in *Virginia*. Neuertheleſſe that order was not obſerued, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforeſaid. But rather in contempt of the aforeſaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ſhips denied to haue any paſſengers, or any thing els tranſported in any of the ſaid ſhips, ſauing only my ſelfe & my cheſt; no not ſo much as a boy to attend vpõ me, although I made great ſute, & earneſt intreatie aſwell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the ſaid ſhips. Which croſſe and vnkind dealing, although it very much diſcontented me, notwithſtanding the ſcarſity of time was ſuch, that I could haue no opportunity to go vnto Sir *Walter Ralegh* with complaint: for the ſhips being then all in readineſſe to goe to the Sea, would haue bene departed before I could haue made my returne. Thus both Gouernors, Maſters, and ſailers, regarding very ſmally the good of their countreymen in *Virginia*; determined nothing leſſe then to touch at thoſe places, but wholly diſpoſed themſelues to ſeeke after purchaſe & ſpoiles, ſpending ſo much time therein, that ſommer was ſpent before we arriued at *Virginia*. And when we were come thither, the ſeaſon was ſo vnfit, & weather ſo foule, that we were conſtrained of force to forſake that coaſt, hauing not ſeene any of our planters, with loſſe of one of our ſhip-boates, and 7 of our chiefeſt men: and alſo with loſſe of 3 of our ankers and cables, and moſt of our caskes with freſh water left on ſhore, not poſſible to be had aboord. Which euils & vnfortunate euents (as wel to their owne loſſe as to the hinderance of the planters in *Virginia*) had not chanced, if the order ſet downe by Sir *Walter Ralegh* had bene obſerued, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the ſame might haue taken any place. Thus may you plainely perceiue the ſucceſſe of my fift & laſt voiage to *Virginia*, which was no leſſe vnfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as luckleſſe to many, as ſiniſter to my ſelfe. But I would to God it had bene as proſperous to all, as noyſome to the planters; & as ioyfull to me, as diſcomfortable to them. Yet ſeeing it is not my firſt croſſed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting my wiſhes, I leaue off from proſecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were anſwerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my diſcomfortable company the planters in *Virginia*, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I moſt humbly beſeech to helpe & comfort them, according to his moſt holy will & their good deſire, I take my leaue: from my houſe at *Newtowne* in *Kylmore* the 4 of February, 1593.

Your moſt welwiſhing friend,

IOHN WHITE.

The fift voyage of M. *Iohn VVhite* into the *VVeſt Indies* and parts of *America* called *Virginia*, in the yeere 1590.

The 20 of March the three ſhippes the Hopewell, the Iohn Euangeliſt, and the Little Iohn, put to Sea from Plymmouth with two ſmall Shallops.

The 25 at midnight both our Shallops were ſunke being towed at the ſhips ſternes by the Boatſwaines negligence.

On the 30 we ſaw a head vs that part of the coaſt of Barbary, lying Eaſt of Cape Cantyn, and the Bay of Aſaphi.

The next day we came to the Ile of Mogador, where rode, at our paſſing by, a Pinneſſe of London called the Mooneſhine.

April.

Aprill.

On the firſt of Aprill we ankored in Santa Cruz rode, where we found two great ſhippes of London lading in Sugar, of whom we had 2 ſhipboats to ſupply the loſſe of our Shallop.

On the 2 we ſet ſayle from the rode of Santa Cruz, for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4 we ſaw Alegranza, the Eaſt Ile of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5 of Aprill we gaue chaſe to a double flyboat, the which, we alſo the ſame day fought with, and tooke her, with loſſe of three of their men ſlaine, and one hurt.

On Munday the 6 we ſaw Grand Canarie, and the next day we landed and tooke in freſh water on the Southſide thereof.

On the 9 we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our courſe for Dominica.

The laſt of Aprill we ſaw Dominica, and the ſame night we came to an anker on the Southſide thereof.

May.

The firſt of May in the morning many of the Saluages came aboord our ſhips in their Canowes, and did traffique with vs; we alſo the ſame day landed and entered their Towne from whence we returned the ſame day aboord without any reſiſtance of the Saluages; or any offence done to them.

The 2 of May our Admirall and our Pinneſſe departed from Dominica leauing the Iohn our Uiceadmirall playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take ſome Spaniard outwardes bound to the Indies; the ſame night we had ſight of three ſmal Ilands called Los Santos, leauing Guadalupe and them on our ſtarboord.

The 3 we had ſight of S. Chriſtophers Iland, bearing Northeaſt and by Eaſt off vs.

On the 4 we ſayled by the Uirgines, which are many broken Ilands, lying at the Eaſt ende of S. Iohns Iland; and the ſame day towards euening we landed vpon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of foules: here we ſtayed but three houres, & from thence ſtood into the ſhore Northweſt, and hauing brought this Iland Southeaſt off vs, we put towards night thorow an opening or ſwatch, called The paſſage, lying betwene the Uirgines, and the Eaſt end of S. Iohn: here the Pinneſſe left vs and ſayled on the South ſide of S. Iohn.

The 5 and 6 the Admirall ſayled along the Northſide of S. Iohn, ſo neere the ſhore that the Spaniards diſcerned vs to be men of warre; and therefore made fires along the coaſt as we ſailed by, for ſo their cuſtome is, when they ſee any men of warre on their coaſts.

The 7 we landed on the Northweſt end of S. Iohn, where we watered in a good riuer called Yaguana, and the ſame night following we tooke a Frigate of tenne Tunne comming from Gwathanelo laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a Mollato, who knewe all our ſtate, ranne from vs to the Spaniards.

On the 9 we departed from Yaguana.

The 13 we landed on an Iland called Mona, whereon were 10 or 12 houſes inhabited of the Spaniards; theſe we burned & tooke from them a Pinneſſe, which they had drawen a ground and ſunke, and carried all her ſayles, maſtes, and rudders into the woods, becauſe we ſhould not take him away; we alſo chaſed the Spaniards ouer all the Iland; but they hid them in caues, hollow rockes, and buſhes, ſo that we could not find them.

On the 14 we departed from Mona, and the next day after wee came to an Iland called Saona, about 5 leagues diſtant from Mona, lying on the Southſide of Hiſpaniola neere the Eaſt end: betweene theſe two Ilands we lay off and on 4 or 5 dayes, hoping to take ſome of the Domingo fleete doubling this Iland, as a neerer way to Spaine then by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thurſday being the 19 our Uiceadmirall, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to vs at Saona, with whom we left a Spaniſh Frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on other fiue daies betweene Saona and Mona to the ende aforeſaid; then we departed from them at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was enformed that our men of the Uiceadmirall, at their departure from Dominica brought away two young Saluages, which were the chiefe Caſiques ſonnes of that Countrey and part of Dominica, but they ſhortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz Iland, where the Uiceadmirall landed to take in ballaſt.

On the 21 the Admirall came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the Iohn Euangeliſt our Pinneſſe ſtaying for vs: here we tooke in two Spaniards almoſt ſtarued on the ſhore, who made a fire to our ſhips as we paſſed by. Thoſe places for an 100 miles in length are nothing els but a deſolate and meere wilderneſſe, without any habitation of people, and full of wilde Bulles and Bores, and great Serpents.

M. William Lane.

The 22 our Pinneſſe came alſo to an anker in Aligato Bay at cape Tyburon. Here we vnderſtood of M. Lane, Captaine of the Pinneſſe, how he was ſet vpon with one of the kings Gallies belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, who after he had fought with him 3 or 4 houres, gaue ouer the fight & forſooke him, without any great hurt done on eyther part.

The 26 The Iohn our Vizadmirall came to vs to cape Tyburon, and the Frigat which we left with him at Saona. This was the appointed place where we ſhould attend for the meeting with the Santo Domingo Fleete.

On Whitſunday Euen at Cape Tyburon one of our boyes ranne away from vs, and at ten dayes end returned to our ſhips almoſt ſterued for want of food. In ſundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon we found the bones and carkaſes of diuers men, who had periſhed (as wee thought) by famine in thoſe woods, being either ſtragled from their company, or landed there by ſome men of warre.

Iune.

Spaniſh fugitiues.

ON the 14 of Iune we tooke a ſmal Spaniſh frigat which fell amongſt vs ſo ſuddenly, as he doubled the point at the Bay of Cape Tyburon, where we road, ſo that he could not eſcape vs. This Frigat came from Santo Domingo, and had but 3 men in her, the one was an expert Pilot, the other a Mountainer, and the third a Vintener, who eſcaped all out of priſon at Santo Domingo, purpoſing to fly to Yaguana which is a towne in the Weſt parts of Hiſpaniola where many fugitiue Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17 being Wedneſday Captaine Lane was ſent to Yaguana with his Pinneſſe and a Frigat to take a ſhippe, which was there taking in fraight, as we vnderſtood by the old Pylot, whom we had taken three dayes before.

The 24 the Frigat returned from Captaine Lane at Yaguana, and brought vs word to cape Tyburon, that Captaine Lane had taken the ſhippe, with many paſſengers and Negroes in the ſame; which proued not ſo rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a Frenchman of warre had taken and ſpoyled her before we came. Neuertheleſſe her loading was thought worth 1000 or 1300 pounds, being hides, ginger, Cannafiſtula, Copper-pannes, and Caſaui.

Iuly.

Edward Spicer.

THe ſecond of Iuly Edward Spicer whom we left in England came to vs at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a ſmall Pinneſſe, whereof one M. Harps was Captaine. And the ſame day we had ſight of a fleete of 14 ſaile all of Santo Domingo, to whom we preſently gaue chaſe, but they vpon the firſt ſight of vs fled, and ſeparating themſelues ſcattered here and there: Wherefore we were forced to diuide our ſelues and ſo made after them vntill 12 of the clocke at night. But then by reaſon of the darkeneſſe we loſt ſight of ech other, yet in the end the Admirall and the Moonelight happened to be together the ſame night at the fetching vp of the Vizadmirall of the Spaniſh fleete, againſt whom the next morning we fought and tooke him, with loſſe of one of our men and two hurt, and of theirs 4 ſlaine and 6 hurt. But what was become of our Viceadmirall, our Pinneſſe, and Prize, and two Frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

This fight was in ſight of the Iland of Nauaza.

The 3 of Iuly we ſpent about rifling, romaging and fitting the Prize to be ſailed with vs.

The 6 of Iuly we ſaw Iamayca the which we left on our larboord, keeping Cuba in ſight on our ſtarboord.

Upon the 8 of Iuly we ſaw the Iland of Pinos, which lieth on the Southſide of Cuba nigh vnto the Weſt end or Cape called Cape S. Anthony. And the ſame day we gaue chaſe to a Frigat, but at night we loſt ſight of her, partly by the ſlow ſayling of our Admirall, & lacke of the Moonelight our Pinneſſe, whom Captaine Cooke had ſent to the Cape the day before.

On the 11 we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our conſort the Moonelight and her Pinneſſe abiding for our comming, of whom we vnderſtood that the day before there paſſed by them 22 ſaile, ſome of them of the burden of 300 and ſome 400 tunnes loaden with the Kings treaſure from the maine, bound for Hauana; from this 11 of Iuly vntill 22 we were much becalmed: and the winde being very ſcarſe, and the weather exceeding hoat, we were much peſtered with the Spaniards we had taken: wherefore we were driuen to land all the Spaniards ſauing three, but the place where we landed them was of their owne choiſe on the Southſide of Cuba neere vnto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23 we had ſight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken Ilands thereof called the Martires.

The 25 being S. Iames day in the morning we fell with the Matanças, a head-land 8 leagues towards the Eaſt of Hauana, where we purpoſed to take freſh water in, and make our abode two or three dayes.

On Sunday the 26 of Iuly plying too and fro betweene the Matanças and Hauana, we were eſpied of three ſmall Pinnaſſes of S. Iohn de Vllua bound for Hauana, which were exceeding richly loaden. Theſe 3 Pinnaſſes came very boldly vp vnto vs, and ſo continued vntill they came within muſket ſhot of vs. And we ſuppoſed them to be Captaine Harps pinneſſe, and two ſmall Frigats taken by Captaine Harpe: wherefore we ſhewed our flag. But they preſently vpon the ſight of it turned about & made all the ſaile they could from vs toward the ſhore, & kept thēſelues in ſo ſhallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gaue them ouer with expence of ſhot & pouder to no purpoſe. But if we had not ſo raſhly ſet out our flagge, wee might haue taken them all three, for they would not haue knowen vs before they had bene in our hands. This chaſe brought vs ſo far to leeward as Hauana: wherefore not finding any of our conſorts at yͤ Matanças, we put ouer again to the cape of Florida, & from thence thorow the chanel of Bahama.

On the 28 the Cape of Florida bare Weſt off vs.

The 30 we loſt ſight of the coaſt of Florida, and ſtood to Sea for to gaine the helpe of the current which runneth much ſwifter a farre off then in ſight of the coaſt. For from the Cape to Virginia all along the ſhore are none but eddie currents, ſetting to the South and Southweſt.

The ſtate of the currents from the cape of Florida to Virginia.

The 31 our three ſhips were clearely diſbocked, the great prize, the Admirall, and the Mooneſhine, but our prize being thus diſbocked departed from vs without taking leaue of our Admirall or conſort, and ſayled directly for England.

Auguſt.

ON the firſt of Auguſt the winde ſcanted, and from thence forward we had very fowle weather with much raine, thundering, and great ſpouts, which fell round about vs nigh vnto our ſhips.

The 3 we ſtoode againe in for the ſhore, and at midday we tooke the height of the ſame. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the Low ſandie Ilands Weſt of Wokokon. But the weather continued ſo exceeding foule, that we could not come to an anker nye the coaſt: wherefore we ſtood off againe to Sea vntill Monday the 9 of Auguſt.

Sandie Ilands Weſt of Wokokon.

On munday the ſtorme ceaſed, and we had very great likelihood of faire weather: therefore we ſtood in againe for the ſhore: & came to an anker at 11 fadome in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the ſhore, where we went on land on the narrow ſandy Iland, being one of the Ilandes Weſt of Wokokon: in this Iland we tooke in ſome freſh water and caught great ſtore of fiſh in the ſhallow water. Betweene the maine (as we ſuppoſed) and that Iland it was but a mile ouer and three or foure foote deepe in moſt places.

They land in 35 degrees.

On the 12 in the morning we departed from thence and toward night we came to an anker at the Northeaſt end of the Iland of Croatoan, by reaſon of a breach which we perceiued to lie out two or three leagues into the Sea: here we road all that night.

A breach 2 or 3 leagues into Sea.

The 13 in the morning before we waped our ankers, our boates were ſent to ſound ouer this breach; our ſhips riding on the ſide thereof at 5 fadome; and a ſhips length from vs we found but 4 and a quarter, and then deeping and ſhallowing for the ſpace of two miles, ſo that ſometimes we found 5 fadome, and by & by 7, and within two caſts with the lead 9, & then 8, next caſt 5, & then 6, & then 4, & then 9 againe, and deeper; but 3 fadome was the leaſt, 2 leagues off frō the ſhore. This breach is in 35 degr. & a halfe, & lyeth at the very Northeaſt point of Croatoan, wheras goeth a fret out of the maine Sea into the inner waters, which part the Ilandes and the maine land.

Great diuerſity of ſoūdings.

The 15 of Auguſt towards Euening we came to an anker at Hatorask, in 36 degr. and one third, in fiue fadom water, three leagues from the ſhore. At our firſt cōming to anker on this ſhore we ſaw a great ſmoke riſe in the Ile Raonoak neere the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1587, which ſmoake put vs in good hope that ſome of the Colony were there expecting my returne out of England.

Hatorask in 36 degr. & a terce.

The 16 and next morning our 2 boates went a ſhore, & Captain Cooke, & Cap. Spicer, & their cōpany with me, with intent to paſſe to the place at Raonoak where our countreymen were left. At our putting from the ſhip we commanded our Maſter gunner to make readie 2 Minions and a Falkon well loden, and to ſhoot them off with reaſonable ſpace betweene euery ſhot, to the ende that their reportes might bee heard to the place where wee hoped to finde ſome of our people. This was accordingly performed, & our twoe boats put off vnto the ſhore, in the Admirals boat we ſounded all the way and found from our ſhippe vntill we came within a mile of the ſhore nine, eight, and ſeuen fadome: but before we were halfe way betweene our ſhips and the ſhore we ſaw another great ſmoke to the Southweſt of Kindrikers mountes: we therefore thought good to goe to that ſecond ſmoke firſt: but it was much further from the harbour where we landed, then we ſuppoſed it to be, ſo that we were very ſore tired before wee came to the ſmoke. But that which grieued vs more was that when we came to the ſmoke, we found no man nor ſigne that any had bene there lately, nor yet any freſh water in all this way to drinke. Being thus wearied with this iourney we returned to the harbour where we left our boates, who in our abſence had brought their caſke a ſhore for freſh water, ſo we deferred our going to Roanoak vntill the next morning, and cauſed ſome of thoſe ſaylers to digge in thoſe ſandie hilles for freſh water whereof we found very ſufficient. That night wee returned aboord with our boates and our whole company in ſafety.

They land.

Freſh water found in ſandy hilles.

The next morning being the 17 of Auguſt, our boates and company were prepared againe to goe vp to Roanoak, but Captaine Spicer had then ſent his boat aſhore for freſh water, by meanes whereof it was ten of the clocke aforenoone before we put from our ſhips which were then come to an anker within two miles of the ſhore. The Admirals boat was halfe way toward the ſhore, when Captaine Spicer put off from his ſhip. The Admirals boat firſt paſſed the breach, but not without ſome danger of ſinking, for we had a ſea brake into our boat which filled vs halfe full of water, but by the will of God and carefull ſteerage of Captaine Cooke we came ſafe aſhore, ſauing onely that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and ſpoyled. For at this time the winde blue at Northeaſt and direct into the harbour ſo great a gale, that the Sea brake extremely on the barre, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance. By that time our Admirals boate was halled aſhore, and moſt of our things taken out to dry, Captaine Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his maſt ſtanding vp, and was halfe paſſed ouer, but by the raſh and vndiſcreet ſteerage of Ralph Skinner his Maſters mate, a very dangerous Sea brake into their boate and ouerſet them quite, the men kept the boat ſome in it, and ſome hanging on it, but the next ſea ſet the boat on ground, where it beat ſo, that ſome of them were forced to let goe their hold, hoping to wade aſhore, but the Sea ſtill beat them downe, ſo that they could neither ſtand nor ſwimme, and the boat twiſe or thriſe was turned the keele vpward; whereon Captaine Spicer and Skinner hung vntill they ſunke, & were ſeene no more. But foure that could ſwimme a litle kept themſelues in deeper water and were ſaued by Captain Cookes meanes, who ſo ſoone as he ſaw their ouerſetting, ſtripped himſelfe, and foure other that could ſwimme very well, & with all haſte poſſible rowed vnto them, & ſaued foure. They were a 11 in all, & 7 of the chiefeſt were drowned, whoſe names were Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelley, Thomas Beuis, Hance the Surgion, Edward Kelborne, Robert Coleman. This miſchance did ſo much diſcomfort the ſaylers, that they were all of one mind not to goe any further to ſeeke the planters. But in the end by the commandement & perſwaſion of me and Captaine Cooke, they prepared the boates: and ſeeing the Captaine and me ſo reſolute, they ſeemed much more willing. Our boates and all things fitted againe, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of 19 perſons in both boates: but before we could get to the place, where our planters were left, it was ſo exceeding darke, that we ouerſhot the place a quarter of a mile: there we eſpied towards the North end of the Iland ẏ light of a great fire thorow the woods, to the which we preſently rowed: when wee came right ouer againſt it, we let fall our Grapnel neere the ſhore, & ſounded with a trumpet a Call, & afterwardes many familiar Engliſh tunes of Songs, and called to them friendly; but we had no anſwere, we therefore landed at day-breake, and cõming to the fire, we found the graſſe & ſundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went thorow the woods to that part of the Iland directly ouer againſt Daſamongwepeuk, & from thence we returned by the water ſide, round about the Northpoint of the Iland, vntill we came to the place where I left our Colony in the yeere 1586. In all this way we ſaw in the ſand the print of the Saluages feet of 2 or 3 ſorts troaden ẏ night, and as we entred vp the ſandy banke vpon a tree, in the very browe thereof were curiouſly carued theſe faire Romane letters C R O: which letters preſently we knew to ſignifie the place, where I ſhould find the planters ſeated, according to a ſecret token agreed vpon betweene them & me at my laſt departure frõ them, which was, that in any wayes they ſhould not faile to write or carue on the trees or poſts of the dores the name of the place where they ſhould be ſeated; for at my comming away they were prepared to remoue from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine. Therefore at my departure from them in An. 1587 I willed them, that if they ſhould happen to be diſtreſſed in any of thoſe places, that then they ſhould carue ouer the letters or name, a Croſſe ✠ in this forme, but we found no ſuch ſigne of diſtreſſe. And hauing well conſidered of this, we paſſed toward the place

Captaine Spicer drowned.

where they were left in ſundry houſes, but we found the houſes taken downe, and the place very ſtrongly encloſed with a high paliſado of great trees, with cortynes and flankers very Fort-like, and one of the chiefe trees or poſtes at the right ſide of the entrance had the barke taken off, and 5. foote from the ground in fayre Capitall letters was grauen CROATOAN without any croſſe or ſigne of diſtreſſe; this done, we entred into the paliſado, where we found many barres of Iron, two pigges of Lead, foure yron fowlers, Iron ſacker-ſhotte, and ſuch like heauie things, throwen here and there, almoſt ouergrowen with graſſe and weedes. From thence wee went along by the water ſide, towards the poynt of the Creeke to ſee if we could find any of their botes or Pinniſſe, but we could perceiue no ſigne of them, nor any of the laſt Falkons and ſmall Ordinance which were left with them, at my departure from them. At our returne from the Creeke, ſome of our Saylers meeting vs, tolde vs that they had found where diuers cheſts had bene hidden, and long ſithence digged vp againe and broken vp, and much of the goods in them ſpoyled and ſcattered about, but nothing left, of ſuch things as the Sauages knew any vſe of, vndefaced. Preſently Captaine Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the ende of an olde trench, made two yeeres paſt by Captaine Amadas: wheere wee found fiue Cheſts, that had bene carefully hidden of the Planters, and of the ſame cheſts three were my owne, and about the place many of my things ſpoyled and broken, and my bookes torne from the couers, the frames of ſome of my pictures and Mappes rotten and ſpoyled with rayne, and my armour almoſt eaten through with ruſt; this could bee no other but the deede of the Sauages our enemies at Daſamongwepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan; and aſſoone as they were departed, digged vp euery place where they ſuſpected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieued me to ſee ſuch ſpoyle of my goods, yet on the other ſide I greatly ioyed that I had ſafely found a certaine token of their ſafe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Sauages of the Iland our friends.

When we had ſeene in this place ſo much as we could, we returned to our Boates, and departed from the ſhoare towards our Shippes, with as much ſpeede as wee could: For the weather beganne to ouercaſt, and very likely that a foule and ſtormie night would enſue. Therefore the ſame Euening with much danger and labour, we got our ſelues aboard, by which time the winde and ſeas were ſo greatly riſen, that wee doubted our Cables and Anchors would ſcarcely holde vntill Morning; wherefore the Captaine cauſed the Boate to be manned with fiue luſty men, who could ſwimme all well, and ſent them to the little Iland on the right hand of the Harbour, to bring aboard ſixe of our men, who had filled our caſke with freſh water: the Boate the ſame night returned aboard with our men, but all our Caſke ready filled they left behinde, vnpoſſible to bee had aboard without danger of caſting away both men and Boates; for this night prooued very ſtormie and foule.

The next Morning it was agreed by the Captaine and my ſelfe, with the Maſter and others, to wey anchor, and goe for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were: for that then the winde was good for that place, and alſo to leaue that Caſke with freſh water on ſhoare in the Iland vntill our returne. So then they brought the cable to the Capſton, but when the anchor was almoſt apecke, the Cable broke, by meanes whereof we loſt another Anchor, wherewith we droue ſo faſt into the ſhoare, that wee were forced to let fall a third Anchor; which came ſo faſt home that the Shippe was almoſt aground by Kenricks mounts: ſo that wee were forced to let ſlippe the Cable ende for ende. And if it had not chanced that wee had fallen into a chanell of deeper water, cloſer by the ſhoare then wee accompted of, wee could neuer haue gone cleare of the poynt that lyeth to the Southwardes of Kenricks mounts. Being thus cleare of ſome dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without ſome loſſe; for wee had but one Cable and Anchor left vs of foure, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals ſcarſe, and our caſke and freſh water loſt: it was therefore determined that we ſhould goe for Saint Iohn or ſome other Iland to the Southward for freſh water. And it was further purpoſed, that if wee could any wayes ſupply our wants of victuals and other neceſſaries, either at Hiſpaniola, Sant Iohn, or Trynidad, that then wee ſhould continue in the Indies all the Winter following, with hope to make 2. rich voyages of one, and at our returne to viſit our countrymen at Virginia. The captaine and the whole company in the Admirall (with my earneſt petitions) thereunto agreed, ſo that it reſted onely to knowe what the Maſter of the Moone-light our conſort would doe herein. But when we demanded them if they would accompany vs in that new determination, they alledged that their weake and leake Shippe was not able to continue it; wherefore the ſame night we parted, leauing the Moone-light to goe directly for England, and the Admirall ſet his courſe for Trynidad, which courſe we kept two dayes.

They leaue the coaſt of Virginia.

On the 28. the winde changed, and it was ſette on foule weather euery way: but this ſtorme brought the winde Weſt and Northweſt, and blewe ſo forcibly, that wee were able to beare no ſayle, but our fore-courſe halfe maſt high, wherewith wee ranne vpon the winde perforce, the due courſe for England, for that wee were dryuen to change our firſt determination for Trynidad, and ſtoode for the Ilands of Açores, where wee purpoſed to take in freſh water, and alſo there hoped to meete with ſome Engliſh men of warre about thoſe Ilands, at whoſe hands wee might obtaine ſome ſupply of our wants. And thus continuing our courſe for the Açores, ſometimes with calmes, and ſometimes with very ſcarce windes, on the fifteenth of September the winde came South Southeaſt, and blew ſo exceedingly, that wee were forced to lye atry all that day. At this time by account we iudged our ſelues to be about twentie leagues to the Weſt of Cueruo and Flores, but about night the ſtorme ceaſed, and fayre weather enſued.

On Thurſday the ſeuenteenth wee ſaw Cueruo and Flores, but we could not come to anker that night, by reaſon the winde ſhifted. The next Morning being the eighteenth, ſtanding in againe with Cueruo, we eſcryed a ſayle ahead vs, to whom we gaue chaſe: but when wee came neere him, we knew him to be a Spanyard, and hoped to make ſure purchaſe of him; but we vnderſtood at our ſpeaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleete already taken by the Iohn our conſort, in the Indies. We learned alſo of thie prize, that our Viceadmirall and Pinniſſe had fought with the reſt of the Domingo fleete, and had forced them with their Admirall to flee vnto Iamaica vnder the Fort for ſuccour, and ſome of them ran themſelues aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and tooke out of ſome others ſo much as the time would permit. And further wee vnderſtood of them, that in their returne from Iamaica about the Organes neere Cape Saint Anthony, our Viceadmirall mette with two Shippes of the mayne land, come from Mexico, bound for Hauana, with whom he fought; in which fight our Viceadmirals Lieutenant was ſlaine, and the Captaines right arme ſtrooken off, with foure other of his men ſlaine, and ſixteene hurt. But in the ende he entred, and tooke one of the Spaniſh ſhippes, which was ſo ſore ſhot by vs vnder water, that before they could take out her treaſure, ſhe ſunke; ſo that we loſt thirteene Pipes of ſiluer which ſunke with her, beſides much other rich marchandize. And in the meane time the other Spaniſh ſhippe being pearced with nine ſhotte vnder water, got away; whom our Viceadmirall intended to purſue: but ſome of their men in the toppe made certaine rockes, which they ſaw aboue water neere the ſhoare, to be Gallies of Hauana and Cartagena, comming from Hauana to reſcue the two Ships; Wherefore they gaue ouer their chaſe, and went for England. After this intelligence was giuen vs by this our prize, he departed from vs, and went for England.

13. Pipes of ſiluer.

On Saturday the 19. of September we came to an Ancre neere a ſmall village on the North ſide of Flores, where we found ryding 5. Engliſh men of warre, of whom wee vnderſtood that our Viceadmirall and Prize were gone thence for England. One of theſe fiue was the Moonelight our conſort, who vpon the firſt ſight of our comming into Flores, ſet ſayle and went for England, not taking any leaue of vs.

On Sunday the 20. the Mary Roſe, Admirall of the Queenes fleete, wherein was Generall Sir Iohn Hawkins, ſtood in with Flores, and diuers other of the Queenes ſhips, namely the Hope, the Nonpareilia, the Rainebow, the Swift-ſure, the Foreſight, with many other good merchants ſhips of warre, as the Edward Bonauenture, the Marchant Royal, the Amitie, the Eagle, the Dainty of ſir Iohn Hawkins, and many other good ſhips and pinniſſes, all attending to meete with the king of Spaines fleete, comming from Terra firma of the Weſt Indies.

The 22. of September we went aboard the Raynebow, and towards night we ſpake with the Swift-ſure, and gaue him 3. pieces. The captaines deſired our company; wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with 10. other ſhips ſtood for Faial. But the Generall with the reſt of the Fleete were ſeparated from vs, making two fleetes, for the ſurer meeting with the Spaniſh fleete.

On Wedneſday the 23. we ſaw Gratioſa, where the Admiral and the reſt of the Queens fleete were come together. The Admirall put forth a flag of counſel, in which was determined that the whole fleete ſhould go for the mayne, and ſpred themſelues on the coaſts of Spaine and Portugal, ſo farre as conueniently they might, for the ſurer meeting of the Spaniſh fleete in thoſe parts.

The 26. we came to Faial, where the Admiral with ſome other of the fleete ankred, otherſome plyed vp and downe betweene that and the Pico vntill midnight, at which time the Antony ſhot off a piece and weyed, ſhewing his light: after whom the whole fleete ſtood to the Eaſt, the winde at Northeaſt by Eaſt.

On Sunday the 27. towards Euening wee tooke our leaue of the Admirall and the whole fleete, who ſtood to the Eaſt. But our ſhippe accompanied with a Flyboate ſtoode in againe with S.George, where we purpoſed to take in more freſh water, and ſome other freſh victuals.

On Wedneſday the 30. of September, ſeeing the winde hang ſo Northerly, that wee could not atteine the Iland of S.George, we gaue ouer our purpoſe to water there, and the next day framed our due courſe for England.

October.

The 2. of October in the Morning we ſaw S.Michaels Iland on our Starre board quarter.

The 23. at 10. of the clocke afore noone, we ſaw Vſhant in Britaigne.

On Saturday the 24. we came in ſafetie, God be thanked, to an anker at Plymmouth.

CERTAINE VOYAGES TO FLORIDA, AND the later and more perfect diſcoueries thereof, to wit, of all the Seacoaſts, Riuers, Bayes, Hauens, Iſles, and maine landes farre vp into the Countrey, and a report of ſome colonies and fortes there planted and diſplanted, with a deſcription of the gouernment, diſpoſition and qualitie of the naturall inhabitants, and a declaration of the temperature of the climate, and of the manifolde good commodities found in thoſe regions.

TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN King of *France*, Francis the firſt.

The relation of *Iohn de Verrazzano* a Florentine, of the land by him diſcouered in the name of his Maieſtie. Written in *Diepe* the eight of Iuly, 1524.

I Wrote not to your Maieſty, moſt Chriſtian king, ſince the time we ſuffered the tempeſt in the North partes, of the ſucceſſe of the foure Shippes, which your Maieſtie ſent forth to diſcouer new lands by the Ocean, thinking your Maieſtie had bene already duely enformed thereof. Now by theſe preſents I will giue your Maieſtie to vnderſtand, how by the violence of the windes we were forced with the two ſhips, the Norman and the Dolphin (in ſuch euill caſe as they were) to land in Britaine. Where after wee had repayred them in all poynts as was needefull, and armed them very well, we tooke our courſe along by the coaſt of Spaine, which your Maieſtie ſhall vnderſtand by the profite that we receiued thereby. Afterwards with the Dolphin alone we determined to make diſcouerie of new Countries, to proſecute the nauigation we had already begun, which I purpoſe at this preſent to recount vnto your Maieſtie, to make manifeſt the whole proceeding of the matter.

The 17. of January the yeere 1524. by the grace of God we departed from the diſhabited rocke by the iſle of Madêra, apperteining to the king of Portugal, with 50. men, with victuals, weapons, and other ſhip-munition very well prouided & furniſhed for 8. moneths: And ſayling Weſtwards with a faire Eaſterly winde, in 25. dayes we ran 500. leagues, and the 20. of Februarie we were ouertaken with as ſharpe and terrible a tempeſt as euer any ſaylers ſuffered: whereof with the diuine helpe and mercifull aſſiſtance of Almighty God, and the goodneſſe of our ſhippe, accompanied with the good happe of her fortunate name, we were deliuered, and with a proſperous winde followed our courſe Weſt and by North. And in other 25. dayes we made aboue 400. leagues more, where we diſcouered a new land, neuer before ſeene of any man either ancient or moderne, and at the firſt ſight it ſeemed ſomewhat low, but being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceiued by the great fires that we ſaw by the Sea coaſt, that it was inhabited: and ſaw that the lande ſtretched to the Southwards. In ſeeking ſome conuenient Harborough wherein to anchor and to haue knowledge of the place, we ſayled fiftie leagues in vaine, and ſeeing the land to runne ſtill to the Southwards, we reſolued to returne backe againe towards the North, where wee found our ſelues troubled with the like difficultie. At length being in deſpaire to finde any Port, wee caſt anchor vpon the coaſt, and ſent our Boate to ſhore, where we ſaw great ſtore of people which came to the Sea ſide; and ſeeing vs approch, they fled away, and ſometimes would ſtand ſtill and

The Iſle of Madêra.

They diſcouer land.

looke backe, beholding vs with great admiration: but afterwards being animated and aſſured with ſignes that we made them, ſome of them came hard to the Sea ſide, ſeeming to reioyce very much at the ſight of vs, and marueiling greatly at our apparel, ſhape and whiteneſſe, ſhewed vs by ſundry ſignes where we might moſt commodiouſly come aland with our Boat, offering vs alſo of their victuals to eate. Now I wil briefly declare to your Maieſtie their life and maners, as farre as we could haue notice thereof: Theſe people goe altogether naked, except only that they couer their priuie parts with certaine ſkins of beaſts like vnto Marterns, which they faſten vnto a narrow girdle made of graſſe very artificially wrought, hanged about with tayles of diuers other beaſtes, which round about their bodies hang dangling downe to their knees. Some of them weare garlands of byrdes feathers. The people are of colour ruſſet, and not much vnlike the Saracens: their hayre blacke, thicke and not very long, which they tye together in a knot behind and weare it like a litle taile. They are well featured in their limbes, of meane ſtature, and commonly ſomewhat bigger then we: broad breaſted, ſtrong armed, their legs and other parts of their bodies well faſhioned, and they are diſfigured in nothing, ſauing that they haue ſomewhat broade viſages, and yet not all of them: for we ſaw many of them wel fauoured, hauing blacke and great eyes, with a cheerefull and ſteady looke, not ſtrong of body, yet ſharpe witted, nymble and exceeding great runners, as farre as we could learne by experience, and in thoſe two laſt qualities they are like to the people of the Eaſt partes of the world, and eſpecially to them of the vttermoſt parts of China. We could not learne of this people their maner of liuing, nor their particular cuſtoms, by reaſon of the ſhort abode we made on the ſhore, our company being but ſmall, and our ship ryding farre off in the Sea. And not farre from theſe wee found another people, whoſe liuing wee thinke to be like vnto theirs; (as hereafter I wil declare vnto your Maieſtie) ſhewing at this preſent the ſituation and nature of the foreſayd land. The ſhoare is all couered with ſmall ſand, and ſo aſcendeth vpwards for the ſpace of 15. foote, riſing in forme of litle hils about 50. paces broad. And ſayling forwards, we found certaine ſmall Riuers and armes of the Sea, that fall downe by certaine creekes, waſhing the ſhoare on both ſides as the coaſt lyeth. And beyond this we ſaw the open Countrey riſing in height aboue the ſandie ſhoare with many faire fields and plaines, full of mightie great woods, ſome very thicke, and ſome thinne, repleniſhed with diuers ſorts of trees, as pleaſant and delectable to behold, as is poſſible to imagine. And your Maieſty may not thinke that theſe are like the woods of Hercynia or the wilde deſerts of Tartary, and the Northerne coaſts full of fruitleſſe trees: But they are full of Palme trees, Bay trees, and high Cypreſſe trees, and many other ſortes of trees vnknowen in Europe, which yeeld moſt ſweete ſauours farre from the ſhoare, the propertie whereof we could not learne for the cauſe aforeſaid, and not for any difficulty to paſſe through the woods, ſeeing they are not ſo thicke but that a man may paſſe through them. Neither doe we thinke that they partaking of the Eaſt world round about them, are altogether voyd of drugs or ſpicery, and other riches of golde, ſeeing the colour of the land doth ſo much argue it. And the land is full of many beaſtes, as Stags, Deere and Hares, and likewiſe of Lakes and Pooles of freſh water, with great plentie of Fowles, conuenient for all kinde of pleaſant game. This land is in latitude 34. degrees, with good and wholeſome ayre, temperate, betweene hot and colde, no vehement windes doe blowe in thoſe Regions, and thoſe that doe commonly reigne in thoſe coaſts, are the Northweſt and Weſt windes in the ſummer ſeaſon, (in the beginning whereof we were there) the ſkie cleere and faire with very litle raine: and if at any time the ayre be cloudie and miſtie with the Southerne winde, immediatly it is diſſolued and wareth cleere and fayre againe. The Sea is calme, not boyſterous, the waues gentle: and although all the ſhore be ſomewhat ſholde and without harborough, yet is it not dangerous to the ſaylers, being free from rocks and deepe, ſo that within 4. or 5. foote of the ſhore, there is 20. foote deepe of water without ebbe or flood, the depth ſtill increaſing in ſuch vniforme proportion. There is very good ryding at Sea: for any ſhip being ſhaken in a tempeſt, can neuer periſh there by breaking of her cables, which we haue proued by experience. For in the beginning of March (as it is vſuall in all regions) being in the Sea oppreſſed with Northerne windes, and ryding there, wee found our anchor broken before the earth fayled or mooued at all. We departed from this place, ſtil running along the coaſt, which we found to trend toward the Eaſt, & we ſaw euery where very great fires, by reaſon of the multitude of the inhabitants. While we rode on that coaſt, partly becauſe it had no harborough, and for that we wanted water, we ſent our boat aſhoare with 25. men: where by reaſon of great and continuall waues that beat againſt the ſhoare, being an open Coaſt, without ſuccour, none of our men could poſſibly goe aſhoare without looſing our boate. Wee ſaw there many people which came vnto the ſhoare, making diuers ſignes of friendſhip, and ſhewing that they were content we ſhould come aland, and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as your Maieſtie ſhal vnderſtand

34. Degrees.

The coaſt trendeth to the Eaſt in 34. degrees of latitude.

Courteous and gentle people.

verſtand by the ſucceſſe. To the intent we might ſend them of our things, which the Indians commonly deſire and eſteeme, as ſheetes of paper, glaſſes, bels, and ſuch like trifles; we ſent a young man one of our Mariners aſhoare, who ſwimming towards them, & being within 3. or 4. yards of the ſhore, not truſting them, caſt the things vpon the ſhoare: but ſeeking afterwards to returne, he was with ſuch violence of the waues beaten vpon the ſhore, that he was ſo bruiſed that he lay there almoſt dead: which the Indians perceiuing, ranne to catch him, and drawing him out, they caried him a litle way off from the ſea. The yong man perceiuing they caried him, being at the firſt diſmaied, began then greatly to feare, and cried out piteouſly: likewiſe did the Indians which did accompany him, going about to cheere him and to giue him courage, and then ſetting him on the ground at the foote of a litle hil againſt the ſunne, they began to behold him with great admiration, marueiling at the whiteneſſe of his fleſh: And putting off his clothes, they made him warme at a great fire, not without our great feare which remayned in the boate, that they would haue roſted him at that fire, and haue eaten him. The young man hauing recouered his ſtrength, and hauing ſtayed a while with them, ſhewed them by ſignes that he was deſirous to returne to the ſhip: and they with great loue clapping him faſt about with many imbracings, accompanying him vnto the ſea, and to put him in more aſſurance, leauing him alone, went vnto a high ground and ſtood there, beholding him vntill he was entred into the boate. This yong man obſerued, as we did alſo, that theſe are of colour inclining to Blacke as the other were, with their fleſh very ſhining, of meane ſtature, handſome viſage, and delicate limmes, and of very litle ſtrength, but of prompt wit: farther we obſerued not.

Departing from hence, following the ſhore which trended ſomewhat toward the North, in 50. leagues ſpace we came to another land which ſhewed much more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker: and that we might haue ſome knowledge thereof, wee ſent 20. men aland, which entred into the countrey about 2. leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for feare. They ſaw onely one olde woman with a young maide of 18. or 20. yeeres olde, which ſeeing our company, hid themſelues in the graſſe for feare: the olde woman caried two Infants on her ſhoulders, and behind her necke a child of 8. yeeres olde. The young woman was laden likewiſe with as many: but when our men came vnto them, the women cried out: the olde woman made ſignes that the men were fledde vnto the woods. Aſſoone as they ſaw vs to quiet them and to winne their fauour, our men gaue them ſuch victuals as they had with them, to eate, which the old woman receiued thankfully: but the yong woman diſdained them all, & threw them diſdainfully on the ground. They tooke a child from the olde woman to bring into France, and going about to take the yong woman which was very beautiful and of tall ſtature, they could not poſſibly, for the great outcries that ſhe made, bring her to the ſea: and eſpecially hauing great woods to paſſe thorow, and being farre from the ſhip, we purpoſed to leaue her behind, bearing away the child onely. We found thoſe folkes to be more white then thoſe that we found before, being clad with certaine leaues that hang on boughs of trees, which they ſewe together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were truſſed vp after the ſame maner as the former were: their ordinary foode is of pulſe, whereof they haue great ſtore, differing in colour and taſte from ours; of good and pleaſant taſte. Moreouer they liue by fiſhing and fowling, which they take with ginnes, and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fiſh, & other beaſts. The beaſts in theſe parts are much wilder then in our Europe, by reaſon they are continually chaſed and hunted. We ſaw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or ſtone, or any other kind of metall (becauſe that in all this countrey for the ſpace of 200. leagues which we ranne, we neuer ſaw one ſtone of any ſort:) they helpe themſelues with fire, burning ſo much of the tree as is ſufficient for the hollowneſſe of the boat; the like they doe in making the ſterne & the forepart, vntill it be fit to ſaile vpon the ſea. The land is in ſituation, goodnes and faireneſſe like the other: it hath woods like the other, thinne and full of diuers ſorts of trees: but not ſo ſweete, becauſe the country is more Northerly and colde.

They run 50. leagues farther.

Wilde hempe.

They ran along the coaſt 200. leagues. They make hollow their Canoas with fire.

We ſaw in this Countrey many Vines growing naturally, which growing vp, tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lombardie, which if by huſbandmen they were dreſſed in good order, without all doubt they would yeeld excellent wines: for hauing oftentimes ſeene the fruit thereof dryed, which was ſweete and pleaſant, and not differing from ours, wee thinke that they doe eſteeme the ſame, becauſe that in euery place where they growe, they take away the vnder branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.

Vines like thoſe of Lombardie.

We found alſo roſes, violets, lilies, and many ſorts of herbes, and ſweete and odoriferous flowers different from ours. We knewe not their dwellings, becauſe they were farre vp in the land, and we iudge by many ſignes that we ſaw, that they are of wood & of trees framed together.

We doe beleeue alſo by many coniectures and ſignes, that many of them ſleeping in the fields, haue no other couert then the open ſky. Further knowledge haue we not of them: we thinke that all the reſt whoſe countreys we paſſed, liue all after one maner. Hauing made our aboade three dayes in this country, and ryding on the coaſt for want of harboroughs, we concluded to depart from thence, trending along the ſhore betweene the North and the Eaſt, ſayling onely in the daytime, and riding at anker by night. In the ſpace of 100. leagues ſayling we found a very pleaſant place ſituated amongſt certaine litle ſteepe hils: from amidſt the which hils there ran downe into the ſea an exceeding great ſtreame of water, which within the mouth was very deepe, & from the ſea to the mouth of the ſame with yͤ tide which we found to riſe 8. foote, any great ſhip laden may paſſe vp.

100. Leagues ſayling.

A mighty riuer.

But becauſe we rode at anker in a place well fenced from the wind, we would not venture our ſelues without knowledge of the place: and we paſſed vp with our boat onely into the ſayd Riuer, and ſaw the countrey very well peopled. The people are almoſt like vnto the others, and are clad with the feathers of fowles of diuers colours: they came towards vs very cheerefully, making great ſhowts of admiration; ſhewing vs where we might come to land moſt ſafely with our boat. We entred vp the ſaid riuer into the land about halfe a league, where it made a moſt pleaſant lake about 3. leagues in compaſſe: on the which they rowed from the one ſide to the other to the number of 30. of their ſmall boats, wherein were many people which paſſed from one ſhore to the other to come and ſee vs. And behold vpon the ſudden (as it is woont to fall out in ſayling) a contrary flaw of wind comming from the ſea, we were inforced to returne to our ſhip, leauing this land to our great diſcontentment, for the great commodity and pleaſantneſſe thereof, which we ſuppoſe is not without ſome riches, all the hils ſhewing minerall matters in them. We weyed anker, and ſayled toward the Eaſt, for ſo the coaſt trended, and ſo alwayes for 50. leagues being in the ſight thereof, we diſcouered an Iland in forme of a triangle, diſtant from the maine land 10. leagues, about the bigneſſe of the Iland of the Rhodes: it was full of hils couered with trees, well peopled, for we ſaw fires all along the coaſt: wee gaue it the name of your Maieſties mother, not ſtaying there by reaſon of the weather being contrary.

People clad with feathers of diuers colours.

The pleaſantnes and riches of the land.

The coaſt trendeth to the Eaſt.

The deſcription of Claudia Iland, tenne leagues from the mayne. Claudia was mother of king Francis.

A paſſing good hauen.

And we came to another land being 15. leagues diſtant from the Iland, where we found a paſſing good hauen, wherein being entred, we found about 20. ſmall boats of the people, which with diuers cries and wondrings came about our ſhip, comming no neerer then 50. paces towards vs: they ſtayed and beheld the artificialneſſe of our ſhip, our ſhape & apparel: then they all made a loud ſhowt together, declaring that they reioyced. When we had ſomething animated them, vſing their geſtures, they came ſo neere vs, that we caſt them certaine bels and glaſſes, and many toyes, which when they had receiued, they looked on them with laughing, and came without feare aboard our ſhip. There were amongſt theſe people 2. kings of ſo goodly ſtature and ſhape as is poſſible to declare: the eldeſt was about 40. yeeres of age, the ſecond was a yong man of 20. yeeres olde. Their apparell was on this maner: the elder had vpon his naked body a Harts ſkin wrought artificially with diuers branches like damaſke: his head was bare with the hayre tyed vp behind with diuers knots: about his necke he had a large chaine, garniſhed with diuers ſtones of ſundry colours: the yong man was almoſt apparelled after yͤ ſame maner. This is the goodlieſt people, & of the faireſt conditions that we haue found in this our voyage. They exceed vs in bignes: they are of the colour of braſſe, ſome of them incline more to whiteneſſe: others are of yellow colour, of comely viſage, with long and blacke haire, which they are very careful to trim and decke vp: they are blacke and quicke eyed, and of ſweete and pleaſant countenance, imitating much the old faſhion. I write not to your Maieſtie of the other parts of their body, hauing al ſuch proportion as apperteineth to any handſome man. The women are of the like conformitie and beautie: very handſome and well fauoured, of pleaſant countenance, and comely to behold: they are as wel manered and continent as any women, and of good education: they are all naked ſaue their priuy partes, which they couer with a Deeres ſkin branched or embrodered as the men vſe: there are alſo of them which weare on their armes very rich ſkinnes of Luzernes: they adorne their heads with diuers ornaments made of their owne haire, which hang downe before on both ſides their breſtes: others vſe other kinde of dreſſing themſelues like vnto the women of Egypt and Syria, theſe are of the elder ſort: and when they are maried, they weare diuers toyes, according to the vſage of the people of the Eaſt, aſwell men as women.

Copper more eſteemed then golde.

Among whom we ſaw many plates of wrought copper, which they eſteeme more then golde, which for the colour they make no account of, for that among all other it is counted the baſeſt: they make moſt account of Azure and Red. The things that they eſteeme moſt of all thoſe which we gaue them, were bels, chriſtal of Azure colour, and other toyes to hang at their eares or about their necke. They did not deſire cloth of ſilke or of golde, much leſſe of any other ſort, neither cared they for things made of ſteele and yron, which wee often ſhewed them in our armour which they made no wonder at, and in beholding them they onely asked the arte of making them: the like they did at our glaſſes, which when they behelde, they ſuddenly laughed and gaue them vs againe. They are very liberall, for they giue that which they haue: wee became great friends with theſe, and one day we entred into the Hauen with our ſhip, whereas before we rode a league off at ſea by reaſon of the contrary weather. They came in great companies of their ſmall boats vnto the ſhip with their faces all bepainted with diuers colours, ſhewing vs that it was a ſigne of ioy, bringing vs of their victuals, they made ſignes vnto vs where we might ſafeſt ride in the Hauen for the ſafegard of our ſhip keeping ſtill our company: and after we were come to an anker, wee beſtowed 15 dayes in prouiding our ſelues many neceſſary things whither euery day the people repaired to ſee our ſhip bringing their wiues with them, whereof they were very ielous: and they themſelues entring aboord the ſhip & ſtaying there a good ſpace, cauſed their wiues to ſtay in their boats, and for all the intreatie we could make, offring to giue them diuers things, we could neuer obtaine that they would ſuffer them to come aboord our ſhip. And oftentimes one of the two kings comming with his queene, and many gentlemen for their pleaſure to ſee vs, they all ſtayed on the ſhore 200 paces from vs, ſending a ſmall boat to giue vs intelligence of their comming, ſaying they would come to ſee our ſhip: this they did in token of ſafety, and aſſoone as they had anſwere from vs, they came immediatly, and hauing ſtaied a while to behold it, they wondred at hearing the cries and noyſes of the mariners. The queene and her maids ſtayed in a very light boat, at an Iland a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long ſpace in our ſhip vttering diuers conceits with geſtures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ſhip, demanding the property of euery thing particularly. He tooke likewiſe great pleaſure in beholding our apparell, and in taſting our meats, & ſo courteouſly taking his leaue departed. And ſometimes our men ſtaying 2 or 3 daies on a litle Iland neere the ſhip for diuers neceſſaries (as it is the vſe of ſeamen) he returned with 7 or 8 of his gentlemen to ſee what we did, & asked of vs oftentimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offring vs of their prouiſion: then the king drawing his bow and running vp and down with his gentlemen, made much ſport to gratifie our men: we were oftentimes within the land 5 or 6 leagues, which we found as pleaſant as is poſſible to declare, very apt for any kind of huſbandry of corne, wine and oyle: for that there are plaines 25 or 30 leagues broad, open and without any impediment, of trees of ſuch fruitfulneſſe, that any ſeed being ſowen therein, wil bring forth moſt excellent fruit. We entred afterwards into the woods, which we found ſo great and thicke, that any army were it neuer ſo great might haue hid it ſelfe therein, the trees whereof are okes, cypreſſe trees, and other ſortes vnknowen in Europe. We found Pomi appii, damſon trees, and nut trees, and many other ſorts of fruit differing from ours: there are beaſts in great abundance, as harts, deere, luzerns, & other kinds which they take with their nets & bowes which are their chiefe weapons: the arrowes which they vſe are made with great cunning, and in ſtead of yron, they head them with flint, with iaſper ſtone & hard marble & other ſharp ſtones which they vſe in ſtead of yron to cut trees, & to make their boates of one whole piece of wood, making it hollow with great and wonderful art, wherein 10 or 12 men may ſit commodiouſly: their oares are ſhort and broad at the end, and they vſe them in the ſea without any danger, and by maine force of armes, with as great ſpeedines as they liſt themſelues. We ſaw their houſes made in circular or round forme 10 or 12 paces in compaſſe, made with halfe circles of timber, ſeparate one from another without any order of building, couered with mattes of ſtraw wrought cunningly together, which ſaue them from the wind and raine: and if they had the order of building and perfect ſkil of workmanſhip as we haue, there were no doubt but that they would alſo make eftſoones great & ſtately buildings. For all the ſea coaſts are ful of cleare and gliſtering ſtones, & alablaſter, and therefore it is full of good hauens and harboroughs for ſhips. They mooue the foreſaid houſes from one place to another according to the commodity of the place & ſeaſon wherin they wil make their abode, and only taking off the mattes, they haue other houſes builded incontinent. The father and the whole family dwell together in one houſe in great number: in ſome of them we ſaw 25 or 30 perſons. They feed as the other doe aforeſaid of pulſe which grow in that Countrey with better order of huſbandry then in the others. They obſerue in their ſowing the courſe of the Moone and the riſing of certaine ſtarres, and diuers other cuſtomes ſpoken of by antiquity. Moreouer they liue by hunting and fiſhing. They liue long, & are ſeldome ſicke, and if they chance to fall ſicke at any time, they heale themſelues with fire without any phiſitian, and they ſay that they die for very age. They are very pitifull and charitable towards their neighbours, they make great lamentations in their aduerſitie: and in their miſerie, the kinred reckon vp all their felicitie. At their departure out of life, they vſe mourning mixt with ſinging, which continueth for a long ſpace.

Moſt pleaſant and fruitful lands.

The faſhion of their houſes.

The coaſt full of good hauens.

Their curing with Tabacco and perfumes:

This

41. degrees & 2. terces.

The deſcription of a notable hauen in 41. deg and 2. terces.

This is aſmuch as we could learne of them. This land is ſituated in the Paralele of Rome, in 41. degrees and 2. terces: but ſomewhat more colde by accidentall cauſes and not of nature, (as I will declare vnto your highneſſe elſewhere) deſcribing at this preſent the ſituation of the foreſaid Countrey, which lieth Eaſt and Weſt. I ſay that the mouth of the Hauen lieth open to the South halfe a league broad, and being entred within it betweene the Eaſt and the North, it ſtretcheth twelue leagues: where it wareth broader and broader, and maketh a gulfe about 20. leagues in compaſſe, wherein are fiue ſmall Iſlands very fruitfull and pleaſant, full of hie and broade trees, among the which Iſlandes any great Nauie may ride ſafe without any feare of tempeſt or other danger. Afterwards turning towardes the South in the entring into the Hauen on both ſides there are moſt pleaſant hils, with many riuers of moſt cleare water falling into the Sea.

150 leagues. A ſhew of minerall.

The coaſt running Eaſtward 50. leagues.

Here the people begin to be more ſauage.

Beades of copper.

32. pleaſant Iſlands.

They ran almoſt to 50. degrees.

In the middeſt of this entrance there is a rocke of free ſtone growing by nature apt to build any Caſtle or Fortreſſe there, for the keeping of the hauen. The fift of May being furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, we departed from the ſaid coaſt keeping along in the ſight thereof, and wee ſailed 150. leagues finding it alwayes after one maner: but the land ſomewhat higher with certaine mountaines, all which beare a ſhew of minerall matter, wee ſought not to land there in any place, becauſe the weather ſerued our turne for ſailing: but wee ſuppoſe that it was like the former, the coaſt ranne Eaſtward for the ſpace of fiftie leagues. And trending afterwards to the North, we found another land high full of thicke woods, the trees whereof were firres, cipreſſes and ſuch like as are wont to grow in cold Countreys. The people differ much from the other, and looke how much the former ſeemed to be courteous and gentle: ſo much were theſe full of rudeneſſe and ill maners, and ſo barbarous that by no ſignes that euer we could make, we could haue any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themſelues with Beares ſkinnes and Luzernes and Seales and other beaſts ſkinnes. Their food, as farre as we coulde perceiue, repairing often vnto their dwellings, we ſuppoſe to be by hunting & fiſhing, and of certaine fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yeeldeth of her own accord. They haue no graine, neither ſaw we any kind or ſigne of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrenneſſe thereof, apt to beare fruit or ſeed. If at any time we deſired by exchange to haue any of their cōmodities, they vſed to come to the ſea ſhore vpon certaine craggy rocks, and we ſtanding in our boats, they let downe with a rope what it pleaſed them to giue vs, crying continually that we ſhould not approch to the land, demanding immediatly the exchange, taking nothing but kniues, fiſhookes, and tooles to cut withall, neyther did they make any account of our courteſie. And when we had nothing left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people ſhewed all ſignes of diſcourteſie and diſdaine, as were poſſible for any creature to inuent. We were in diſpight of them 2 or 3 leagues within the land, being in number 25 armed men of vs: And when we went on ſhore they ſhot at vs with their bowes making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. We found not in this land any thing notable, or of importance, ſauing very great woods and certaine hilles, they may haue ſome minerall matter in them, becauſe wee ſaw many of them haue beadſtones of Copper hanging at their eares. We departed from thence keeping our courſe Northeaſt along the coaſt, which we found more pleaſant champion and without woods, with high mountaines within the land continuing directly along the coaſt for the ſpace of fiftie leagues, we diſcouered 32 Iſlands lying al neere the land, being ſmall and pleaſant to the view, high and hauing many turnings and windings betweene them, making many faire harboroughs and chanels as they doe in the gulfe of Venice in Sclauonia, and Dalmatia, we had no knowledge or acquaintance with the people: we ſuppoſe they are of the ſame maners and nature as the others are. Sayling Northeaſt for the ſpace of 150. leagues we approched to the land that in times paſt was diſcouered by the Britons, which is in fiftie degrees. Hauing now ſpent all our prouiſion and victuals, and hauing diſcouered about 700 leagues and more of new Countreys, and being furniſhed with water and wood, we concluded to returne into France.

Touching the religion of this people, which wee haue found, for want of their language wee could not vnderſtand neither by ſignes nor geſture that they had any religion or lawe at all, or that they did acknowledge any firſt cauſe or mouer, neither that they worſhip the heauen or ſtars the Sunne or Moone or other planets, and much leſſe whither they be idolaters, neither could wee learne whither that they vſed any kind of ſacrifices or other adorations, neither in their villages haue they any Temples or houſes of prayer. We ſuppoſe that they haue no religion at all, and that they liue at their owne libertie. And that all this proceedeth of ignorance, for that they are very eaſie to be perſwaded: and all that they ſee vs Chriſtians doe in our diuine ſeruice, they did the ſame with the like imitation as they ſaw vs to doe it.

A notabl

A notable hiſtorie containing foure voyages made by certaine French Captaines into *Florida*: Wherein the great riches and fruitefulneſſe of the Countrey with the maners of the people hitherto concealed are brought to light, written all, ſauing the laſt, by *Monſieur Landonniere*, who remained there himſelfe as the French Kings Lieutenant a yeere and a quarter.

Tranſlated out of French into Engliſh by M.
RICHARD HAKLVYT.

To the right honourable Sir *VValter Ralegh* Knight, Captaine of her Maieſties Gard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and her Highneſſe Lieutenant generall of the County of *Cornewall*, R. H. wiſheth true felicitie.

SIR, after that this hiſtorie, which had bene concealed many yeeres, was lately committed to print and publiſhed in *France* vnder your Name by my learned friend M. *Martine Baſanier* of *Paris*, I was eaſily enduced to turne it into Engliſh, vnderſtanding that the ſame was no leſſe gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthie perſons there. And no maruaile though it were very welcome vnto you, and that you liked of the tranſlation thereof, ſince no hiſtory hitherto ſet forth hath more affinitie, reſemblance or conformitie with yours of *Virginia*, then this of *Florida*. But calling to minde that you had ſpent more yeeres in *France* then I, and vnderſtand the French better then my ſelfe, I forthwith perceiued that you approoued mine endeuour, not for any priuate eaſe or commoditie that thereby might redound vnto you, but that it argued a ſingular and eſpeciall care you had of thoſe which are to be employed in your owne like enterpriſe, whom, by the reading of this my tranſlation, you would haue forewarned and admoniſhed aſwell to beware of the groſſe negligence in prouiding of ſufficiency of victuals, the ſecuritie, diſorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconueniences that thereupon enſued, that by others miſhaps they might learne to preuent and auoyde the like, as alſo might be put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities and great fertilitie of the places herein at large deſcribed and ſo neere neighbours vnto our Colonies, that they might generally bee awaked and ſtirred vp vnto the diligent obſeruation of euery thing that might turne to the aduancement of the action, wherinto they are ſo cheerefully entred. Many ſpeciall poynts concerning the commodities of theſe partes, the accidents of the French *mens* gouernment therein, the cauſes of their good or bad ſucceſſe, with the occaſions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the ſurpriſe of the other by the enemie are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which becauſe they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I haue annexed to the ende of the worke, it ſhall be needleſſe to recken vp againe. And that the rather, becauſe the ſame with diuers other things of chiefeſt importance are liuely drawne in colours at your no ſmal charges by the ſkilfull painter *Iames Morgues*, ſometime liuing in the *Black-fryers* in *London* (whom *Monſieur Chaſtillion* then Admirall of *France* ſent thither with *Landonniere* for that purpoſe) which was an eye-witneſſe of the goodneſſe and fertility of thoſe regions, and hath put downe in writing many ſingularities which are not mentioned in this treatiſe: which ſince he hath publiſhed together with the purtraitures. Theſe foure voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your ſelfe, and that for diuers iuſt conſiderations. Firſt, for that as I haue ſayd before, they were dedicated vnto you in French: ſecondly becauſe now foure times alſo you haue attempted the like vpon the ſelfe ſame coaſt neere adioyning: thirdly in that you haue perſed as farre vp into the maine and diſcouered no leſſe ſecrets in the partes of your aboad, then the French did in the places of their inhabiting: laſtly conſidering you are now alſo ready (vpon the late returne of Captaine *Stafford* and good newes which he brought you of the ſafe arriual of your laſt Colony in their wiſhed hauen) to proſecute this action more throughly then euer. And here to ſpeake ſomewhat of this your enterpriſe, I affirme, that if the ſame may ſpeedily and effectually be purſued, it will prooue farre more beneficiall in diuers reſpects vnto this our realme, then the world, yea many of the wiſer ſort, haue hitherto imagined. The particular cōmodities whereof are wel knowen vnto your ſelfe and ſome few others, and are faithfully and with great iudgement cōmitted to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers,

Other mens misfortune ought to be our warning.

The chiefe things worthie obſeruation in Florida are drawen in colours by Iames Morgues painter ſometime liuing in the Black-fryers in London.

A collection of the commodities of Virginia.

which remained there about a tweluemonth with your worſhipful Lieutenant M. *Ralph Lane*, in the diligent ſearch of the ſecrets of thoſe Countreys. Touching the ſpeedy and effectuall purſuing of your action, though I wote well it would demaund a princes purſe to haue it throughly followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you ſhall drawe the ſame before it be long to be profitable and gainful aſwel to thoſe of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of *England* that ſhall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine ſecret commodities already diſcouered by your ſeruants, & partly by breeding of diuers ſorts of beaſts in thoſe large and ample regions, and planting of ſuch things in that warme climat as wil beſt proſper there, and our realme ſtandeth moſt in need of. And this I find to haue bin the courſe that both the Spaniards and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their diſcoueries & conqueſts. For the Spaniards at their firſt entrance into *Hiſpaniola* foũd neither ſuger-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattel: But finding the place fit for paſture they ſent kine & buls and ſundry ſorts of other profitable beaſts thither, & tranſported the plants of ſuger-canes, and ſet the rootes of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with ſuger and ginger, are now the chiefe merchandiſe of that Iſland. The Portugals alſo at their firſt footing in *Madera*, as *Iohn Barros* writes in his firſt Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the Iſland by that name. Howbeit the climate being fauourable, they inriched it by their own induſtry with the beſt wines and ſugers in the world. The like maner of proceeding they vſed in the Iſles of the *Açores* by ſowing therin great quantity of Woad. So dealt they in *S. Thomas* vnder the Equinoctial, and in *Braſil*, and ſundry other places. And if our men will follow their ſteps, by your wiſe direction I doubt not but in due time they ſhall reape no leſſe commoditie and benefit. Moreouer there is none other likelihood but that her Maieſty, which hath Chriſtned and giuen the name to your *Virginia*, if need require, will deale after the maner of honorable godmothers, which, ſeeing their goſſips not fully able to bring vp their children themſelues, are wont to contribute to their honeſt education, the rather if they find any towardlines or reaſonable hope of goodneſſe in them. And if *Elizabeth Queene* of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*, after her huſband *Ferdinando* and ſhe had emptied their cofers and exhauſted their treaſures in ſubduing the kingdome of *Granada* and rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of *Spayne*, was neuertheleſſe ſo zealous of Gods honour, that (as *Fernandus Columbus* the ſonne of *Chriſtopher Columbus* recordeth in *the hiſtory of the deedes of his father*) ſhe layd part of her owne iewels, which ſhe had in great account, to gage, to furniſh his father foorth vpon his firſt voyage, before any foot of land of all the *Weſt Indies* was diſcouered; what may we expect of our moſt magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of *England*, into whoſe lappe the Lord hath moſt plentifully throwne his treaſures, what may wee, I ſay, hope of her forwardneſſe and bounty in aduancing of this your moſt honourable enterpriſe, being farre more certaine then that of *Columbus*, at that time eſpecially, and tending no leſſe to the glorie of God then that action of the Spanyardes? For as you may read in the very laſt wordes of the relation of *Newe Mexico* extant nowe in Engliſh, the maine land, where your laſt Colonie meane to ſeate themſelues, is repleniſhed with many thouſands of Indians, *Which are of better wittes then thoſe of* Mexico *and* Peru, *as hath bene found by thoſe that haue had ſome triall of them: whereby it may bee gathered that they will eaſily embrace the Goſpell, forſaking their idolatrie, wherein at this preſent for the moſt part they are wrapped and intangled.* A wiſe Philoſopher noting the ſundry deſires of diuers men, writeth, that if an oxe bee put into a medowe hee will ſeeke to fill his bellie with graſſe, if a Storke bee caſt in ſhee will ſeeke for Snakes, if you turne in a Hound he will ſeeke to ſtart an Hare: So ſundry men entring into theſe diſcoueries propoſe vnto themſelues ſeuerall endes. Some ſeeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by ſeeing of the worlde, the moſt part worldly and tranſitorie gaine, and that often times by diſhoneſt and vnlawfull meanes, the feweſt number the glorie of God and the ſauing of the ſoules of the poore and blinded infidels. Yet becauſe diuers honeſt and well diſpoſed perſons are entred already into this your buſineſſe, and that I know you meane hereafter to ſende ſome ſuch good Churchmen thither, as may truely ſay with the Apoſtle to the Sauages, *Wee ſeeke not yours but you:* I conceiue great comfort of the ſucceſſe of this your action, hoping that the Lorde, whoſe power is wont to bee perfected in weakeneſſe, will bleſſe the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde ſayd vnto *Ioſue*, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conqueſt of the land of promiſe, and remember that priuate men haue happily wielded and waded through as great enterpriſes as this, with leſſer meanes then thoſe which God in his mercie hath bountifully beſtowed vpon you, to the ſinguler good, as I aſſure my ſelfe, of this

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Meanes to raiſe benefit in new diſcoueries vſed by the Spaniards & Portugals.

Kine, ſuger-canes and ginger tranſported into Hiſpaniola **and** Madera, &c.

Woad and vines planted in the Azores.

The great zeale of Elizabeth **Queene of Caſtile and** Aragon **in aduancing of new diſcoueries tending to Gods glory.**

The aptneſſe of the people in the maine of Virginia **to embrace Chriſtianitie.**

Seneca.

2. Cor. 12. 14.

Ioſue 1, 6.

our Common wealth wherein you liue. Hereof we haue examples domeſticall and forreine. Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conqueſt of *Ireland* newly dedicated vnto your ſelfe. Read you not that *Richard Strangbow* the decayed earle of *Chepſtow* in Monmouthſhire, being in no great fauour of his ſoueraigne, paſſed ouer into that Iſland in the yere 1171. and accompanied only with certain of his priuate friends had in ſhort ſpace ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe, that he opened the way for king *Henry* the ſecond to the ſpeedy ſubiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of *England*? The like conqueſt of *Braſilia*, and annexing the ſame to the kingdome of *Portugall* was firſt begun by meane and priuate men, as *Don Antonio de Caſtillio*, Ambaſſadour here for that realme, and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their diſcoueries, aſſured me in this city in the yere 1581. Now if the greatnes of the maine of *Virginia*, and the large extenſion therof, eſpecially to the Weſt, ſhould make you thinke that the ſubduing of it, were a matter of more difficulty then the conqueſt of *Ireland*, firſt I anſwere, that as the late experience of that ſkilfull pilote and Captaine *M.Iohn Dauis* to the Northweſt (toward which his diſcouery your ſelfe haue thriſe contributed with the forwardeſt) hath ſhewed a great part to be maine ſea, where before was thought to be maine land, ſo for my part I am fully perſwaded by *Ortelius* late reformation of *Culuacan* and the gulfe of *California*, that the land on the backe part of *Virginia* extendeth nothing ſo farre weſtward as is put downe in the Maps of thoſe parts. Moreouer it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and vnarmed people in *Virginia*, then one thouſand were able then to do in *Ireland* againſt that armed and warlike nation in thoſe daies. I ſay further, that theſe two yeres laſt experience hath plainly ſhewed, that we may ſpare 10000. able men without any miſſe. And theſe are as many as the kingdome of *Portugal* had euer in all their garriſons of the *Açores*, *Madera*, *Arguin*, *Cape verde*, *Guinea*, *Braſill*, *Mozambique*, *Melinde*, *Zocotora*, *Ormus*, *Diu*, *Goa*, *Malaca*, the *Malucos*, and *Macao* vpon the coaſt of *China*. Yea this I ſay by the cōfeſſion of ſinguler expert men of their own nation (whoſe names I ſuppreſſe for certain cauſes) which haue bene perſonally in the *Eaſt Indies*, & haue aſſured me that their kings had neuer aboue ten thouſand natural borne *Portugals* (their ſlaues excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforeſaid territories. Which alſo this preſent yeere I ſaw confirmed in a ſecrete extract of the particular eſtate of that kingdome and of euery gouernement and office ſubiect to the ſame, with the ſeueral penſions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are ſo farre from want of people, that retyring daily home out of the Lowe Countreys they go idle vp and down in ſwarms for lack of honeſt intertainment, I ſee no fitter place to employ ſome part of the better ſort of them trained vp thus long in ſeruice, then in the inward partes of the firme of *Virginia* againſt ſuch ſtubborne Sauages as ſhal refuſe obedience to her Maieſtie. And doubtleſſe many of our men will bee glad and faine to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this preſent treatie they ſhal vnderſtand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining ſo neere vpon yours, the great commodities and goodneſſe whereof you haue bin contented to ſuffer to come to light. In the meane ſeaſon I humbly commend my ſelfe and this my tranſlation vnto you, and your ſelfe, and all thoſe which vnder you haue taken this enterpriſe in hand to the grace and good bleſſing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finiſh the good worke which in theſe our dayes he hath begun by your moſt Chriſtian and charitable endeuour. From *London* the 1. of May 1587.

The good ſucceſſe in Ireland of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepſtow.

The happy late diſcouerie to the Northweſt of Captaine Dauis.

The kings of Portugal had neuer aboue ten thouſand of their naturall ſubiects in all their new conquered dominions.

Your L. humble at commandement. R. HAKLVYT.

The Preface of M. *Rene Laudonniere.*

THere are two things, which according to mine opinion haue bene the principall cauſes, in conſideration whereof aſwell they of ancient times, as thoſe of our age haue bene induced to trauell into farre and remote regions. The firſt hath beene the naturall deſire which wee haue to ſearch out the commodities to liue happily, plentifully, and at eaſe: be it whither one abandon his naturall Countrey altogether to dwell in a better, or bee it that men make voyages thither, there to ſearch out and bring from thence ſuch things as are there to be found, and are in greateſt eſtimation and in moſt requeſt in our Countreys. The ſecond cauſe hath bene the multitude of people too fruitefull in generation, which being no longer able to dwell in their natiue ſoyles, haue entred vpon their neighbours limites, and oftentimes paſſing further haue pearced euen vnto the vttermoſt regions. After this ſort the North climate, a fruitfull father of ſo many nations hath oftentimes ſent foorth this way and that way his valiant people, and by this meane hath peopled infinite Countreys: ſo that moſt of the nations of *Europe* drawe their originall from theſe parts. Contrariwiſe the more Southerne regions, becauſe they bee too barren by reaſon of their inſupportable heate which raigneth in them, neede not any ſuch ſending forth of their inhabitants, and haue bene oftentimes conſtrained to receiue other people more often by force of armes then willingly. All *Africke*, *Spaine*, and *Italie* can alſo teſtifie the ſame, which neuer ſo abounded with people that they had neede to ſend them abroad to inhabite elſe where: as on the contrary *Scythia*, *Norway*, *Gotland*, and *France* haue done. The poſterity of which nations remaineth yet not only in *Italy*, *Spaine* & *Africke*, but alſo in fruitful and faire *Aſia*. Neuertheleſſe I find that the Romans proceeding further, or rather adding vnto theſe two chiefe cauſes aforeſaid, (as being moſt curious to plant not onely their enſignes and victories, but alſo their lawes, cuſtomes, & religion in thoſe prouinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their ſoueraigne Senate ſent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) euen to the vnfurniſhing of their own Countrey of the forces which ſhould haue preſerued the ſame in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then aduanced them to the poſſeſſion of the vniuerſal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aſpire. For it came to paſſe that their Colonies here and there being miſerably ſacked by ſtrange people did vtterly ruine and ouerthrow their Empire. The brinks of the riuer of *Rhene* are yet red, thoſe of *Danubius* are no leſſe bloody, and our *France* became fat with their blood which they loſt. Theſe are the effects and rewards of al ſuch as being pricked forward with this Romane and tyrannical ambition will goe about thus to ſubdue ſtrange people: effects, I ſay, contrary to the profit which thoſe ſhall receiue, which onely are affectioned to the common benefite, that is to ſay, to the generall policie of all men, and endeuour to vnite them one with another aſwell by trafficke and ciuill conuerſations, as alſo by military vertues, and force of armes, when as the Sauages will not yeeld vnto their endeuours ſo much tending vnto their profit.

Planting of Colonies.

When force of armes is to be vſed.

For this cauſe princes haue ſent forth out of their Dominions certaine men of good actiuity, to plant themſelues in ſtrange Countreys, there to make their profite to bring the Countrey to ciuilitie, and if it might be, to reduce the inhabitants to the true knowledge of our God: an end ſo much more commendable, as it is farre from all tyrannicall and cruell gouernement: and ſo they haue alwayes thriued in their enterpriſes, and by little and little gained the heartes of them which they haue conquered or wonne vnto them by any meanes. Hereof wee may gather that ſometimes it is good, yea very expedient to ſend forth men to diſcouer the pleaſure and commoditie of ſtrange Countreys: But ſo, that the Countrey out of which theſe companies are to paſſe remaine not weakned, nor depriued of her forces: And againe in ſuch ſort that the company ſent forth be of ſo iuſt & ſufficient number, that it may not be defeited by ſtrangers, which euery foote endeuour nothing elſe but to ſurpriſe the ſame vpon the ſudden. As within theſe few daies paſt the French haue proued to my great griefe, being able by no means poſſible to withſtand the ſame, conſidering that the elements, men, and all the fauours which might be hoped for of a faithfull and Chriſtian alliance fought againſt vs: which thing I purpoſe to diſcouer in this preſent hiſtorie with ſo euident trueth, that the kings Maieſty my ſoueraigne prince ſhall in part be ſatisfied of the diligence which I haue vſed in his ſeruice, and mine aduerſaries ſhall find themſelues ſo diſcouered in their falſe reports, that they ſhall haue no place of refuge. But before I begin, I will briefely ſet downe the ſituation and deſcription of the land whereunto we haue ſailed and where we haue inhabited from the yeere 1561. vnto ſixty fiue, to the ende that thoſe things may the more eaſily be borne away, which I meane to deſcribe in this diſcourſe.

Two conditions required in conqueſts of Countreys newly diſcouered.

Nota.

The deſcription of the *VVeſt Indies* in generall, but chiefly and particularly of *Florida*.

America vnknowen to all antiquity.

That part of the earth which at this day we call the fourth part of the world, or America, or rather the Weſt India, was vnknowen vnto our anceſtours by reaſon of the great diſtance thereof. In like maner all the Weſterne Iſlands and fortunate Iſles were not diſcouered but by thoſe of our age. Howbeit there haue bin ſome which haue ſaid that they were diſcouerd in the time of Auguſtus Cæſar, and that Virgil hath made mention thereof in the firſt booke of his Æneidos, when he ſaith, There is a land beyond the ſtarres, and the courſe of the yeere and of the Sunne,

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where Atlas the Porter of heauen ſuſtaineth the pole vpon his ſhoulders: neuertheleſſe it is eaſie to iudge that hee meaneth not to ſpeake of this land, whereof no man is found to haue written before his time, neither yet aboue a thouſand yeeres after. Chriſtopher Colon did firſt light vpon this land in the yeere 1592. And fiue yeeres after Americus went thither by the commandement of the king of Caſtile, and gaue vnto it his owne name, whereupon afterward it was called America. This man was very well ſeene in the Arte of Nauigation and in Aſtronomie: whereby hee diſcouered in his time many lands vnknowen vnto the ancient Geographers. This Countrey is named by ſome, the land of Breſill, and the lande of Parrots. It ſtretcheth it ſelfe, according vnto Poſtell, from the one Pole to the other, ſauing at the ſtreight of Magelan, whereunto it reacheth 53. degrees beyond the Equator. I will diuide it for the better vnderſtanding into three principall parts. That which is toward the Pole Arcticke or the North is called new France, becauſe that in the yeere 1524. Iohn Verrazzano a Florentine was ſent by King Francis the firſt, and by Madam the Regent his mother vnto theſe newe Regions, where he went on land, and diſcouered all the coaſt which is from the Tropicke of Cancer, to wit, from the eight and twentieth vnto the fiftieth degree, and farther vnto the North. Hee planted in this Countrey the Enſignes and Armes of the king of France: ſo that the Spaniardes themſelues which were there afterwarde, haue named this Countrey Terra Franceſca. The ſame then extendeth it ſelfe in Latitude from the 25. degree vnto the 54. toward the North: and in Longitude from 210. vnto 330. The Eaſterne part thereof is called by the late writers The land of Norumbega, which beginneth at the Bay of Gama, which ſeparateth it from the Iſle of Canada, whither Iaques Carthier ſayled the yeere 1535. About the which there are many Ilands, among which is that which is named Terra de Labrador ſtretching towarde Groenland. In the Weſterne part there are many knowen Countreys, as the Regions of Quiuira, Ciuola, Aſtatlan, and Terlichichimici. The Southerne part is called Florida, becauſe it was diſcouered on Palme-ſunday, which the Spaniardes call Paſcha Florida. The Northerne part is altogether vnknowen.

Chriſtopher Colon or Columbe.

Americus Veſpucius of whõ America tooke the name.

The firſt generall part of America.

Cabota in the yeere 1597 had diſcouered all this tract for the crowne of England.

The ſecond part of all America is called newe Spaine. It extendeth from the Tropicke of Cancer in twentie three degrees and a halfe, vnto the ninth degree. In the ſame is ſituated the Citie of Themiſtitan, and it hath many Regions, and many Ilandes adioyned vnto it, which are called the Antilles, whereof the moſt famous and renowmed are Hiſpaniola and Iſabella, with an infinite number of others. All this land, together with the Bay of Mexico, and all the Ilands aforeſayd, haue not in Longitude paſt ſeuentie degrees, to wit, from the two hundreth and fortie, vnto three hundreth and ten: it is alſo long and narrowe as Italie. The third part of America is called Peru, it is very great, and extendeth it ſelfe in Latitude from the tenth degree vnto the three and fiftieth beyond the Equator, to wit, as I haue ſayde before, vnto the ſtreight of Magelan. It is made in faſhion like to an egge, and is very well knowen vpon all ſides. The part where it is largeſt hath threeſcore degrees, and from thence it waxeth narrower and narrower toward both the endes. In one part of this lande Villegagnon planted right vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne, and he called it France Antarctick, becauſe it draweth toward the pole Antarctick, as our France doeth toward the Arctick.

The ſecond generall part of America.

The third generall part of America.

Villegaignon.

New France is almoſt as great as all our Europe. Howbeit the moſt knowen and inhabited part thereof is Florida, whither many Frenchmen haue made diuers voyages at ſundry times, inſomuch that nowe it is the beſt knowen Countrey which is in all this part of newe France. The Cape thereof is as it were a long head of lande ſtretching out into the Sea an hundred leagues, and runneth directly towarde the South: it hath right ouer againſt it fiue and twentie leagues diſtant the Iſle of Cuba otherwiſe called Iſabella, toward the Eaſt the Iſles of Bahama and Lucaya, and toward the Weſt the Bay of Mexico. The Countrey is flat, and diuided with diuers riuers, and therefore moyſt, and is ſandie towards the Sea ſhore. There groweth in thoſe partes great quantitie of Pinetrees, which haue no kernels in the apples which they beare. Their woods are full of Oakes, Walnuttrees, blacke Cherrietrees, Mulberry trees, Lentiſkes, and Cheſtnut trees, which are more wilde then thoſe in France. There is great ſtore of Cedars, Cypreſſes, Bayes, Palme trees, Hollies, and wilde Vines, which climbe vp along the trees and beare good Grapes. There is there a kinde of Medlers, the fruite whereof is better then that of France, and bigger. There are alſo Plumtrees, which beare very faire fruite, but ſuch as is not very good. There are Raſpaſſes, and a little berrie which we call among vs Blues, which are very good to eate. There growe in that Countrey a kinde of Rootes which they call in their language Haſez, whereof in neceſſitie they make bread. There is alſo there the tree called Eſquine, which is very good againſt the Pockes and other contagious diſeaſes. The Beaſtes beſt knowen in this Countrey are Stagges, Hindes, Goates, Deere, Leopards,

Florida with an ample deſcription thereof.

The trees of Florida.

Theſe are perhaps thoſe which the Sauages call Tunas.

The beaſts of Florida.

Ounces,

The foules of Florida.

Crocodiles.

Gold and ſiluer.

The mountaines of Apalatcy.

Store of dyes and colours.

The diſpoſition and maners of the Floridians.

The wearing of their haire.

Their exerciſe and paſtime.

Running for games.

Shooting.

Playing at the Ball.

Hunting.

Fiſhing.

Their forme of warre.

Their triumphes after the victorie.

They worſhip the Sunne and Moone.

Their Prieſts are both magicians and Phyſitions.

Their marriages.

The painefulneſſe of the women.

Many Hermaphrodites which haue the nature of both ſexes.

Their foode and prouiſion for warre.

Their dreſſing their fleſh and fiſh ouer the ſmoke.

Their order in marching to the warre.

Their conſultations.

Ounces, Luſerns, diuers ſortes of Wolues, wilde Dogs, Hares, Cunnies, and a certaine kinde of beaſt that differeth little from the Lyon of Africa. The foules are Turkeycocks, Partridges, Parrots, Pigions, Ringdoues, Turtles, Blackbirdes, Crowes, Tarcels, Faulcons, Laynerds, Herons, Cranes, Storkes, wilde Geeſe, Malards, Cormorants, Hernſhawes, white, red, blacke and gray, and an infinite ſort of all wilde foule. There is ſuch abundance of Crocodiles, that oftentimes in ſwimming men are aſſayled by them: of Serpents there are many ſorts. There is found among the Sauages good quantitie of Gold and Siluer, which is gotten out of the ſhippes that are loſt vpon the coaſt, as I haue vnderſtood by the Sauages themſelues. They vſe traffique thereof one with another. And that which maketh me the rather beleeue it, is, that on the coaſt towarde the Cape, where commonly the ſhippes are caſt away, there is more ſtore of Siluer then toward the North. Neuertheleſſe they ſay, that in the Mountaines of Appalatcy there are Mines of Copper, which I thinke to be Golde. There is alſo in this Countrey great ſtore of graynes and herbes, whereof might be made excellent good dyes and paintings of all kind of colours. And in trueth the Indians which take pleaſure in painting of their ſkins, know very well how to vſe the ſame. The men are of an Oliue colour, of great ſtature, faire, without any deformitie, and well proportioned. They couer their priuities with the ſkinne of a Stagge well dreſſed. The moſt part of them haue their bodies, armes, and thighes painted with very faire deuiſes: the painting whereof can neuer bee taken away, becauſe the ſame is pricked into their fleſh. Their haire is very blacke, and reacheth euen downe to their hips, howbeit they truſſe it vp after a faſhion that becommeth them very well. They are great diſſemblers and traitours, valiant of their perſons & fight very well. They haue none other weapons but their bowes and arrowes. They make the ſtring of their bow of a gut of a Stag, or of a Stags ſkin, which they know how to dreſſe as well as any man in France, and with as different ſorts of colours. They head their arrowes with the teeth of fiſhes and ſtone, which they worke very finely and handſomly. They exerciſe their young men to runne well, and they make a game among themſelues, which he winneth that hath the longeſt breath. They alſo exerciſe themſelues much in ſhooting. They play at the ball in this maner: they ſet vp a tree in the middeſt of a place which is eight or nine fathom high, in the top whereof there is ſet a ſquare mat made of reedes or Bulruſhes, which whoſoeuer hitteth in playing thereat, winneth the game. They take great pleaſure in hunting and fiſhing. The Kings of the Countrey make great warre one againſt the other, which is not executed but by ſurpriſe, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut of their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houſes. They ſaue the women and children, and nouriſh them and keepe them alwayes with them. Being returned home from the warre, they aſſemble all their ſubiects, and for ioy three dayes and three nights they make good cheare, they daunce & ſing, likewiſe they make the moſt ancient women of the Countrey to dance, holding the haires of their enemies in their hands: and in dauncing they ſing praiſes to the Sunne, aſcribing vnto him the honour of the victory. They haue no knowledge of God, nor of any religion, ſauing of that which they ſee, as the Sunne and the Moone. They haue their Prieſts to whom they giue great credit, becauſe they are great magicians great ſoothſayers, and callers vpon diuels. Theſe Prieſts ſerue them in ſtead of Phyſitions and Chirurgions. They carry alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the ſicke diſeaſed which for the moſt part are ſick of the pocks, for they loue women & maidens exceedingly, which they call the daughters of the Sunne: and ſome of them are Sodomites. They marry, and euery one hath his wife, and it is lawfull for the King to haue two or three: yet none but the firſt is honoured and acknowledged for Queene: and none but the children of the firſt wife inherite the goods and authoritie of the father. The women doe all the buſineſſe at home. They keepe not houſe with them after they know they be with child. And they eate not of that which they touch as long as they haue their flowers. There are in all this Countrey many Hermaphrodites, which take all the greateſt paine, and beare the victuals when they goe to warre. They paint their faces much, and ſticke their haire full of feathers or downe, that they may ſeeme more terrible. The victuals which they carry with them, are of bread, of hony, and of meale made of Maiz parched in the fire, which they keepe without being marred a long while. They carry alſo ſometimes fiſh, which they cauſe to be dreſſed in the ſmoke. In neceſſitie they eat a thouſand riffraffes, euen to the ſwallowing downe of coales, and putting ſand into the pottage that they make with this meale. When they goe to warre, their King marcheth firſt, with a clubbe in the one hand, and his bowe in the other, with his quiuer full of arrowes. All his men follow him, which haue likewiſe their bowes and arrowes. While they fight, they make great cries and exclamations. They take no enterpriſe in hand, but firſt they aſſemble oftentimes their Councell together, and they take very good aduiſement before they growe to a reſolution. They meete together euery morning in a great common houſe, whither their King repaireth, and ſetteth him downe vpon a ſeate which is higher then the ſeates of the other: where all of them one after another come and ſalute him: and the moſt ancient begin their ſalutations, lifting vp both their handes twiſe as high as their face, ſaying, Ha, he, ya, and the reſt anſwer ha, ha. Aſſoone as they haue done their ſalutation, euery man ſitteth him downe vpon the ſeates which are round about in the houſe. If there be any thing to intreate of, the King calleth the Iawas, that is to ſay, their Prieſtes, and the moſt ancient men, and asketh them their aduiſe. Afterward he commaundeth Caſſine to be brewed, which is a drinke made of the leaues of a certaine tree: They drinke this Caſſine very hotte: he drinketh firſt, then he cauſeth to be giuen thereof to all of them one after another in the ſame boule, which holdeth well a quart meaſure of Paris. They make ſo great account of this drinke, that no man may taſte thereof in this aſſembly, vnleſſe hee hath made proofe of his valure in the warre. Moreouer this drinke hath ſuch a vertue, that aſſoone as they haue drunke it, they become all in a ſweate, which ſweate being paſt, it taketh away hunger and thirſt for foure and twenty houres after. When a King dyeth, they burie him very ſolemnly, and vpon his graue they ſet the cuppe wherein he was woont to drinke: and round about the ſayde graue they ſticke many arrowes, and weepe and faſt three dayes together without ceaſſing. All the kings which were his friends make the like mourning: and in token of the loue which they bare him, they cut of more then the one halfe of their haire, as well men as women. During the ſpace of ſixe Moones (ſo they reckon their moneths) there are certaine women appoynted which bewaile the death of this King, crying with a loude voyce thriſe a day, to wit, in the Morning, at Noone, and at Euening. All the goods of this King are put into his houſe, and afterward they ſet it on fire, ſo that nothing is euer more after to be ſeene. The like is done with the goods of the Prieſtes, and beſides they burie the bodies of the Prieſts in their houſes, and then they ſet them on fire. They ſowe their Maiz twiſe a yere, to wit, in March and in Iune, and all in one and the ſame ſoyle. The ſayd Maiz from the time that it is ſowed vntill the time that it be ready to be gathered, is but three moneths on the ground. The other 6. moneths they let the earth reſt. They haue alſo faire Pumpions, & very good Beanes. They neuer dung their land, onely when they would ſowe, they ſet the weedes on fire, which grewe vp the 6. moneths, and burne them all. They dig their ground with an inſtrument of wood which is faſhioned like a broad mattocke, wherewith they digge their Vines in France, they put two graines of Maiz together. When the land is to be ſowed, the King commaundeth one of his men to aſſemble his ſubiects euery day to labour, during which labour the King cauſeth ſtore of that drinke to be made for them, wherof we haue ſpoken. At the time when the Maiz is gathered, it is all carried into a common houſe, where it is diſtributed to euery man according to his qualitie. They ſowe no more but that which they thinke will ſerue their turnes for ſixe moneths, & that very ſcarcely. For during the Winter they retire themſelues for three or foure moneths in the yeere into the woods, where they make little cotages of Palme boughes for their retraite, and liue there of Maſte, of Fiſh which they take, of Oiſters, of Stagges, of Turkeycockes, and other beaſtes which they take. They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dreſſed in the ſmoake, which in their language they call Boucaned. They eate willingly the fleſh of the Crocodile: and in deede it is faire and white: and were it not that it ſauoureth too much like Muske we would oftentimes haue eaten thereof. They haue a cuſtome among them, that when they finde themſelues ſicke, where they feele the paine, whereas we cauſe our ſelues to be let blood, their Phyſitions ſucke them vntill they make the blood follow.

Their ſaluting of their kings.

The drinking of Caſſine before they goe to battell.

The honor exhibited vnto men of valure aboue other.

The excellencie of Caſſine.

Their maner of the buriall of Kings.

Their cutting of more then halfe their haire.

The buriall of their Prieſts.

Sowing twiſe in 6. moneths.

Faire pumpions.

Goodly beanes.

Inſtruments wherewith they till their their ground.

The bringing of all the crop into a commō houſe.

Their prouiſion of corne for 6. moneths onely.

Their maner of liuing in the Winter.

The dreſſing of their meate in the ſmoake.

Their maner of curing diſeaſes.

The women are likewiſe of good proportion and tall, and of the ſame colour that the men be of, painted as the men be: Howbeit when they are borne, they be not ſo much of an Oliue colour, and are farre whiter. For the chiefe cauſe that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annointings of oyle which they vſe among them: and they doe it for a certaine ceremonie which I could not learne, and becauſe of the Sunne which ſhineth hote vpon their bodies. The agilitie of the women is ſo great, that they can ſwimme ouer the great Riuers bearing their children vpon one of their armes. They climbe vp alſo very nimbly vpon the higheſt trees in the Countrey.

Their womens diſpoſitions and maners.

Oile in Florida.

Women great ſwimmers.

Beholde in briefe the deſcription of the Countrey, with the nature and cuſtomes of the Inhabitants: which I was very willing to write, before I entred any further into the diſcourſe of my hiſtorie, to the end that the Readers might be the better prepared to vnderſtand that, which I meane hereafter to entreate of.

MY Lord Admirall of Chaſtillon, a noble man more deſirous of the publique then of his priuate benefite, vnderſtanding the pleaſure of the King his prince, which was to diſcouer new and ſtrange Countreys, cauſed veſſels fit for this purpoſe to be made ready with all diligence, and men to bee leuied meete for ſuch an enterpriſe: Among whom hee choſe Captaine Iohn Ribault, a man in trueth expert in ſea cauſes: which hauing receiued his charge, ſet himſelfe to Sea the yeere 1562, the eighteenth of Februarie, accompanied onely with two of the kings ſhippes, but ſo well furniſhed with Gentlemen, (of whoſe number I my ſelfe was one) and with olde Souldiers, that he had meanes to atchieue ſome notable thing and worthy of eternall memorie. Hauing therefore ſayled two moneths, neuer holding the vſuall courſe of the Spaniards, hee arriued in Florida, landing neere a Cape or Promontorie, which is no high lande, becauſe the coaſt is all flatte, but onely riſing by reaſon of the high woods, which at his arriuall he called Cape François in honour of our France. This Cape is diſtant from the Equator about thirtie degrees. Coaſting from this place towards the North, he diſcouered a very faire and great Riuer, which gaue him occaſion to caſt anker that hee might ſearch the ſame the next day very early in the morning: which being done by the breake of day, accompanied with Captaine Fiquinuille and diuers other ſouldiers of his ſhippe, he was no ſooner arriued on the brinke of the ſhoare, but ſtraight hee perceiued many Indians men and women, which came of purpoſe to that place to receiue the Frenchmen with all gentleneſſe and amitie, as they well declared by the Oration which their king made, and the preſents of Chamois ſkinnes wherewith he honoured our Captaine, which the day following cauſed a pillar of hard ſtone to be planted within the ſayde Riuer, and not farre from the mouth of the ſame vpon a little ſandie knappe, in which pillar the Armes of France were carued and engraued. This being done hee embarked himſelfe againe, to the ende alwayes to diſcouer the coaſt toward the North which was his chiefe deſire. After he had ſayled a certaine time he croſſed ouer to the other ſide of the riuer, and then in the preſence of certaine Indians, which of purpoſe did attend him, hee commaunded his men to make their prayers, to giue thankes to GOD, for that of his grace hee had conducted the French nation vnto theſe ſtrange places without any danger at all. The prayers being ended, the Indians which were very attentiue to hearken vnto them, thinking in my iudgement, that wee worſhipped the Sunne, becauſe wee alwayes had our eyes lifted vp toward heauen, roſe all vp and came to ſalute the Captaine Iohn Ribault, promiſing to ſhew him their King, which roſe not vp as they did, but remained ſtill ſitting vpon greene leaues of Bayes and Palmetrees: toward whom the Captaine went and ſate downe by him, and heard him make a long diſcourſe, but with no great pleaſure, becauſe hee could not vnderſtand his language, and much leſſe his meaning. The King gaue our Captaine at his departure a plume or fanne of Hernſhawes feathers died in red, and a baſket made of Palme-boughes after the Indian faſhion, and wrought very artificially, and a great ſkinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of diuers wilde beaſts ſo liuely drawen and portrayed, that nothing lacked but life. The Captaine to ſhew himſelfe not vnthankfull, gaue him pretie tinne bracelets, a cutting hooke, a looking glaſſe, and certaine kniues: whereupon the King ſhewed himſelfe to be very glad and fully contented. Hauing ſpent the moſt part of the day with theſe Indians, the Captaine embarked himſelfe to paſſe ouer to the other ſide of the Riuer, whereat the king ſeemed to bee very ſorie. Neuertheleſſe being not able to ſtay vs, hee commaunded that with all diligence they ſhould take fiſh for vs: which they did with all ſpeede. For being entred into their Weares or incloſures made of reedes and framed in the faſhion of a Labirynth or Maſe, they loaded vs with Troutes, great Mullets, Plaiſe, Turbuts, and maruellous ſtore of other ſortes of fiſhes altogether different from ours.

The firſt voyage of Iohn Ribault to Florida 1562.

The courſe of the Spaniards not altogether neceſſary.

Cape François in 30.degrees.

A pillar ſet vp

Prayer and thankes to God.

Preſents giuen to Ribault.

Their fiſhweares like thoſe of Virginia.

This done, we entred into our Boates and went toward the other ſhore. But before we came to the ſhore, we were ſaluted with a number of other Indians, which entring into the water to their armepits, brought vs many litle baſkets full of Maiz, and goodly Mulberries both red and white: Others offered themſelues to beare vs on ſhoare, where being landed we perceiued their King ſitting vpon a place dreſſed with boughes, and vnder a little Arbour of Cedars and Bay trees ſomewhat diſtant from the waters ſide. He was accompanied with two of his ſonnes which were exceeding faire and ſtrong, and with a troope of Indians who had all their bowes and arrowes in maruellous good order. His two ſonnes receiued our Captaine very graciouſly: but the king their father, repreſenting I wot not what kinde of grauitie, did nothing but ſhake his head a little: then the Captaine went forward to ſalute him, and without any other mouing of himſelfe he retained ſo conſtant a kind of grauitie, that hee made it ſeeme vnto vs that by good and lawfull right hee bare the title of a King. Our Captaine knowing not what to iudge of this mans behauiour, thought he was ielous becauſe wee went firſt vnto the other king, or elſe that he was not well pleaſed with

They paſſe ouer the riuer.

Goodly Mulberries white and red.

the Pillar or Columne which he had planted. While thus he knew not what hereof to thinke, our Captaine ſhewed him by ſignes, that he was come from a farre Countrey to ſeeke him, to let him vnderſtand the amitie which he was deſirous to haue with him: for the better confirmation whereof, hee drewe out of a budget certaine trifles, as certaine bracelets couered as it were with ſiluer and guilt, which hee preſented him withall, and gaue his ſonnes certaine other trifles. Whereupon the King beganne very louingly to intreate both our Captaine and vs. And after theſe gentle intertainments, wee went our ſelues into the woods, hoping there to diſcouer ſome ſingularities: where were great ſtore of Mulberrie trees white and red, on the toppes whereof there was an infinite number of ſilkewormes. Following our way wee diſcouered a faire and great medowe, diuided notwithſtanding with diuers Mariſhes, which conſtrained vs by reaſon of the water, which enuironed it about, to returne backe againe towarde the Riuers ſide. Finding not the King there, which by this time was gone home to his houſe, wee entred into our Boates and ſayled towarde our ſhippes: where after we arriued, we called this Riuer The Riuer of May, becauſe we diſcouered it the firſt day of the ſayde moneth.

Great ſtore of ſilkewormes.

The riuer of May.

Soone after we returned to our ſhippes, wee weighed our ankers and hoyſed our ſailes to diſcouer the coaſt farther forward, along the which wee diſcouered another faire Riuer, which the Captaine himſelfe was minded to ſearch out, and hauing ſearched it out with the king and inhabitants thereof, hee named it Seine, becauſe it is very like vnto the Riuer of Seine in France. From this Riuer wee retired toward our ſhippes, where being arriued, we trimmed our ſailes to ſaile further toward the North, and to deſcry the ſingularities of the coaſt. But wee had not ſayled any great way before wee diſcouered another very faire Riuer, which cauſed vs to caſt anker ouer againſt it, and to trimme out two Boates to goe to ſearch it out. Wee found there an Ile and a king no leſſe affable then the reſt, afterwarde we named this Riuer Somme. From thence wee ſayled about ſixe leagues, after wee diſcouered another Riuer, which after wee had viewed was named by vs by the name of Loyre. And conſequently we there diſcouered fiue others: whereof the firſt was named Cherente, the ſecond Garonne, the third Gironde, the fourth Belle, the fift Grande: which being very well diſcouered with ſuch things as were in them, by this time in leſſe then the ſpace of threeſcore leagues wee had found out many ſingularities along nine Riuers. Neuertheleſſe not fully ſatiſfied wee ſayled yet further towarde the North, following the courſe that might bring vs to the Riuer of Iordan one of the faireſt Riuers of the North, and holding our wonted courſe, great fogges and tempeſts came vpon vs, which conſtrained vs to leaue the coaſt to beare toward the maine Sea, which was the cauſe that we loſt the ſight of our Pinneſſes a whole day and a night vntill the next day in the morning, what time the weather waxing faire and the Sea calme, wee diſcouered a Riuer which wee called Belle a veoir. After wee had ſayled three or foure leagues, wee began to eſpie our Pinneſſes which came ſtraight toward vs, and at their arriuall they reported to the Captaine, that while the foule weather and fogges endured, they harboured themſelues in a mightie Riuer which in bigneſſe and beautie exceeded the former: wherewithall the Captaine was exceeding ioyfull, for his chiefe deſire was to finde out an Hauen to harbour his ſhippes, and there to refreſh our ſelues for a while. Thus making thitherward wee arriued athwart the ſayde Riuer, (which becauſe of the faireneſſe and largeneſſe thereof wee named Port Royall) wee ſtrooke our ſailes and caſt anker at ten fathom of water: for the depth is ſuch, namely when the Sea beginneth to flowe, that the greateſt ſhippes of France, yea, the Arguzes of Venice may enter in there. Hauing caſt anker, the Captaine with his Souldiers went on ſhoare, and hee himſelfe went firſt on land: where we found the place as pleaſaunt as was poſſible, for it was all couered ouer with mightie high Okes and infinite ſtore of Cedars, and with Lentiſkes growing vnderneath them, ſmelling ſo ſweetly, that the very fragrant odor only made the place to ſeeme exceeding pleaſant. As we paſſed thorow theſe woods we ſaw nothing but Turkeycocks flying in the Forreſts, Partridges gray and red, little different from ours, but chiefly in bigneſſe. Wee heard alſo within the woods the voyces of Stagges, of Beares, of Luſernes, of Leopards, & diuers other ſortes of Beaſtes vnknowen vnto vs. Being delighted with this place, we ſet our ſelues to fiſhing with nets, & we caught ſuch a number of fiſh, that it was wonderfull. And amongſt other wee tooke a certaine kind of fiſh which we call Sallicoques, which were no leſſe then Creuiſes, ſo that two draughes of the net were ſufficient to feede all the companie of our two ſhips for a whole day. The Riuer at the mouth thereof from Cape to Cape is no leſſe then 3. French leagues broad: it is diuided into two great armes, whereof the one runneth toward the Weſt, the other towards the North: And I beleeue in my iudgement that the arme which ſtretcheth towarde the North runneth vp into the Countrey as farre as the Riuer Iordan, the other arme runneth into the Sea, as it was knowen and vnderſtoode by thoſe of our

The riuer of Seine.

The Riuer of Somme.

The Riuer of Loyre.

The Riuers of Cherente, Garonne, Gironde, Belle, Grande.

The riuer Belle a veoir.

The Riuer of Port Royall in 32. degrees of latitude.

Turkeycocks. Partridges gray and red.

Fiſh in abundance.

The Riuer 3. leagues at the mouth.

A paſſage by a riuer into the Sea.

Store of rare ſimples.

Ribault ſayleth 12. leagues vp the Riuer.

Cape Lucerne.

Chamois. Pearles.

Store of pearles and ſiluer.

A Pillar of free ſtone wherein the Armes of France were grauen, ſet vp in an Iland in the riuer of Port Royal.

The Riuer of Liborne.

The Ile of Cedars.

company, which were left behind to dwell in this place. Theſe two armes are two great leagues broad: and in the middeſt of them there is an Ile, which is poynted towardes the opening of the great Riuer, in which Iland there are infinite numbers of all ſortes of ſtrange beaſts. There are Simples growing there of ſo rare properties, and in ſo great quantitie, that it is an excellent thing to behold them. On euery ſide there is nothing to be ſeene but Palmetrees, and other ſorts of trees bearing bloſſoms and fruite of very rare ſhape and very good ſmell. But ſeeing the euening approch, and that the Captaine determined to returne vnto the ſhippes, wee prayed him to ſuffer vs to paſſe the night in this place. In our abſence the Pilots and chiefe Mariners aduertiſed the Captaine that it was needefull to bring the ſhippes further vp within the Riuer, to auoyde the dangers of the windes which might annoy vs, by reaſon of our being ſo neere to the mouth of the Riuer: and for this cauſe the Captaine ſent for vs. Being come to our ſhippes, wee ſayled three leagues further vp within the Riuer, and there we caſt anker. A little while after, Iohn Ribault accompanied with a good number of ſouldiers imbarked himſelfe, deſirous to ſayle further vp into the arme that runneth toward the Weſt, and to ſearch the commodities of the place. Hauing ſayled twelue leagues at the leaſt, we perceiued a troope of Indians, which aſſoone as euer they eſpied the Pinneſſes, were ſo afrayd that they fled into the woods leauing behind them a yong Lucerne which they were a turning vpon a ſpit: for which cauſe the place was called Cape Lucerne: proceeding forth on our way, we found another arme of the Riuer, which ranne toward the Eaſt, vp which the Captaine determined to ſayle and to leaue the great current. A little while after they began to eſpie diuers other Indians both men and women halfe hidden within the woods: who knowing not that wee were ſuch as deſired their friendſhip, were diſmayed at the firſt, but ſoone after were emboldened, for the Captaine cauſed ſtore of marchandiſe to bee ſhewed them openly whereby they knew that we meant nothing but well vnto them: and then they made a ſigne that we ſhould come on lande, which wee would not refuſe. At our comming on ſhoare diuers of them came to ſalute our Generall according to their barbarous faſhion. Some of them gaue him ſkins of Chamois, others little baſkets made of Palme leaues, ſome preſented him with Pearles, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbour to defend vs in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne. But wee would not ſtay as then. Wherefore the Captaine thanked them much for their good will, and gaue preſents to each of them: wherewith hee pleaſed them ſo well before hee went thence, that his ſuddaine departure was nothing pleaſant vnto them. For knowing him to bee ſo liberall, they would haue wiſhed him to haue ſtayed a little longer, ſeeking by all meanes to giue him occaſion to ſtay, ſhewing him by ſignes that he ſhould ſtay but that day onely, and that they deſired to aduertiſe a great Indian Lorde which had Pearles in great abundance, and Siluer alſo, all which things ſhould bee giuen vnto him at the Kings arriuall: ſaying further that in the meane time while that this great Lord came thither, they would lead him to their houſes, and ſhewe him there a thouſand pleaſures in ſhooting, and ſeeing the Stagge killed, therefore they prayed him not to denie them their requeſt. Notwithſtanding wee returned to our ſhippes, where after wee had bene but one night, the Captaine in the morning commanded to put into the Pinneſſe a pillar of hard ſtone faſhioned like a columne, wherein the Armes of the king of France were grauen, to plant the ſame in the faireſt place that he could finde. This done, wee imbarked our ſelues, and ſayled three leagues towards the Weſt: where we diſcouered a little riuer, vp which we ſayled ſo long, that in the ende we found it returned into the great current, and in his returne to make a litle Iland ſeparated from the firme land, where wee went on ſhore: and by commandement of the Captaine, becauſe it was exceeding faire and pleaſant, there wee planted the Pillar vpon a hillock open round about to the view, and inuironed with a lake halfe a fathom deepe of very good and ſweete water. In which Iland wee ſawe two Stagges of exceeding bigneſſe, in reſpect of thoſe which we had ſeene before, which we might eaſily haue killed with our harguebuzes, if the Captaine had not forbidden vs, mooued with the ſingular faireneſſe and bigneſſe of them. But before our departure we named the little riuer which enuironed this Ile, The Riuer of Liborne. Afterward we imbarked our ſelues to ſearch another Ile not farre diſtant from the former: wherein after wee had gone a land, wee found nothing but tall Cedars, the faireſt that were ſeene in this Countrey. For this cauſe wee called it The Ile of Cedars: ſo wee returned into our Pinneſſe to go towards our ſhippes.

A few dayes afterward Iohn Ribault determined to returne once againe toward the Indians which inhabited that arme of the Riuer which runneth toward the Weſt, and to carrie with him good ſtore of ſouldiers. For his meaning was to take two Indians of this place to bring them into France, as the Queene had commaunded him. With this deliberation againe wee tooke our former courſe ſo farre forth, that at the laſt wee came to the ſelfe ſame place where at the firſt we found the Indians,from thence we tooke two Indians by the permiſſion of the king,which thinking that they were more fauoured thē the reſt,thought themſelues very happy to ſtay with vs. But theſe two Indians ſeeing we made no ſhew at all that we would goe on land, but rather that wee followed the middeſt of the current, began to be ſomewhat offended, and would by force haue lept into the water,for they are ſo good ſwimmers that immediatly they would haue gotten into the forreſts.

Two Indians taken away.

Neuertheleſſe being acquainted with their humour, wee watched them narrowly and ſought by all meanes to appeaſe them: which we could not by any meanes do for that time,though we offered them things which they much eſteemed, which things they diſdained to take,and gaue backe againe whatſoeuer was giuen them,thinking that ſuch giftes ſhould haue altogether bound them,and that in reſtoring them they ſhould be reſtored vnto their libertie. In fine, perceiuing that all that they did auayled them nothing, they prayed vs to giue them thoſe things which they had reſtored, which we did incontinent: then they approched one toward the other and began to ſing, agreeing ſo ſweetely together, that in hearing their ſong it ſeemed that they lamented the abſence of their friendes.

The dolefull ſongs of the Indians.

They continued their ſongs all night without ceaſing: all which time we were conſtrained to ly at anker by reaſon of the tyde that was againſt vs, but we hoyſed ſayle the next day very early in the morning,and returned to our ſhips. Aſſoone as we were come to our ſhips, euery one ſought to gratifie theſe 2 Indians, & to ſhew them the beſt countenance that was poſſible: to the intent that by ſuch courteſies they might perceiue the good deſire and affection which we had to remaine their friends in time to come. Then we offered them meate to eate,but they refuſed it,and made vs vnderſtand that they were accuſtomed to waſh their face and to ſtay vntill the Sunne were ſet before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France.

The Indians eat not before the ſun be ſet.

Neuertheleſſe in the end they were conſtrained to forget their ſuperſtitions,and to apply themſelues to our nature,which was ſomewhat ſtrange vnto them at the firſt. They became therfore more iocunde, euery houre made vs a 1000 diſcourſes, being merueilous ſory that we could not vnderſtand them. A few daies after they began to beare ſo good wil towards mee,that, as I thinke, they would rather haue periſhed with hunger & thirſt,then haue taken their refection at any mans hand but mine. Seeing this their good wil,I ſought to learne ſome Indian words,& began to aſke them queſtions,ſhewing thē the thing wherof I deſired to know the name,how they called it. They were very glad to tell it me,and knowing the deſire that I had to learne their language, they encouraged me afterward to aſke them euery thing. So that putting downe in writing the words and phraſes of the Indian ſpeech, I was able to vnderſtand the greateſt part of their diſcourſes.

Laudonniere putting down in writing the words and phraſes of the Indians ſpeech.

Euery day they did nothing but ſpeak vnto me of the deſire that they had to vſe me wel, if we returned vnto their houſes,and cauſe me to receiue all the pleaſures that they could deuiſe, aſwell in hunting as in ſeeing their very ſtrange and ſuperſtitious ceremonies at a certaine feaſt which they call Toya. Which feaſt they obſerue as ſtraightly as we obſerue the Sunday.

The feaſt of Toya.

They gaue me to vnderſtand, that they would bring me to ſee the greateſt Lord of this countrey which they called Chiquola, which exceedeth them in height (as they tolde me) a good foote and a halfe. They ſaid vnto me that he dwelt within the land in a very large place and incloſed exceeding high, but I could not learne wherewith. And as farre as I can iudge,this place whereof they ſpake vnto me,was a very faire citie. For they ſaid vnto me that within the incloſure there was great ſtore of houſes which were built very high,wherein there was an infinite number of men like vnto themſelues,which made none account of gold, of ſiluer, nor of pearles,ſeeing they had thereof in abundance.

This ſeemeth to be La grand Copal.

I began then to ſhew thē al the parts of heauē,to the intent to learne in which quarter they dwelt. And ſtraightway one of them ſtretching out his hand ſhewed me ẏ they dwelt toward the North,which makes me thinke that it was the riuer of Iordan. And now I remember,that in the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift,certaine Spaniards inhabitants of S.Domingo (which made a voyage to get certaine ſlaues to work in their mines) ſtole away by ſubtilty the inhabitants of this riuer,to the number of 40,thinking to cary thē into their new Spaine. But they loſt their labour: for in deſpite they died al for hunger, ſauing one that was brought to the Emperor,which a litle while after he cauſed to be baptiſed,and gaue him his own name & called him Charles of Chiquola, becauſe he ſpake ſo much of this Lorde of Chiquola whoſe ſubiect hee was. Alſo, he reported continually,that Chiquola made his a bode within a very great incloſed citie. Beſides this proof,thoſe which were left in the firſt voyage haue certified me,that the Indians ſhewed thē by euident ſignes,that farther within the land toward the North, there was a great incloſure or city, where Chiquola dwelt. After they had ſtaied a while in our ſhips,they began to be ſory,and ſtil demanded of me whē they ſhould returne. I made them vnderſtand that the Captaines will was to ſend them home againe, but that firſt he would beſtow apparell of them, which fewe dayes after was deliuered vnto them. But ſeeing he would not giue them licence to depart, they reſolued with

them-

The 2 Indians eſcape away.

The benefite of planting.

themſelues to ſteale away by night, and to get a litle boat which we had, and by the helpe of the tyde to ſaile home toward their dwellings, and by this meanes to ſaue themſelues. Which thing they failed not to doe, and put their enterprize in execution, yet leauing behinde them the apparel which the Captaine had giuen them, and carrying away nothing but that which was their owne, ſhewing well hereby that they were not voyd of reaſon. The Captaine cared not greatly for their departure, conſidering they had not bene uſed otherwiſe then well: and that therefore they would not eſtrange themſelues from the Frenchmen. Captaine Ribault therefore knowing the ſingular faireneſs of this riuer, deſired by all meanes to encourage ſome of his men to dwell there, well foreſeeing that this thing might be of great importance for the Kings ſeruice, and the releife of the Common wealth of France. Therfore proceeding on with his intent, he commanded the ankers to bee weighed and to ſet things in order to returne vnto the opening of the riuer, to the ende that if the winde came faire he might paſſe out to accompliſh the reſt of his meaning. When therefore we were come to the mouth of the riuer, he made them caſt anker, whereupon we ſtayed without diſcouering any thing all the reſt of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ſhip ſhould come vp vpon the decke, ſaying that he had ſomewhat to ſay vnto them. They all came vp, and immediatly the Captaine began to ſpeake vnto them in this maner.

The Oration of Iohn Ribault to his company.

Ælius Pertinax deſcending from baſe parentage became Emperour of Rome.

Agathocles a potters ſonne became king of Sicilie.

I thinke there is none of you that is ignorant of how great conſequence this our enterprize is, and alſo how acceptable it is vnto our yong King. Therefore my friendes (as one deſiring your honour and benefite) I would not faile to aduertiſe you all of the exceeding good happe which ſhould fall to them, which, as men of valure and worthy courage, would make tryall in this our firſt diſcouerie of the benefites and commodities of this new land: which ſhould be, as I aſſure my ſelfe, the greateſt occaſion that euer could happen vnto them, to ariſe vnto the title and degree of honour. And for this cauſe I was deſirous to propoſe vnto you and ſet downe before your eyes the eternall memorie which of right they deſerue, which forgetting both their parents and their countrey haue had the courage to enterprize a thing of ſuch importance, which euen kings themſelues vnderſtanding to be men aſpiring to ſo high degree of magnanimitie and increaſe of their maieſties, doe not diſdaine ſo wel to regard, that afterwards imploying them in maters of weight & of high enterprize, they make their names immortall for euer. Howbeit, I would not haue you perſwade your ſelues, as many doe, that you ſhall neuer haue ſuch good fortune, as not being knowen neither to the king nor the Princes of the Realme, and beſides deſcending of ſo poore a ſtocke, that few or none of your parents, hauing euer made profeſſion of armes, haue bene knowen vnto the great eſtates. For albeit that from my tender yeeres I my ſelfe haue applyed all my induſtry to follow them, and haue hazarded my life in ſo many dangers for the ſeruice of my prince, yet could I neuer attaine therunto (not that I did not deſerue this title and degree of gouernment) as I haue ſeene it happen to many others, onely becauſe they deſcende of a noble race, ſince more regard is had of their birth then of their vertue. For wel I know that if vertue were regarded, ther would more be found worthy to deſerue the title, & by good right to be named noble and valiant. I will therefore make ſufficient anſwere to ſuch propoſitions and ſuch things as you may obiect againſt me, laying before you the infinite examples which we haue of the Romans; which concerning the point of honour were the firſt that triumphed ouer the world. For how many finde we among them, which for their ſo valiant enterprizes, not for the greatneſſe of their parentage, haue obtained the honour to tryumph? If we haue recourſe vnto their anceſters, wee ſhall finde that their parents were of ſo meane condition, that by labouring with their hands they liued very baſely. As the father of *Ælius Pertinax*, which was a poore artiſan, his Grandfather likewiſe was a bond man, as the hiſtoriographers do witnes: and neuertheleſſe, being moued with a valiant courage, he was nothing diſmayed for all this, but rather deſirous to aſpire vnto high things, he began with a braue ſtomacke to learne feates of armes, and profited ſo wel therein, that from ſtep to ſtep he became at length to be Emperour of the Romans. For all this dignitie he deſpiſed not his parents: but contrariwiſe, & in remembrance of them, he cauſed his fathers ſhop to be couered with a fine wrought marble, to ſerue for an example to mē deſcended of baſe & poore linages, to giue them occaſion to aſpire vnto high things notwithſtanding the meanneſſe of their anceſters. I wil not paſſe ouer in ſilence the excellencie & proweſſe of the valiant & renowned *Agathocles* the ſonne of a ſimple potter, and yet forgetting the contemptible eſtate of his father, he ſo applied himſelfe to vertue in his tender yeeres, that by the fauour of armes he came to be king of *Sicilie*: and for all this title he refuſed not to be counted the ſonne of a Potter. But the more to eternize the memorie of his parentes and to make his name renowned, he commanded that he ſhould be ſerued at the Table in veſſels of gold and ſiluer and others of earth: declaring thereby that the dignitie wherein hee was placed came not vnto him by his parents, but by his owne vertue onely. If I ſhal ſpeake of our time, I will lay before you onely *Ruſten Baſſha*, which may be a ſufficient example to all men: which though he were the ſonne of a poore heard-man, did ſo apply his youth in all vertue, that being brought vp in the ſeruice of the great Turke, he ſeemed to aſpire to great and high matters, in ſuch ſort that growing in yeres he increaſed alſo in courage, ſo far forth, that in fine for his excellent vertues he married the daughter of the great Turke his Prince. Howe much then ought ſo many worthy examples to moue you to plant here? Conſidering alſo that hereby you ſhalbe regiſtred for euer as the firſt that inhabited this ſtrang countrey. I pray you therfore all to aduiſe your ſelues thereof, and to declare your mindes freely vnto mee, proteſting that I will ſo well imprint your names in the kings eares, and the other princes, that your renowme ſhall hereafter ſhine vnquenchable through our Realme of *France*. He had ſcarcely ended his Oration, but the greateſt part of our ſouldiers replyed: that a greater pleaſure could neuer betide them, perceiuing well the acceptable ſeruice which by this meanes they ſhoulde doe vnto their Prince: beſides that this thing ſhould be for the increaſe of their honours: therfore they beſought the Captaine, before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a Fort, which they hoped afterward to finiſh, and to leaue them munition neceſſarie for their defence, ſhewing as it ſeemed that they were diſpleaſed, that it was ſo long in doing. Whereupon Iohn Ribault being as glad as might be to ſee his men ſo well willing, determined the next day to ſearch the moſt fit and conuenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himſelfe very early in the morning and commanded them to followe him that were deſirous to inhabite there, to the intent that they might like the beter of the place. Hauing ſayled vp the great riuer on the North ſide, in coaſting an Iſle which ended with a ſharpe point toward the mouth of the riuer, hauing ſailed a while he diſcouered a ſmall riuer, which entred into the Iſlande, which hee would not faile to ſearch out. Which done, & finding the ſame deep inough to harbour therein Gallies and Galliots in good number, proceeding further, he found a very open place, ioyning vpon the brinke thereof, where he went on land, and ſeeing the place fit to build a Fortreſſe in, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he reſolued incontinent to cauſe the bignes of the fortification to be meaſured out. And conſidering that there ſtayed but ſixe and twentie there, he cauſed the Fort to be made in length but ſixteene fathome, and thirteene in breadth, with flankes according to the proportion thereof. The meaſure being taken by me and Captaine Salles, we ſent vnto the ſhippes for men, and to bring ſhouels, pickaxes and other inſtruments neceſſarie to make the fortification. We trauailed ſo diligently, that in a ſhort ſpace the Fort was made in ſome ſort defenciable. In which meane time Iohn Ribault cauſed victuals and warrelike munition to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furniſhed them with all ſuch things as they had neede of, he determined to take his leaue of them. But before his departure he vſed this ſpeech vnto Captaine Albert, which he left in this place.

Ruſten Baſſha of an heardmans ſonne through his vertue became the great Turkes ſonne in law.

The ſouldiers anſwere to Ribaults Oration.

The length and bredth of the Fort taken by Laudonnier and Captaine Salles.

A Fort built in Port Roial by Ribault.

Captaine *Albert*, I haue to requeſt you in the preſence of al theſe men, that you would quit your ſelfe ſo wiſely in your charge, and gouerne ſo modeſtly your ſmall companie which I leaue you, which with ſo good cheere remaineth vnder your obedience, that I neuer haue occaſion but to commend you, and to recount vnto the king (as I am deſirous) the faithfull ſeruice which before vs all you vndertake to doe him in his new *France*: And you companions, (quoth he to the Souldiers) I beſeech you alſo to eſteeme of Captaine *Albert* as if hee were my ſelfe that ſtayed here with you, yeelding him that obedience which a true ſouldier oweth vnto his Generall and Captaine, liuing as brethren one with another, without all diſſention: and in ſo doing God wil aſſiſt you and bleſſe your enterpriſes. Hauing ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaues of each of them, and ſayled toward our ſhippes, calling the Forte by the name of Charles-fort, and the Riuer by the name Chenonceau. The next day wee determined to depart from this place being as well contented as was poſſible that we had ſo happily ended our buſines, with good hope, if occaſion would permitte, to diſcouer perfectly the riuer of Iordan. For this cauſe we hoyſed our ſayles about ten of the clocke in the morning: after wee were ready to depart Captain Ribault commanded to ſhoote off our Ordinance to giue a farewel vnto our Frenchmen, which failed not to doe the like on their part. This being done wee ſailed toward the North: and then we named this riuer Porte Royal, becauſe of the largenes and excellent fairenes of the ſame. After that we had ſailed about 15 leagues from thence, we eſpied a riuer, whereupon wee ſent our pinneſſe thither to diſcouer it. At their returne they brought vs word that they found not paſt halfe a fathom water in the mouth therof. Which whẽ we vnderſtood, without doing any thing els, we continued our way, and called it the Baſe or Shallow riuer. As we ſtil went on ſounding we found

Ribaults ſpeech to Captaine Albert.

His ſpeech to the ſouldiers.

The aforeſaide Fort was called Charles-fort.

Port Royall.

The riuer Baſe, 15 leagues Northwards of Port Royall

not

Shallow water.

Their arriuall in France 1562. the 20 of Iuly.

not paſt fiue or ſixe fathome water, although we were ſixe good leagues from the ſhoare: at length we found not paſt three fathomes, which gaue vs occaſion greatly to muſe. And without making any farther way we ſtrook our ſayles, partly becauſe we wanted water, & partly becauſe the night approched: during which time Captaine Iohn Ribault bethought with himſelfe wether it were beſt for him to paſſe any farther, becauſe of the eminent dangers which euery houre we ſaw before our eyes: or whither he ſhould content himſelfe with that which he had certainely diſcouered, & alſo left men to inhabite the countrey. Being not able for that time to reſolue with himſelfe, he referred it vntil the next day. The morning being come he propoſed to all the company what was beſt to be done, to the end that with good aduiſement euery man might deliuer his opinion. Some made anſwere, that according to their iudgement he had occaſion iuſtly to content himſelfe, conſidering that he could doe no more: laying before his eyes, that he had diſcouered more in ſixe weekes, then the Spaniards had done in two yeres in the conqueſt of their New Spaine: and that he ſhould do the king very great ſeruice, if he did bring him newes in ſo ſhort a time of his happy diſcouerie. Other ſhewed vnto him the loſſe and ſpoile of his victuals, and on the other ſide the inconuenience that might happen by the ſhallow water that they found continually along the coaſt. Which things being well and at large debated, we reſolued to leaue the coaſt, forſaking the North, to take our way toward the Eaſt, which is the right way and courſe to our France, where we happily arriued the twentieth day of Iuly, the yere 1562.

The ſtate and condition of thoſe which were left behind in *Charles-fort*.

King Auduſta.

Note.

Mayon.
Hoya.
Touppa.
Stalame.

The countrey of king Stalame 15 leagues Northward of Charles-fort.

Chamoys ſkinnes.

The feaſt of Toya largely deſcribed.

Our men after our departure neuer reſted, but night and day did fortifie themſelues, being in good hope that after their fort was finiſhed, they would begin to diſcouer farther vp within the riuer. It happened one day, as certaine of them were in cutting of rootes in the groues, that they eſpied on the ſudden an Indian that hunted the Deere, which finding himſelfe ſo neere vpon them, was much diſmayed, but our men began to draw neere vnto him and to vſe him ſo courteouſly, that he became aſſured and followed them to Charles-fort, where euery man ſought to doe him pleaſure. Captaine Albert was very ioyfull of his comming, which after he had giuen him a ſhirt and ſome other trifles, he aſked him of his dwelling: the Indian anſwered him that it was farther vp within the riuer, and that he was vaſſal of king Auduſta: he alſo ſhewed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talke the Indian deſired leaue to depart, becauſe it drew toward night, which Captaine Albert granted him very willingly. Certaine dayes after the Captaine determined to ſaile toward Auduſta, where being arriued, by reaſon of the honeſt entertaynment which he had giuen to the Indian, he was ſo courteouſly receiued, that the king talked with him of nothing elſe but of the deſire which he had to become his friend: giuing him beſides to vnderſtand, that he being his friend and allie, he ſhould haue the amitie of foure other kings, which in might & authoritie were able to do much for his ſake: Beſides all this, in his neceſſitie they might be able to ſuccour him with victuals. One of theſe kings was called Mayon, another Hoya, the third Touppa, and the fourth Stalame. He told him moreouer, that they would be very glad, when they ſhould vnderſtand the newes of his comming, and therefore he prayed him to vouchſafe to viſit them. The Captaine willingly conſented vnto him, for the deſire that he had to purchaſe friends in that place. Therefore they departed the next morning very earely, and firſt arriued at the houſe of king Touppa, and afterward went into the other kings houſes, except the houſe of king Stalame. He receiued of each of them all the amiable courteſies that might be: they ſhewed themſelues to be as affectioned friends vnto him as was poſſible, and offered vnto him a thouſand ſmall preſents. After that he had remained by the ſpace of certaine daies with theſe ſtrange kings, he determined to take his leaue: and being come backe to the houſe of Auduſta, he commanded al his men to goe aboord their Pinneſſe: for he was minded to goe towardes the countrey of king Stalame, which dwelt toward the North the diſtance of 15 great leagues from Charles-fort. Therefore as they ſailed vp the riuer they entred into a great current, which they followed ſo farre till they came at the laſt to the houſe of Stalame: which brought him into his lodging, where he ſought to make them the beſt cheere he could deuiſe. He preſented immediatly vnto Captaine Albert his bow and arrowes, which is a ſigne and confirmation of alliance betweene them. He preſented him with Chamoys ſkinnes. The Captaine ſeeing the beſt part of the day was now paſt, tooke his leaue of king Stalame to returne to Charles-fort, where hee arriued the day following. By this time the friendſhip was growne ſo great betweene our men and king Auduſta, that in a manner all things were common betweene him and them: in ſuch ſort that this good Indian king did nothing of importance, but he called our men thereunto. For when the time drew neere of the celebrating their feaſts of Toya, which are ceremonies moſt ſtrange to recite, he ſent Ambaſſadours to our men to requeſt them on his behalfe to be there preſent. Whereunto they agreed moſt willingly for the deſire that they had to vnderſtand what this might be. They imbarked themſelues therefore and ſailed towards the kings houſe, which was already come forth on the way towards thē, to receiue them courteouſly, to bid them welcome & bring them to his houſe, where he ſought to intreat them the beſt he might. In the meane while the Indians prepared themſelues to celebrate the feaſt the morrow after, and the king brought them to ſee the place, wherein the feaſt ſhould be kept: where they ſaw many women round about, which laboured by al meanes to make the place cleane & neat. This place was a great circuit of ground with open proſpect and round in figure. On the morrow therefore early in the morning, all they which were choſen to celebrate the feaſt, being painted and trimmed with rich feathers of diuers colours, put themſelues on the way to go frō the kings houſe toward the place of Toya: whereunto when they were come they ſet themſelues in order, & followed three Indians, which in painting and in geſture were differing from the reſt: each of them bare a Taber in their hand, dancing & ſinging in a lamentable tune, when they began to enter into the middeſt of the round circuit, being followed of others which anſwered them again. After that they had ſung, danced, and turned 3 times, they fel on running like vnbridled horſes, through the middeſt of the thickeſt woods. And then the Indian women continued all the reſt of the day in teares as ſad & woful as was poſſible: & in ſuch rage they cut the armes of the yong girles, which they lanced ſo cruelly with ſharpe ſhels of Muſkles that the blood followed which they flang into the ayre, crying out three times, He Toya. The king Audusta had gathered all our men into his houſe, while the feaſt was celebrated, and was exceedingly offended when he ſaw them laugh. This he did, becauſe the Indians are very angry when they are ſeene in their ceremonies. Notwithſtanding one of our men made ſuch ſhift that by ſubtile meanes he gate out of the houſe of Audusta, and ſecretly went and hid himſelfe behinde a very thicke buſh, where at his pleaſure, he might eaſily deſcry the ceremonies of the feaſt. They three that began the feaſt are named Iawas: and they are as it were three Prieſts of the Indian law: to whom they giue credite and beliefe partly becauſe that by kinred they are ordained to be ouer their Sacrifices, and partly alſo becauſe they be ſo ſubtile magicians that any thing that is loſt is ſtraightway recouered by their meanes. Againe they are not onely reuerenced for theſe things, but alſo becauſe they heale diſeaſes by I wotte not what kinde of knowledge and ſkill they haue. Thoſe that ran ſo through the woodes returned two dayes after: after their returne they began to dance with a cherefull courage in the middeſt of the faire place, and to cheere vp their good olde Indian fathers, which either by reaſon of their too great age, or by reaſon of their naturall indiſpoſition and feebleneſſe were not called to the feaſt. When all theſe dances were ended, they fell on eating with ſuch a greedineſſe, that they ſeemed rather to deuoure their meate then to eate it, for they had neither eaten nor drunke the day of the feaſt, nor the two dayes following. Our men were not forgotten at this good cheere, for the Indians ſent for them all thither, ſhewing themſelues very glad of their preſence. While they remained certaine time with the Indians, a man of ours got a yong boy for certaine trifles, and inquired of him, what the Indians did in the wood during their abſence: which boy made him vnderſtand by ſignes, that the Iawas had made inuocations to Toya, and that by Magicall Characters they had made him come that they might ſpeake with him and demand diuers ſtrange things of him, which for feare of the Iawas he durſt not vtter. They haue alſo many other ceremonies which I will not here rehearſe for feare of moleſting the reader with a matter of ſo ſmall importance.

The Indians trimming of themſelues with rich feathers.

Iawas are their Prieſts.

Magicians.

Phyſitions

Inuocations of the Iawas or Prieſts vnto Toya.

When the feaſt therefore was finiſhed our men returned vnto Charles-fort: where hauing remained but a while their victualles beganne to waxe ſhort, which forced them to haue recourſe vnto their neighbours, and to pray them to ſuccour them in their neceſſitie: which gaue them part of all the victualles which they had, and kept no more vnto themſelues then would ſerue to ſow their fieldes. They tolde them farther that for this cauſe it was needefull for them to retire themſelues into the woods, to liue of Maſt and rootes vntill the time of harueſt, being as ſory as might be that they were not able any farther to ayde them. They gaue them alſo counſell to goe toward the countreys of King Couexis a man of might and renowme in this prouince, which maketh his aboad toward the South abounding at all ſeaſons and repleniſhed with ſuch quantitie of mill, corne, and beanes that by his onely ſuccour they might be able to liue a very long time. But before they ſhould come into his territories, they were to repayre vnto a king called Ouade the brother of Couexis, which in mill, beanes, and corne was no leſſe wealthy, and withall is very liberall and which would be very ioyfull if he might but once ſee them. Our men perceiuing the good relation which the Indians made them of thoſe two kings reſolued to go thither: for they felt already the neceſſity which oppreſſed them. Therfore they made requeſt vnto king Maccou, that it would pleaſe him to giue them one of his ſubiects to guide thē the right way thither: whervpon he

Their victuals faile them.

The Indians maner of liuing in the Winter time of Maſt and rootes.

King Couexis mightie and renowmed.

King Ouade.

King Maccou.

condi-

Ouades countrey in the riuer Belle.

Tapiſtrie of feathers.

White couerlets edged with red fringe

The liberalitie of king Ouade.

Ouades countrey twentie fiue leagues Southward from Charles fort.

The fort ſet on fire by caſualtie.

The fort reedified by the Sauages in the ſpace of 12 houres.

Crocodiles.

Cypreſſes.

Their ſecond iourney to the countrey of Ouade.

condeſcended very willingly, knowing that without his fauour they ſhould haue much ado to bring their interprize to paſſe. Wherefore after they had giuen order for all things neceſſary for the voyage, they put themſelues to Sea, and ſailed ſo farre that in the end they came into the countrey of Ouade, which they found to be in the riuer Belle. Being there arriued they perceiued a company of Indians, which aſſoone as they knew of their being there came before them. Aſſoone as they were come neere them, their guides ſhewed them by ſignes that Ouade was in this company, wherefore our men ſet forward to ſalute him. And then two of his ſonnes which were with him, being goodly and ſtrong men ſaluted them againe in very good ſort, and vſed very friendly entertainment on their part. The king immediatly began to make an Oration in his Indian language of the great pleaſure and contentment which he had to ſee them in that place, proteſting that he would become ſo loyall a friend of theirs hereafter, that he would be their faithfull defendour againſt all them that would offer to be their enemies. After theſe ſpeeches he led them toward his houſe, where he ſought to entreate them very courteouſly. His houſe was hanged about with Tapiſtrie of feathers of diuers colours the height of a pike. Moreouer the place where the king tooke his reſt was couered with white Couerlettes embroydered with deuiſes of very wittie and fine workemanſhip, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of Skarlet. They aduertiſed the king by one of the guides which they brought with them, how that (hauing heard of his great liberalitie) they had put to the Sea to come to beſeech him to ſuccour them with victuals in their great want and neceſſitie: and that in ſo doing, he ſhould binde them all hereafter to remaine his faithfull friends and loyall defenders againſt all his enemies. This good Indian as ſoone ready to doe them pleaſure, as they were to demand it, commanded his ſubiects that they ſhould fill our Pinneſſe with mil and beanes. Afterward he cauſed them to bring him ſixe pieces of his Tapiſtry made like little couerlets, & gaue them to our men with ſo liberal a minde, as they eaſily perceiued the deſire which he had to become their friend. In recompence of all theſe gifts our men gaue him two cutting hookes and certaine other trifles, wherewith he held himſelfe greatly ſatiſfied. This being done, our men tooke their leaue of the king, which for their farewell, ſayd nothing els but that they ſhould returne if they wanted victuals, & that they might aſſure themſelues of him, that they ſhould neuer want any thing that was in his power. Wherefore they imbarked themſelues, and ſayled towards Charles-fort, which from this place might be ſome fiue and twenty leagues diſtant. But as ſoone as our men thought themſelues at their eaſe, & free from the dangers whereinto they had expoſed themſelues night and day in gathering together of victuals here and there: Lo, euen as they were aſleepe, the fire caught in their lodgings with ſuch furie, being increaſed by the winde, that the roome that was built for them before our mens departure, was conſumed in an inſtant, without being able to ſaue any thing, ſauing a little of their victuals. Whereupon our men being farre from all ſuccours, found themſelues in ſuch extremitie, that without the ayd of Almighty God, the onely ſearcher of the hearts and thoughts of men, which neuer forſaketh thoſe that ſeeke him in their afflictions, they had bene quite and cleane out of all hope. For the next day betimes in the morning the King Audulta and King Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good companie of Indians, which knowing the misfortune, were very ſory for it. And then they vttered vnto their ſubiects the ſpeedy diligence which they were to vſe in building another houſe, ſhewing vnto them that the Frenchmen were their louing friends, & that they had made it euident vnto them by the gifts and preſents which they had receiued: proteſting that whoſoeuer put not his helping hand vnto the worke with all his might, ſhould be eſteemed as vnprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the Sauages feare aboue all things. This was the occaſion that euery man began to endeuour himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that in leſſe then 12 houres, they had begun and finiſhed a houſe which was very neere as great as the former. Which being ended, they returned home fully contented with a few cutting hookes, and hatchets, which they receiued of our men. Within a ſmall while after this miſchance, their victuals began to waxe ſhort: and after our men had taken good deliberation, thought and bethought themſelues againe, they found that there was no better way for them then to returne againe to the king Ouade and Couexis his brother. Wherefore they reſolued to ſend thither ſome of their company the next day following: which with an Indian Canoa ſayled vp into the countrey about 10 leagues: afterward they found a very faire & great riuer of freſh water, which they failed not to ſearch out: they found therein a great number of Crocodils, which in greatnes paſſe thoſe of the riuer Nilus: moreouer, al along the bankes thereof, there grow mighty high Cypreſſes. After they had ſtayed a ſmal while in this place, they purpoſed to follow their iourney, helping themſelues ſo wel with the tydes, that without putting themſelues in danger of the continuall perill of the Sea, they came into the countrey of Ouade: of whom they were moſt courteouſly receiued. They aduertiſed him of the occaſion wherefore they came againe to viſite him, and told him of the miſchance, which happened vnto them ſince their laſt voyages: how they had not onely loſt their houſhold ſtuffe by caſualtie of fire, but alſo their victuals which he had giuen them ſo bountifully: that for this cauſe they were ſo bolde as to come once againe vnto him, to beſeech him to vouchſafe to ſuccour them in ſuch neede and neceſſitie.

After that the king had vnderſtood their caſe, he ſent meſſengers vnto his brother Couexis, to requeſt him vpon his behalfe to ſend him ſome of his mill and beanes, which thing he did: and the next morning, they were come againe with victuals, which the king cauſed to be borne into their Canoa. Our men would haue taken their leaue of him, finding themſelues more then ſatiſfied with this liberalitie. But for that day hee would not ſuffer them, but retained them, and ſought to make them the beſt cheere hee could deuiſe. The next day very earely in the morning, he tooke them with him to ſhewe them the place where his corne grewe, and ſaide vnto them that they ſhould not want as long as all that mil did laſt. Afterward he gaue them a certaine number of exceeding faire pearles, & two ſtones of fine Chriſtal, and certaine ſiluer oare. Our men forgot not to giue him certaine trifles in recompence of theſe preſentes, and required of him the place whence the ſiluer oare and the Chriſtall came. He made them anſwere, that it came ten dayes iourney from his habitation vp within the countrey: and that the inhabitants of the countrey did dig the ſame at the foote of certaine high mountaines, where they found of it in very good quantitie. Being ioyfull to vnderſtand ſo good newes, and to haue come to the knowledge of that which they moſt deſired, they tooke their leaue of the king, and returned by the ſame way, by which they came.

Exceeding faire pearles, fine Chriſtall, ſiluer oare.

The place where chriſtall groweth in very good quantitie ten dayes iourney from the riuer Belle. Note.

Behold therefore how our men behaued themſelues very well hitherto, although they had endured many great miſhaps. But misfortune or rather the iuſt iudgement of God would haue it, that thoſe which could not bee ouercome by fire nor water, ſhould be vndone by their owne ſelues. This is the common faſhion of men, which cannot continue in one ſtate, and had rather to ouerthrow themſelues, then not to attempt ſome new thing dayly. We haue infinite examples in the ancient hiſtories, eſpecially of the Romanes, vnto which number this litle handfull of men, being farre from their countrey and abſent from their countreymen, haue alſo added this preſent example. They entred therefore into partialities and diſſentions, which began about a ſouldier named Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands: which, as it was told me, was very cruelly hanged by his owne captaine, and for a ſmal fault: which captaine alſo vſing to threathen the reſt of his ſouldiers which ſtaied behind vnder his obedience, and peraduenture (as it is to be preſumed) were not ſo obedient to him as they ſhould haue bene, was the cauſe that they fell into a mutinie, becauſe that many times he put his threatnings in execution: whervpon they ſo chaſed him, that at the laſt they put him to death. And the principall occaſion that moued them thereunto was, becauſe he degraded another ſouldier named La Chere (which he had baniſhed) and becauſe he had not performed his promiſe: for hee had promiſed to ſend him victuals, from 8 dayes to 8 dayes, which thing he did not, but ſaid on the contrary, that he would be glad to heare of his death. He ſaid moreouer, that he would chaſtiſe others alſo, & vſed ſo euill ſounding ſpeeches, that honeſtie forbiddeth me to repeat thē. The ſouldiers ſeeing his madnes to increaſe from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, reſolued to kil him. Hauing executed their purpoſe, they went to ſeeke the ſouldier that was baniſhed, which was in a ſmall Iſland diſtant frō Charles-fort about 3 leagues, where they found him almoſt half dead for hunger. When they were come home againe, they aſſembled themſelues together to chooſe one to be gouernour ouer them, whoſe name was Nicolas Barre a man worthy of commendation, and one which knewe ſo well to quite himſelfe of his charge, that all rancour and diſſention ceaſed among them, and they liued peaceably one with another. During this time, they began to build a ſmal Pinneſſe, with hope to return into France, if no ſuccours came vnto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any ſkill, notwithſtanding neceſſitie, which is the maiſtreſſe of all ſciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finiſhed, they thought of nothing elſe ſauing how to furniſh it with all things neceſſarie to vndertake the voyage. But they wanted thoſe things that of all other were moſt needefull, as cordage and ſayles, without which the enterpriſe coulde not come to effect. Hauing no meanes to recouer theſe things, they were in worſe caſe then at the firſt, and almoſt ready to fall into deſpayre. But that good God, which neuer forſaketh the afflicted, did ſuccour them in their neceſſitie.

Mutiny againſt the captaine, and the cauſes thereof.

Captaine Albert ſlaine by his owne ſouldiers.

Nicolas Barre, choſen captaine

A new Brigandine built in Florida.

As they were in theſe perplexities, king Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied

with

Roſen to bray ſhips.
Moſſe to calke ſhips.
Cordage for tackle.

with two hundred Indians at the leaſt, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meete withall, and ſhewed the king in what neede of cordage they ſtood: who promiſed them to returne within two dayes, and to bring ſo much as ſhould ſuffice to furniſh the Pinneſſe with tackling. Our men being pleaſed with theſe good newes & promiſes, beſtowed vpon them certaine cutting hookes and ſhirtes. After their departure our men ſought all meanes to recouer roſen in the woodes, wherin they cut the Pine trees round about, out of which they drew ſufficient reaſonable quantitie to bray the veſſell. Alſo they gathered a kind of moſſe which groweth on the trees of this countrey, to ſerue to calke the ſame withall. There now wanted nothing but ſayles, which they made of their owne ſhirtes and of their ſheetes. Within few dayes after the Indian kings returned to Charles fort with ſo good ſtore of cordage, that there was found ſufficient for tackling of the ſmall Pinneſſe. Our men as glad as might be, vſed great liberalitie towards them, and at their leauing of the countrey, left them all the marchandiſe that remained, leauing them thereby ſo fully ſatiſfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation of the worlde. They went forward therefore to finiſh the Brigandine, & vſed ſo ſpeedie diligence, that within a ſhort time afterward they made it ready furniſhed with all things. In the meane ſeaſon the winde came ſo fit for their purpoſe that it ſeemed to inuite them to put to the Sea: which they did without delay, after they had ſet all their things in order. But before they departed they embarked their artillerie, their forge, and other munitions of warre which Captaine Ribault had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with the too exceſſiue ioy, which they had conceiued for their returning into France, or rather depriued of all foreſight & conſideration, without regarding the inconſtancie of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themſelues to ſea, and with ſo ſlender victuals, that the end of their enterpriſe became vnluckly and vnfortunate.

They put to the ſea without ſufficient victuals.

Their victuals vtterly conſumed.

They drinke their vrine for want of freſh water.

Extreme famine.

For after they had ſayled the third part of their way, they were ſurprized with calmes which did ſo much hinder them, that in three weekes they ſailed not aboue fiue and twentie leagues. During this time their victuals conſumed, and became ſo ſhort, that euery man was conſtrained to eate not paſt twelue graines of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelue peaſon. Yea, and this felicitie laſted not long: for their victuals failed them altogether at once: and they had nothing for their more aſſured refuge but their ſhooes and leather ierkins which they did eat. Touching their beuerage, ſome of them dranke the ſea water, others did drink their owne vrine: and they remained in ſuch deſperate neceſſitie a very long ſpace, during the which part of them died for hunger. Beſide this extreme famine, which did ſo grieuouſly oppreſſe them, they fell euery minute of an houre out of all hope euer to ſee France againe, inſomuch that they were conſtrained to caſt the water continually out, that on al ſides entred into their Barke. And euery day they fared worſe and worſe: for after they had eaten vp their ſhooes and their leather ierkins, there aroſe ſo boyſtrous a winde and ſo contrary to their courſe, that in the turning of a hande, the waues filled their veſſell halfe full of water and bruſed it vpon the one ſide. Being now more out of hope thē euer to eſcape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for caſting out of the water which now was almoſt ready to drowne them. And as men reſolued to die, euery one fell downe backewarde, and gaue themſelues ouer altogether vnto the will of the waues. When as one of them a little hauing taken heart vnto him declared vnto them how little way they had to ſayle, aſſuring them, that if the winde held, they ſhould ſee land within three dayes. This man did ſo incourage them, that after they had throwne the water out of the Pinneſſe they remained three dayes without eating or drinking, except it were of the ſea water. When the time of his promiſe was expired, they were more troubled then they were before, ſeeing they could not diſcry any land. Wherefore in this extreme deſpaire certaine among them made this motion that it was better that one man ſhould dye, then that ſo many men ſhould periſh: they agreed therefore that one ſhould die to ſuſtaine the others. Which thing was executed in the perſon of La Chere, of whom we haue ſpoken heretofore, whoſe fleſh was deuided equally among his fellowes: a thing ſo pitifull to recite, that my pen is loth to write it.

The French ſuccoured by an Engliſh Barke.

After ſo long time and tedious trauels, God of his goodneſſe vſing his accuſtomed fauour, changed their ſorow into ioy, and ſhewed vnto them the ſight of land. Whereof they were ſo exceeding glad, that the pleaſure cauſed them to remaine a long time as men without ſence: whereby they let the Pinneſſe flote this and that way without holding any right way or courſe. But a ſmall Engliſh barke boarded the veſſell, in the which there was a Frenchman which had bene in the firſt voyage into Florida, who eaſily knew them, and ſpake vnto them, and afterward gaue them meat and drinke. Incontinently they recouered their naturall courages, and declared vnto him at large all their nauigation. The Engliſhmen conſulted a long while what were beſt to be done, and in fine they reſolued to put on land thoſe that were moſt feeble, and to cary the reſt vnto the Queene of England, which purpoſed at that time to ſend into Florida. Thus you ſee in briefe that which happened to them which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida. And now will I go forward with the diſcourſe of mine owne voyage.

It ſeemeth hee meaneth the voyage intended by Stukely.

The ſecond voyage vnto *Florida*, made and written by Captaine *Laudonniere*, which fortified and inhabited there two Summers and one whole Winter.

After our arriuall at Diepe, at our comming home, from our firſt voyage (which was the twentieth of Iuly 1562) we found the ciuill warres begun, which was in part the cauſe why our men were not ſuccoured, as Captaine Iohn Ribault had promiſed them: whereof it followed that Captaine Albert was killed by his ſouldiers, and the countrey abandoned, as heretofore we haue ſufficiently diſcourſed, and as it may more at large be vnderſtood by thoſe men which were there in perſon. After the peace was made in France, my Lord Admiral De Chaſtillon ſhewed vnto the king, that he heard no newes at all of the men which Captaine Iohn Ribault had left in Florida, & that it were pity to ſuffer them to periſh. In which reſpect, the king was content he ſhould cauſe 3 ſhips to be furniſhed, the one of ſixe ſcore tunnes, the other of 100, and the third of 60, to ſeeke them out, and to ſuccour them.

The ciuill warres the cauſe why the Frenchmen were not ſupplied, which were left behinde in their firſt voyage.

My Lord Admirall therefore being well informed of the faithfull ſeruice which I had done, aſwell vnto his Maieſtie as to his predeceſſors kings of France, aduertiſed the king how able I was to doe him ſeruice in this voyage, which was the cauſe that he made me chiefe Captaine ouer theſe 3 ſhippes, and charged me to depart with diligence to performe his commandement, which for mine owne part I would not gaineſay, but rather thinking my ſelfe happy to haue bene choſen out among ſuch an infinite number of others, which in my iudgement were very well able to haue quitted themſelues in this charge, I embarked my ſelfe at New Hauen the 22 of Aprill 1564, and ſayled ſo, that we fell neere vnto the coaſt of England: and then I turned towards the South, to ſayle directly to the fortunate Iſlands, at this preſent called the Canaries, one of which called the Iſle Saluage (becauſe as I thinke it is altogether without inhabitants) was the firſt that our ſhips paſſed. Sayling therefore on forward, we landed the next day in the Iſle of Teneriffa, otherwiſe called the Pike, becauſe that in the middeſt thereof there is an exceeding high mountaine, neere as high as that of Etna, which riſeth vp like a pike, vnto the top whereof no man can goe but from the middeſt of May vntill the middeſt of Auguſt, by reaſon of the ouer great ſnow which is there all the yere: which is a wonderfull ſtrange thing, conſidering that it is not paſt 27 degrees and an halfe diſtant from the Equator. We ſaw it all couered ouer with ſnow, although it were then but the fift of May. The inhabitants in this Iſle being heretofore purſued by the Spaniards, retired themſelues into this mountaine, where for a ſpace they made warre with them, and would not ſubmit themſelues to their obedience, neither by foule nor faire meanes, they diſdained ſo much the loſſe of their Iland. For thoſe which went thither on the Spaniards behalfe, left their carkaſes there, ſo that not ſo much as one of them returned home to bring newes. Notwithſtanding in the ende, the inhabitants not able to liue in that place according to their nature, or for want of ſuch things as were neceſſary for the commoditie of their liuelyhood, did all die there. After I had furniſhed my ſelfe with ſome freſh water, very good and excellent, which ſpring out of a rocke at the foote of this mountaine, I continued my courſe toward the Weſt, wherein the windes fauoured me ſo well, that 15 dayes after our ſhips arriued ſafe and ſound at the Antilles: and going on land at the Iſle of Martinino, one of the firſt of them, the next day we arriued at Dominica, twelue leagues diſtant from the former.

Laudonniers ſecond voyage to Florida, with three ſhips the 22 of Aprill 1564.

The Iſle of Teneriffa, or the Pike.

The Iſle of Martinino. Dominica an Iland.

Dominica is one of the fayreſt Iſlands of the Weſt, full of hilles, and of very good ſmell. Whoſe ſingularities deſiring to know as we paſſed, and ſeeking alſo to refreſh our ſelues with freſh water, I made the Mariners caſt anker, after wee had ſayled about halfe along the coaſt thereof. As ſoone as we had caſt anker, two Indians (inhabitants of that place) ſayled toward vs in two Canoas full of a fruite of great excellencie which they call Ananas. As they approched vnto our Barke, there was one of them which being in ſome miſtruſt of vs, went backe againe on land, and fled his way with as much ſpeede as he could poſſibly. Which our men perceiued

Ananas a fruite of great excellencie.

ceiued and entred with diligence into the other Canoa, wherein they caught the poore Indian, & brought him vnto me. But the poore fellow became ſo aſtonied in beholding vs, that he knew not which way to behaue himſelfe, becauſe that (as afterward I vnderſtood) he feared that he was fallen into the Spaniards hands, of whom he had bene taken once before, and which, as he ſhewed vs, had cut of his ſtones. At length this poore Indian was ſecure of vs, and diſcourſed vnto vs of many things, whereof we receiued very ſmall pleaſure, becauſe we vnderſtood not his minde but by his ſignes. Then he deſired me to giue him leaue to depart, and promiſed me that he would bring me a thouſand preſents, whereunto I agreed on condition that he would haue patience vntill the next day, when I purpoſed to goe on land, where I ſuffered him to depart after I had giuen him a ſhirte, and certaine ſmall trifles, wherewith he departed very well contented from vs.

The place where we went on ſhore was hard by a very high Rocke, out of which there ran a litle riuer of ſweet and excellent good water: by which riuer we ſtayed certaine dayes to diſcouer the things which were worthy to be ſeene, and trafficqued dayly with the Indians: which aboue all things beſought vs that none of our men ſhould come neere their lodgings nor their gardens, otherwiſe that we ſhould giue them great cauſe of ielouſie, and that in ſo doing, we ſhould not want of their fruite which they call Ananas, whereof they offered vs very liberally, receiuing in recompence certaine things of ſmall value. This notwithſtanding, it happened on a day that certaine of our men deſirous to ſee ſome new things in theſe ſtrange countries, walked through the woods: and following ſtill the litle riuers ſide, they ſpied two ſerpents of exceeding bignes, which went ſide by ſide ouerthwart the way. My ſouldiers went before them thinking to let them from going into the woods: but the ſerpents nothing at all aſtonied at theſe geſtures glanced into the buſhes with fearful hyſſings: yet for all that, my men drew their ſwords and killed them, and found them afterward 9 great foote long, and as big as a mans leg. During this combate, certaine others more vndiſcreete went and gathered their Ananas in the Indians gardens, trampling through them without any deſcretion: and not therewithall contented they wẽt toward their dwellings; whereat the Indians were ſo much offended, that without regarding any thing they ruſhed vpon them and diſcharged their ſhot, ſo that they hit one of my men named Martine Chaueau, which remained behind. We could not know whether hee were killed on the place, or whether he were taken priſoner: for thoſe of his company had inough to doe to ſaue themſelues without thinking of their companion. Whereof Monſieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant being aduertiſed, ſent vnto me to know whether I thought good that he ſhould lay an ambuſh for the Indians which had either taken or killed our man, or whether hee ſhould go directly to their dwellings to know the trueth. I ſent vnto him after good deliberation hereupon, that he ſhould not attempt any thing, and that for diuers occaſions: but contrariwiſe that he ſhould embarke himſelf with al diligence, & conſequently al they that were on land: which he did with ſpeed. But as he ſayled towards our ſhips he perceiued along the ſhore a great number of Indians which began to charge them with their arrowes: hee for his part diſcharged ſtore of ſhot againſt them, yet was not able to hurt them, or by any meanes to ſurpriſe them: for which cauſe he quite forſooke them, and came vnto our ſhip. Where ſtaying vntill the next day morning we ſet ſayle following our wonted courſe, and keeping the ſame, we diſcouered diuerſe Iſles conquered by the Spaniards, as the Iſles of S. Chriſtopher, and of the Saintes, of Monſerrate, and La Redonda: Afterward we paſſed betweene Anguilla and Anegada, ſayling toward New France. Where we arriued 15 dayes after, to witte, on Thurſeday the 22 of Iune about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, and landed neere a litle riuer which is 30 degrees diſtant from the Equator, and 10 lagues aboue Cape François drawing toward the South, and about thirtie leagues aboue the Riuer of May. After wee had ſtrooken ſayle and caſt anker athwart the Riuer, I determined to goe on ſhore to diſcouer the ſame. Therefore being accompanied with Monſieur Ottigni, with Monſieur de Arlac mine Enſigne, & a certaine number of Gentlemen and ſouldiers, I embarked my ſelfe about 3 or 4 of the clocke in the euening. And being arriued at the mouth of the riuer, I cauſed the chanell to be ſounded, which was found to be very ſhallow, although that farther within the ſame the water was there found reaſonable deepe, which ſeparateth it ſelfe into two great armes, whereof one runneth toward the South, and the other toward the North. Hauing thus ſearched the Riuer, I went on land to ſpeake with the Indians which waited for vs vpon the ſhore, which at our comming on land, came before vs, crying with a loude voyce in their Indian language, Antipola Bonaſſou, which is as much to ſay, as brother, friend, or ſome ſuch like thing. After they had made very much of vs,

His arriual in Florida the 22 of Iune 1564. Cape François being betweene the riuer of Dolphins and the riuer of May, maketh the diſtance 30 leagues about, which is but 10 leagues ouer land.

they ſhewed vs their Paracouſſy, that is to ſay, their King and Gouernour, to whom I preſented certaine toyes, wherewith he was well pleaſed. And for mine owne part, I prayſe God continually, for the great loue which I haue found in theſe Sauages, which were ſory for nothing, but that the night approched, and made vs retire vnto our ſhips.

The great loue and courteſie of the Floridians.

For though they endeuoured by al meanes to make vs tary with them, and ſhewed by ſignes the deſire that they had to preſent vs with ſome rare things, yet neuertheleſſe for many iuſt and reaſonable occaſions I would not ſtay on ſhore all night: but excuſing my ſelfe for all their offers, I embarked my ſelfe againe and returned toward my ſhips. Howbeit, before my departure, I named this Riuer, the riuer of Dolphines, becauſe that at mine arriuall, I ſaw there a great number of Dolphines, which were playing in the mouth thereof. The next day the 23 of this moneth (becauſe that toward the South I had not found any commodious place for vs to inhabit, and to build a fort) I gaue commandement to weigh anker, & to hoiſe our ſailes to ſaile toward the riuer of May, where we arriued two dayes after, & caſt anker. Afterward going on land, with ſome number of Gentlemen and Souldiers to know for a certaintie the ſingularities of this place, we eſpyed the Paracouſſy of the countrey, which came towards vs (this was the very ſame that we ſaw in the voyage of Captaine Iohn Ribault) which hauing eſpied vs, cryed very far off, Antipola, Antipola: and being ſo ioyful that he could not containe himſelfe, he came to meet vs, accompanied then with two of his ſonnes, as faire and mightie perſons as might be found in al the world, which had nothing in their mouthes but this word, Amy, Amy: that is to ſay, friend, friend: yea, and knowing thoſe which were there in the firſt voyage, they went principally to them to vſe this ſpeech vnto them. There was in their trayne a great number of men and women, which ſtil made very much of vs, and by euident ſignes made vs vnderſtand how glad they were of our arriuall. This good entertainment paſt, the Paracouſſy prayed me to goe ſee the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of Iohn Ribault (as we haue declared heretofore) as a thing which they made great account of.

The riuer of Dolphins, called Seloy by the Sauages.

Their arriuall at the riuer of May.

Hauing yeelded vnto him and being come to the place where it was ſet vp, wee found the ſame crowned with crownes of Bay, and at the foote thereof many little baſkets full of Mill which they call in their language Tapaga Tapola. Then when they came thither they kiſſed the ſame with great reuerence and beſought vs to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the end we might drawe them to be more in friendſhip with vs. This done, the Paracouſſy tooke me by the hand, as if he had deſire to make me vnderſtand ſome great ſecret, & by ſignes ſhewed me very well vp within the riuer the limits of his dominion, and ſaid that he was called Paracouſſy Satourioua, which is as much as King Satourioua. His children haue the ſelfe ſame title of Paracouſſy: The eldeſt is named Athore, a man, I dare ſay, perfect in beautie, wiſedome, and honeſt ſobrietie, ſhewing by his modeſt grauitie that he deſerueth the name which he beareth, beſids that he is gentle and tractable. After we had ſoiourned a certaine ſpace with them, the Paracouſſy prayed one of his ſonnes to preſent vnto me a wedge of ſiluer, which hee did & that with a good will: in recompence whereof I gaue him a cutting hooke and ſome other better preſent: wherewith he ſeemed to be very well pleaſed. Afterward we tooke our leaue of them, becauſe the night approched, & then returned to lodge in our ſhippes. Being allured with this good entertainment I failed not the next day to imbarke my ſelfe againe with my Lieutenant Ottigni and a number of ſouldiers to returne toward the Paracouſſy of the riuer of May, which of purpoſe waited for vs in the ſame place, where the day before we conferred with him. We found him vnder the ſhadow of an arbour accompanied with fourescore Indians at the leaſt, and apparelled at that time after the Indian faſhion, to wit, with a great Harts ſkinne dreſſed like Chamois, and painted with deuices of ſtrange and diuers colours, but of ſo liuely a portrature, and repreſenting antiquity, with rules ſo iuſtly compaſſed, that there is no Painter ſo exquiſite that could finde fault therewith: the naturall diſpoſition of this ſtrange people is ſo perfect and well guided, that without any ayd and fauour of artes, they are able by the helpe of nature onely to content the eye of artizans, yea euen of thoſe which by their induſtry are able to aſpire vnto things moſt abſolute.

The pillar ſet vp before by Ribault crowned with garlands of Laurell and inuironed with ſmall panniers full of corne, worſhipped by the Sauages.

Paracouſſy Satourioua.

A wedge of ſiluer.

Then I aduertiſed Paracouſſy Satourioua, that my deſire was to diſcouer farther vp into the riuer, but that this ſhould be with ſuch diligence that I would come againe vnto him very ſpeedily: wherewith he was content, promiſing to ſtay for me in the place where he was: and for an earneſt of his promiſe, he offered me his goodly ſkinne, which I refuſed then, and promiſed to receiue it of him at my returne. For my part I gaue him certaine ſmall trifles, to the intent to retaine him in our friendſhip.

Craſles.

Monſieur de Ottigni.

Departing from thence, I had not ſayled three leagues vp the riuer, ſtill being followed by the Indians, which coaſted me a long the riuer, crying ſtill, Amy, Amy, that is to ſay friende, friende: but I diſcouered an hill of meane height, neere which I went on land, hard by the fieldes that were ſowed with mil, at one corner whereof there was an houſe built for their lodging, which keepe and garde the mill: for there are ſuch numbers of Corniſh choughes in this Countrey, which continually deuoure and ſpoyle the mill, that the Indians are conſtrained to keepe and watch it, otherwiſe they ſhould be deceiued of their haruest. I reſted my ſelfe in this place for certaine houres, & commanded Monſieur de Ottigni, and my Sergeant to enter into the woodes to ſearch out the dwellings of the Indians; where after they had gone awhile, they came vnto a Mariſh of Reeds, where finding their way to be ſtopped, they reſted vnder the ſhadow of a mightie Bay tree to refreſh themſelues a little and to reſolue which way to take. Then they diſcouered, as it were on the ſuddaine, fiue Indians halfe hidden in the woodes, which ſeemed ſomewhat to diſtruſt our men, vntill they ſaid vnto them in the Indian language Antipola Bonaſſou, to the end that vnderſtanding their ſpeech they might come vnto vs more boldely, which they did incontinently. But becauſe they ſawe, that the foure that went laſt, bare vp the traine of the ſkinne wherewith he that went formoſt was apparelled, our men imagined that the foremoſt muſt needes bee ſome man of greater qualitie then the reſt, ſeeing that withal they called him Paracouſſy, Paracouſſy, wherefore ſome of our company went towards him, and vſing him courteouſly ſhewed him, Monſieur de Ottigni, their Lieutenant, for whom they had made an harbour with Bay and Palme boughes after the Indian faſhion, to the ende that by ſuch ſignes the Sauages might thinke the Frenchmen had companied with ſuch as they at other times.

The curteſie of the Floridians to the French.

The Indian Paracouſſy drew neere to the French, and began to make him a long Oration, which tended to no other end, but that he beſought the Frenchmen very earneſtly to come and ſee his dwelling and his parents, which they granted him, and ſtraight for pledge of better amitie, he gaue vnto my Lieutenant Ottigni, the very ſkinne that he was clad with.

Then he tooke him by the hande, leading him right toward the Mariſhes, ouer which the Paracouſſy, Monſieur Ottigni, and certaine other of our men were borne vpon the Indians ſhoulders: and the reſt which could not paſſe becauſe of the myre and reedes, went through the woodes, and followed a narrow path which led them foorth vntill they came vnto the Paracouſſyes dwelling; out of which there came about fiftie Indians to receiue our men gallantly, and to feaſt them after their manner. After which they brought at their entrance a great veſſell of earth, made after a ſtrange faſhion full of fountaine water cleare and very excellent.

This veſſell was borne by an Indian, and there was another younger which bare of this water in another little veſſell of wood, and preſented thereof to euery one to drinke, obſeruing in doing the ſame, a certaine order and reuerence, which hee made to each of them, to whome hee gaue drinke. Our thirſt well quenched by this meanes, and our men being ſufficiently refreſhed, the Paracouſſy brought them to his fathers lodging, one of the oldeſt men that liued vpon the earth. Our men regarding his age, began to make much of him, vſing this ſpeech, Amy, Amy, that is to ſay, friende, friende, whereat the olde ſire ſhewed himſelfe very glad.

Men of exceeding olde age.

Afterward they queſtioned with him concerning the courſe of his age: whereunto he made anſwere, ſhewing that he was the firſt liuing originall, from whence fiue generations were deſcended, as he ſhewed vnto them by another olde man that ſate directly ouer againſt him, which farre exceeded him in age. And this man was his father, which ſeemed to be rather a dead carkeis then a liuing body: for his ſinewes, his veines, his artiers, his bones, and other parts, appeared ſo cleerely thorow his ſkinne, that a man might eaſily tell them, and diſcerne them one from another. Alſo his age was ſo great, that the good man had loſt his ſight, and could not ſpeake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. Monſieur de Ottigni hauing ſeene ſo ſtrange a thing, turned to the yonger of theſe two olde men, praying him to vouchſafe to anſwere him to that which he demanded touching his age. Then the olde man called a company of Indians, and ſtriking twiſe vpon his thigh, and laying his hand vpon two of them, he ſhewed him by ſignes, that theſe two were his ſonnes: againe ſmiting vpon their thighes, he ſhewed him others not ſo olde, which were the children of the two firſt, which he continued in the ſame maner vntill the fift generation. But though this olde man had his father aliue more olde then himſelfe, and that both of them did weare their haire very long, and as white as was poſſible, yet it was told them, that they might yet liue thirtie or fortie yeeres more by the courſe of nature: although the yonger of them both was not leſſe then two hundred and fiftie yeeres olde. After he had ended his communication, hee commaunded two young Egles to be giuen to our men, which he had bred vp for his pleaſure in his houſe. Hee cauſed alſo little Panniers made of Palme leaues full of Gourds red and blew to bee deliuered vnto them. For recompence of which preſents he was ſatiſfied with French toyes.

Sauages in Florida of 250. yeeres olde.
Egles in Florida.

These two olde men cauſed our men to bee guided backe againe to the place from whence they came by the young Paracouſſy which had brought them thither. And hauing taken leaue of the Paracouſſy, they came and ſought me out in the place where I ſtayed, and rehearſed vnto me all that they had ſeene, praying mee alſo that I would rewarde their guide, which ſo frankely and heartely had receiued them into his houſe, which I would not faile to doe by any meanes.

Nowe was I determined to ſearch out the qualities of the hill. Therefore I went right to the toppe thereof, where we found nothing elſe but Cedars, Palme, and Baytrees of ſo ſoueraigne odour, that Baulme ſmelleth nothing like in compariſon. The trees were enuironed round about with Vines bearing grapes in ſuch quantitie, that the number would ſuffice to make the place habitable. Beſides this fertilitie of the ſoyle for Vines, a man may ſee Eſquine wreathed about the ſhrubs in great quantitie. Touching the pleaſure of the place, the Sea may bee ſeene plaine and open from it, and more then ſixe great leagues off, neere the Riuer Belle, a man may beholde the medowes diuided aſunder into Iles and Iſlets enterlacing one another: Briefly the place is ſo pleaſant, that thoſe which are melancholicke would be inforced to change their humour.

Cedars, Palmes, Bayes exceeding ſweete.
Abundance of grapes.
Eſquine a drugge excellent againſt the pockes.

After I had ſtayed there a while, I imbarked againe my people to ſayle towards the mouth of the Riuer, where wee found the Paracouſſy, which according to his promiſe waited for vs. Wherefore to content him, we went on ſhore, and did him that reuerence that on our part was requiſite. Then hee gaue me the ſkinne ſo richly painted, and I recompenſed him with ſomewhat of our marchandiſe. I forgat not to demaund of him the place whence the wedge of ſiluer came which he had giuen me before: whereunto he made me a very ſudden anſwere, which notwithſtanding I vnderſtood not, which he well perceiued. And then he ſhewed me by euident ſignes that all of it came from a place more within the Riuer by certaine dayes iourneyes from this place, and declared vnto vs that all that which they had thereof, they gat it by force of armes of the inhabitants of this place, named by them Thimogoa, their moſt ancient and naturall enemies, as hee largely declared. Whereupon when I ſawe with what affection hee ſpake when hee pronounced Thimogoa, I vnderſtoode what he would ſay. And to bring my ſelfe more into his fauour, I promiſed him to accompany him with all my force, if hee would fight againſt them: which thing pleaſed him in ſuch ſorte, that from thenceforth hee promiſed himſelfe the victorie of them, and aſſured mee that hee would make a voyage thither within a ſhort ſpace, would cauſe ſtore of Mill to be prepared, and would commaund his men to make ready their Bowes, and furniſh themſelues with ſuch ſtore of arrowes, that nothing ſhould bee wanting to giue battaile to Thimogoa. In fine hee prayed mee very earneſtly not to faile of my promiſe, and in ſo doing, hee hoped to procure mee Golde and Siluer in ſuch good quantitie, that mine affaires ſhould take effect according to mine owne and his deſire.

Siluer certaine dayes iourney vp within the riuer of May.
Thimogoa mortall enemies to Satourioua.

The matter thus fully reſolued vpon, I tooke my leaue of him to returne vnto my ſhippes, where after wee had reſted our ſelues all the night following, wee hoyſed ſayles the next day very early in the morning, and ſayled towarde the Riuer of Seine, diſtant from the Riuer of May about foure leagues: and there continuing our courſe towarde the North, wee arriued at the mouth of Somme, which is not paſt ſixe leagues diſtant from the Riuer of Seine: where wee caſt Anker, and went on ſhoare to diſcouer that place as wee had done the reſt. There we were gratiouſly and courteouſly receiued of the Paracouſſy of the Countrey, which is one of the talleſt men and beſt proportioned that may bee founde. His wife ſate by him, which beſides her Indian beautie, wherewith ſhee was greatly endewed, had ſo vertuous a countenance and modeſt grauitie, that there was not one amongſt vs but did greatly commend her: ſhee had in her traine fiue of her daughters of ſo good grace and ſo well brought vp, that I eaſily perſwaded my ſelfe that their mother was their Miſtreſſe, and had taught them well and ſtraightly to preſerue their honeſtie. After that the Paracouſſy had receiued vs as I haue ſayde, hee commaunded his wife to preſent mee with a certaine number of

The riuer of Seine.
The riuer of Somme.
The courteſie of the Paracouſſy of the riuer of Somme.

bullets of ſiluer, for his owne part hee preſented mee with his bowe and his arrowes, as hee had done vnto Captaine Iohn Ribault in our firſt voyage, which is a ſigne of a perpetuall amitie and alliance with thoſe which they honour with ſuch a kinde of preſent. In our diſcourſing with one another, wee entred into ſpeach as touching the exerciſe of armes. Then the Paracouſſy cauſed a corſelet to be ſet on end, and prayed me to make a proofe of our Harguebuzes and their bowes: but this proofe pleaſed him very little; for aſſoone as hee knew that our Harguebuzes did eaſily pearce that which all the force of their bowes could not hurt, he ſeemed to be ſorie, muſing with himſelfe how this thing might bee done. Neuertheleſſe, going about to diſſemble in his minde that which his countenance could not doe by any meanes, hee began to fall into another matter, and prayed vs very earneſtly to ſtay with him that night in his houſe or lodging, affirming that no greater happineſſe could come vnto him then our long abode, which de deſired to recompence with a thouſand preſents.

Laudonnieres conſultation with his company where it might be beſt for them to plant.

Neuertheleſſe wee could not grant him this poynt, but tooke our leaue of him to returne to our ſhippes: where ſoone after I cauſed all my companie to bee aſſembled, with the Maſters and Pilots of my ſhippes, to conſult together of the place whereof wee ſhould make choiſe to plant our habitation. Firſt I let them vnderſtand, howe none of them were ignorant, that the part which was towarde the Cape of Florida, was altogether a mariſh Countrey, and therefore vnprofitable for our inhabitation: A thing which could yeelde neither profite to the King, nor any contentment or pleaſure to vs, if peraduenture we would inhabite there. On the other ſide if wee paſſed further toward the North to ſeeke out Port Royall, it would be neither very profitable nor conuenient: at the leaſt if wee ſhould giue credit to the report of them which remained there a long time, although the Hauen were one of the faireſt of the Weſt Indies: but that in this caſe the queſtion was not ſo much of the beautie of the place, as of things neceſſary to ſuſtaine life. And that for our inhabiting it was much more needefull for vs to plant in places plentifull of victuall, then in goodly Hauens, faire, deepe and pleaſant to the view. In conſideration whereof that I was of opinion, if it ſeemed good vnto them, to ſeate our ſelues about the Riuer of May: ſeeing alſo that in our firſt voyage wee found the ſame onely among all the reſt to abound in Maiz and corne, beſides the Golde and Siluer that was found there: a thing that put me in hope of ſome happie diſcouerie in time to come.

Gold and ſiluer found at the riuer of May.

After I had propoſed theſe things, euery one gaue his opinion thereof: and in fine all reſolued, namely thoſe which had beene with me in the firſt voyage, that it was expedient to ſeate themſelues rather on the Riuer of May then on any other, vntill they might heare newes out of France. This poynt being thus agreed vpon, wee ſayled toward the Riuer, and vſed ſuch diligence, that with the fauour of the windes wee arriued there the morrow after about the breake of day, which was on Thurſday the 29. of the moneth of Iune. Hauing caſt anker, I embarked all my ſtuffe and the ſouldiers of my companie, to ſayle right toward the opening of the Riuer: wherein we entred a good way vp, and found a Creeke of a reaſonable bigneſſe, which inuited vs to refreſh our ſelues a little, while wee repoſed our ſelues there. Afterwards wee went on ſhoare to ſeeke out a place plaine without trees, which wee perceiued from the Creeke.

Iune the 29.

But becauſe wee found it not very commodious for vs to inhabite there: wee determined to returne vnto the place which wee had diſcouered before, when wee had ſayled vp the Riuer. This place is ioyning to a mountaine, and it ſeemed vnto vs more fit and commodious to build a fortreſſe, then that where we were laſt. Therefore we tooke our way towards the forreſts being guided therein by the young Paracouſſy which had ledde vs before to his fathers lodging. Afterward we found a large plaine couered with high Pinetrees diſtant a little from the other: vnder which wee perceiued an infinite number of Stagges which brayed amidſt the plaine, athwart the which we paſſed: then wee diſcouered a little hill adioyning vnto a great vale very greene and in forme flat: wherein were the faireſt medowes of the world, and graſſe to feede cattel. Moreouer it is inuironed with a great number of brookes of freſh water, & high woods, which make the vale more delectable to the eye. After I had taken the viewe thereof at mine eaſe, I named it at the requeſt of our ſouldiers, The Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward. Anon hauing gone a little forward, we met an Indian woman of tall ſtature, which alſo was an Hermaphrodite, who came before vs with a great veſſell full of cleere fountaine water, wherewith ſhe greatly refreſhed vs. For we were exceeding faint by reaſon of the ardent heate which moleſted vs as we paſſed through thoſe high woods. And I beleeue that without the ſuccour of that Indian Hermaphrodite, or rather, if it had not beene for the great deſire which we

The Vale of Laudonniere.

An Hermaphrodite.

had to make vs reſolute of our ſelues, we had taken vp our lodging all night in the wood. Being therefore refreſhed by this meane, wee gathered our ſpirits together, and marching with a cheerefull courage, wee came to the place which wee had choſen to make our habitation in: whereupon at that inſtant neere the riuers brinke we ſtrowed a number of boughes and leaues, to take our reſt on them the night following, which wee found exceeding ſweete, becauſe of the paine which before we had taken in our trauell.

On the morrow about the breake of day, I commanded a trumpet to be ſounded, that being aſſembled we might giue God thankes for our fauourable and happie arriuall. There wee ſang a Pſalme of thankeſgiuing vnto God, beſeeching him that it would pleaſe him of his grace to continue his accuſtomed goodneſſe toward vs his poore ſeruaunts, and ayde vs in all our enterpriſes, that all might turne to his glory and the aduancement of our King. The prayer ended, euery man began to take courage.

They began their planting with prayer to God.

Afterward hauing meaſured out a piece of ground in forme of a triangle, wee indeuoured our ſelues of all ſides, ſome to bring earth, ſome to cut fagots, and others to raiſe and make the rampire, for there was not a man that had not either a ſhouell, or cutting hooke, or hatchet, as well to make the ground plaine by cutting downe the trees, as for the building of the Fort, which we did haſten w ſuch cheerfulneſſe, that within few dayes the effect of our diligence was apparant: in which meane ſpace the Paracouſſy Satourious our nerreſt neighbour, & on whoſe ground wee built our Fort, came vſually accompanyed with his two ſonnes and a great number of Indians to offer to doe vs all courteſie. And I likewiſe for my part beſtowed diuers of our trifles frankely on him, to the end he might know the good will we bare him, and thereby make him more deſirous of our friendſhip, in ſuch ſort, that as the dayes increaſed, ſo our amitie and friendſhip increaſed alſo.

After that our Fort was brought into forme, I began to build a Grange to retire my munition and things neceſſarie for the defence of our Fort: praying the Paracouſſy to command his ſubiects to make vs a couering of Palme leaues, and this to the ende that when that was done, I might vnfraight my ſhippes, and put vnder couerture thoſe things that were in them. Suddenly the Paracouſſy commaunded in my preſence all the Indians of his companie to dreſſe the next day morning ſo good a number of Palme leaues, that the Grange was couered in leſſe then two dayes: ſo that buſineſſe was finiſhed. For in the ſpace of thoſe two dayes, the Indians neuer ceaſſed from working, ſome in fetching Palme leaues, others in interlacing of them: in ſuch ſort that their Kings commandement was executed as he deſired.

In Florida they couer their houſes with Palme leaues.

Our Fort was built in forme of a triangle. The ſide towarde the Weſt, which was toward the lande, was incloſed with a little trench and raiſed with turues made in forme of a Battlement of nine foote high: the other ſide which was toward the Riuer, was incloſed with a Palliſado of plankes of timber after the maner that Gabions are made. On the South ſide there was a kinde of baſtion within which I cauſed an houſe for the munition to be built: it was all builded with fagots and ſand, ſauing about two or three foot high with turfes, whereof the battlements were made. In the middeſt I cauſed a great Court to be made of eighteene paces long and broad, in the middeſt whereof on the one ſide drawing toward the South I builded a Corps de gard, and an houſe on the other ſide toward the North, which I cauſed to bee raiſed ſomewhat too high: for within a ſhort while after the wind beat it downe: and experience taught me, that we may not build with high ſtages in this Countrey, by reaſon of the windes whereunto it is ſubiect. One of the ſides that incloſed my Court, which I made very faire and large, reached vnto the Grange of my munitions: and on the other ſide towardes the Riuer was mine owne lodging, round about which were galleries all couered. The principall doore of my lodging was in the middeſt of the great place, and the other was towarde the Riuer. A good diſtance from the Fort I built an Ouen to auoyde the danger againſt fire, becauſe the houſes are of Palme leaues, which will ſoone be burnt after the fire catcheth holde of them, ſo that with much adoe a man ſhall haue leaſure to quench them. Loe here in briefe the deſcription of our Fortreſſe, which I named Caroline in the honour of our Prince King Charles.

The forme of the Fort Caroline.

The Weſt ſide.

The South ſide.

High building is not good for this Countrey.

Note.

Caroline.

After wee were furniſhed with that which was moſt neceſſarie, I would not loſe a minute of an houre, without imploying of the ſame in ſome vertuous exerciſe: therefore I charged Monſieur de Ottigni my Lieutenant, a man in trueth worthy of all honour for his honeſtie and vertue, to ſearch vp within the Riuer, what this Thimogoa might be, whereof the Paracouſſy Satourioua had ſpoken to vs ſo often at our comming on ſhoare. For execution hereof the Paracouſly gaue him two Indians for his guides, which taking vpon them to lead him in this voyage, ſeemed to goe vnto a wedding, ſo deſirous they were to fight with their enemies.

The firſt voyage twentie leagues.

Being imbarked they hoiſed ſayle, and hauing ſayled about twentie leagues, the Indians which ſtill looked on this ſide and that ſide to eſpie ſome of their enemies, diſcouered three Canoas. And immediatly they began to crie Thimogoa, Thimogoa, and ſpake nothing elſe but to haſten forward to goe fight with them: which the Captaine ſeemed to be willing to doe, to content them. When they came to boord them, one of the Indians gat holde of an Halbert, another of an Coutelas in ſuch a rage, that hee would haue leapt into the water to haue fought with them alone. Neuertheleſſe Ottigni would not let them doe it, for while hee deferred to boord them, he gaue the others reſpite to turne the prowes of their Canoas toward the ſhoare, and ſo to eſcape into the woods. Againe, the meaning of Ottigni was not to make warre vpon them of Thimogoa, but rather to make them friendes, and to make them thenceforth to liue in peace one with another if it were poſſible, hoping by this meane to diſcouer dayly ſome new thing, & eſpecially the certaine courſe of the Riuer. For this purpoſe he cauſed the barke to retire, wherein were the two Indians his guides, and went with his men towarde the Canoas which were on the Riuers ſide. Being come vnto them, he put certaine trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which thing cauſed the Indians which were fled away to returne to their boats, and to vnderſtand by this ſigne, that thoſe of our Barke were none of their enemies, but rather come onely to traffique with them. Wherefore being thus aſſured of vs, they called to our men to come neere vnto them: which they did incontinently and ſet foote on lande, and ſpake freely vnto them, with diuers ceremonies ouer long to recount. In the ende Ottigni demaunded of them by ſignes if they had any Golde or Siluer among them. But they tolde him they had none as then: and that if he would ſend one of his men with them, they would bring him without danger into a place where they might haue ſome. Ottigni ſeeing them ſo willing, deliuered them one of his men which ſeemed very reſolute, to vndertake this voyage: this fellow ſtayed with them vntill tenne of the clocke the next morning, ſo that Captaine Ottigny ſomewhat offended with his long ſtay, ſayled ten great leagues further vp the Riuer: although he knew not which way he ſhould goe, yet he went ſo farre vp that hee eſpied the Boate wherein his ſouldier was: which reported vnto him, that the Indians would haue carried him three great dayes iourney further, & told him that a King named Mayrra rich in Gold and Siluer, dwelt in thoſe quarters, and that for ſmall quantitie of marchandiſe enough might be had of him: yet that hee would not hazard himſelfe himſelfe without his leaue, and that he brought but a very little Golde. This being done, our men returned toward our Fort Caroline, after they had left the ſouldier with the Indians to enfourme himſelfe more and more of ſuch things as he might diſcouer more at leaſure.

Ten leagues further.

Mayrra a king rich in golde and ſiluer.

The ſecond voyage.

Fifteene dayes after this voyage to Thimogoa, I diſpatched Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant alſo to returne againe into this Countrey, and to ſeeke out the ſouldier which remained there in the former voyage. Being therefore imbarked, they ſayled two whole dayes: and before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the Riuers ſide, which were expreſly ſent vnto that place to deſcry whether any of their enemies were come to that part, with intention to ſurpriſe them, as they did vſually.

King Molloua.

Olata Ouae Vtina a great king.

When they perceiued Captaine Vaſſeur, they knew incontinently that he was none of their enemies, and therefore made no difficultie to come neere vnto the Barke, and ſhewed him by ſignes that the Souldier which they ſought was not in that place, but was at that preſent in the houſe of King Molloua which was vaſſall vnto another great King named by them Olata Ouae Vtina: and that if the Captaine would ſayle thitherward, hee ſhould come thither very quickly: wherewith he was content, and cauſed his men to rowe to that part which the Indians ſhewed him: whereat they were ſo glad, that they came quickly before by land to declare his arriuall, which was at the lodging of king Molloua, after he had rowed not paſt halfe a league. While king Molloua had ended intertaining Captaine Vaſſeur and his men, the ſouldier came in with fiue or ſixe pounds weight of ſiluer which he had trucked and traffiqued with Indians.

Fiue or ſixe pound weight of ſiluer.

Fortie kings vaſſals to Vtina.

This King cauſed bread to bee made, and fiſh to bee dreſſed after the Indian faſhion to feaſt our men: to whom, while they were at meate, hee made a diſcourſe of diuers other Kings his friends & allies, reckoning vp to the number of nine of them by name, to wit, Cadecha, Chilili, Eclauou, Enacappe, Calany, Anacharaqua, Omittaqua, Acquera, Moquoſo: all which with him to the number of more then fortie, hee affirmed vs to bee the vaſſals of the moſt renowmed Olata Ouae Vtina.

This done, hee went about likewiſe to diſcouer the enemies of Ouae Vtina, in which number hee placed as the firſt the Paracouſſy Satourioua Monarch of the confines of the riuer of May, which hath vnder his obeyſance thirtie other Paracouſſies, whereof there were ten which were all his brethren, and that therefore hee was greatly eſteemed in thoſe partes: then hee named three others no leſſe puiſſant then Satourioua, whereof the firſt dwelt two dayes iourney from his lord Olata Ouae Vtina, and ordinarily made warre vpon him, whoſe name was Potanou, a man cruell in warre, but pitifull in the execution of his furie. For hee tooke the priſoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like vnto a ſeale, and ſo imprinted as if it had bene touched with an hotte yron, then hee let them goe without any more hurt. The two others were named Onatheaqua, and Houſtaqua, being great Lords, and abounding in riches, and principally Onatheaqua, which dwelt neere vnto the high mountaines, wherein there was abundance of many rare things, and infinite quantitie of a kinde of ſlate ſtone, wherewith they made wedges to cleaue their wood. The occaſion which (as he ſayd) mooued Potanou to wage warre againſt Olata Ouae Vtina, was the feare that he had, leſt he and his companions ſhould get of that hard ſtone in his Countrey, wherewith they headed their arrowes, and could not get it in any neerer place.

King Potanou.

An exceeding rich place.

Beſides all this, Molloua recited to Captaine Vaſſeur, that the kings allies the vaſſals of the great Olata, armed their breſts, armes, thighes, legs, & foreheads with large plates of gold and ſiluer: and that by this meanes the arrowes that were diſcharged vpon them could do them no maner of hurt at all, but rather were broken againſt them. Hereupon Captaine Vaſſeur inquired whether the Kings Onatheaqua and Houſtaqua were like vnto vs. For by the deſcription that they made of them, he began to doubt whether they were Spaniards or no: but Molloua tolde him that they were not, but that they were Indians like the reſt, ſauing that they painted their faces with blacke, and that the reſt as Molloua, painted them with red. Then my Lieutenant Vaſſeur, and my Sergeant promiſed him, that one day I ſhould march with my forces into thoſe Countreys, and that ioyning my ſelfe with his Lord Olata, I would ſubdue the inhabitants of the higheſt of thoſe mountaines. Hee was very glad of this ſpeach, and anſwered that the leaſt of theſe Kings which hee had named, ſhould preſent vnto the Generall of theſe ſuccours the height of two foot of gold and ſiluer, which by force of armes they had already gotten of thoſe two Kings, Onatheaqua, and Houſtaqua.

Large plates of gold and ſiluer.

Some paint their faces with blacke, and ſome with red.

The good cheere being done, and the diſcourſes ended, my men imbarked themſelues againe, with intention to bring mee thoſe good newes vnto the Fort Caroline. But after they had ſayled a very long while downe the Riuer, and were come within three leagues of vs, the tyde was ſo ſtrong againſt them, that they were conſtrained to goe on lande, and to retire themſelues becauſe of the night, vnto the dwelling of a certaine Paracouſſy named Molona, which ſhewed himſelfe very glad of their arriuall: for hee deſired to know ſome newes of Thimogoa, and thought that the French men went thither for none other occaſion but for to inuade them. Which Captaine Vaſſeur perceiuing, diſſembled ſo wel, that he made him beleeue that he went to Thimogoa with none other intention, but to ſubdue them, and to deſtroy them with the edge of the ſworde without mercy, but that their purpoſe had not ſuch ſucceſſe as they deſired, becauſe that the people of Thimogoa being aduertiſed of this enterpriſe, retired into the woods, and ſaued themſelues by flight: that neuertheleſſe they had taken ſome as they were flying away, which carried no newes thereof vnto their fellowes.

The Parocouſſy was ſo glad of this relation, that he interrupted him, and asked Vaſſeur of the beginning and maner of his execution, and prayed him that hee would ſhew him by ſignes howe all things paſſed. Immediatly Francis la Caille the Sergeant of my band tooke his ſword in his hand, ſaying, that with the point thereof he had thruſt through two Indians which ranne into the woods, and that his companions had done no leſſe for their partes. And that if fortune had ſo fauoured them, that they had not beene diſcouered by the men of Thimogoa, they had had a victorie moſt glorious and worthie of eternall memorie. Hereupon the Paracouſſy ſhewed himſelfe ſo well ſatiſfied, that he could not deuiſe how to gratifie our men, which hee cauſed to come into his houſe to feaſt them more honourably: and hauing made Captaine Vaſſeur to ſit next him, and in his owne chaire (which the Indians eſteeme for the chiefeſt honour) and then vnderneath him two of his ſonnes, goodly and mightie fellowes, hee commanded all the reſt to place themſelues as they thought good. This done, the Indians came according to their good cuſtome, to preſent their drinke Caſſine to the Paracouſſy, and then to certaine of his chiefeſt friends, and the Frenchmen. Then hee which brought it ſet the cup aſide, and drew out a little dagger ſticke vp in the roofe of the houſe, and like a mad man he lift his head aloft, and ranne apace, and went and ſmote an Indian which ſate alone in one of the corners of the hall, crying with a loud voyce, Hyou, the poore Indian ſtirring not at all for the blowe, which he ſeemed to endure patiently. He which held the dagger went quickly to put the ſame in his former place, and began againe to giue vs drinke, as hee did before: but he had not long continued, and had ſcarce giuen three or foure thereof, but he left his bowle againe, tooke the dagger in his hand, and quickly returned vnto him which hee had ſtricken before, to whom he gaue a very ſore blow on the ſide, crying Hyou, as he had done before: and then hee went to put the dagger in his place, and ſet himſelfe downe among the reſt. A little while after he that had bene ſtricken fell downe backwards, ſtretching out his armes and legs, as if hee had bene ready to yeeld vp the latter gaſpe. And then the younger ſonne of the Paracouſſy apparelled in a long white ſkinne, fell downe at the feete of him that was fallen backward, weeping bitterly halfe a quarter of an houre: after, two other of his brethren clad in like apparell, came about him that was ſo ſtricken, and began to ſigh pitifully. Their mother bearing a little infant in her armes came from another part, and going to the place where her ſonnes were, at the firſt ſhee vſed infinite numbers of outcries, then one while lifting vp her eyes to heauen, another while falling downe vnto the ground, ſhee cryed ſo dolefully, that her lamentable mournings would haue moued the moſt hard and ſtony heart in the world with pitie. Yet this ſufficed not, for there came in a companie of young girles, which did neuer leaue weeping for a long while in the place where the Indian was fallen downe, whom afterward they tooke, and with the ſaddeſt geſtures they could deuiſe, carried him away into another houſe a little way off from the great hall of the Paracouſſy, and continued their weepings and mournings by the ſpace of two long houres: in which meane while the Indians ceaſſed not to drinke Caſſine, but with ſuch ſilence that one word was not heard in the parlour.

King Malica.

Vaſſeur being grieued that he vnderſtood not theſe ceremonies, demanded of the Paracouſſy what theſe things meant: which anſwered him ſlowly, Thimogoa, Thimogoa, without ſaying any more. Being more diſpleaſed then he was before with ſo ſleight an anſwere, he turned vnto another Indian the Paracouſſyes brother, who was a Paracouſſy as well as his brother, called Malica, which made him a like anſwere as hee did at the firſt, praying him to aſke no more of theſe matters, and to haue patience for that time. The ſubtill old Paracouſſy prayed him within a while after, to ſhew him his ſword, which he would not denie him, thinking that hee would haue beheld the faſhion of his weapons: but he ſoone perceiued that it was to another ende: for the old man holding it in his hand, behelde it a long while on euery place, to ſee if he could finde any blood vpon it, which might ſhew that any of their enemies had bene killed: for the Indians are woont to bring their weapons wherewith their enemies haue beene defeated, with ſome blood vpon them, for a token of their victories. But ſeeing no ſigne thereof vpon it, he was vpon the point to ſay vnto him, that he had killed none of the men of Thimogoa: when as Vaſſeur preuenting that which hee might obiect, declared and ſhewed vnto him by ſignes, the maner of his enterpriſe, adding, that by reaſon of the two Indians which he had ſlaine, his ſword was ſo bloudy, that hee was inforced to waſh and make it cleane a long while in the Riuer: which the olde man beleeued to be like to be true, and made no maner of replie thereunto.

Tapiſtry made of ſmall reeds.

They lay moſſe about their woundes and vſe it in ſtead of napkins.

A ceremonie to call to minde the death of their anceſters ſlaine by their enemies.

Vaſſeur, La Caille, and their other companions went out of the hal to go into the roome whither they had carried the Indian: there they found the Paracouſſy ſitting vpon tapiſtries made of ſmall reedes, which was at meate after the Indian faſhion, and the Indian that was ſmitten hard by him, lying vpon the ſelfe ſame tapiſtry, about whom ſtoode the wife of the Paracouſſy, with all the young damſels which before bewailed him in the hall: which did nothing elſe but warme a great deale of moſſe in ſtead of napkins to rub the Indians ſide. Hereupon our men aſked the Paracouſſy againe for what occaſion the Indian was ſo perſecuted in his preſence: hee anſwered, that this was nothing elſe but a kinde of ceremonie, whereby they would call to minde the death and perſecutions of the Paracouſſies their anceſtours executed by their enemie Thimogoa: alleaging moreouer, that as often as he himſelfe, or any of his friends and allies returned from the Countrey, without they brought the heads of their enemies, or without bringing home ſome priſoner, hee vſed for a perpetuall memorie of all his predeceſſors, to beate the beſt beloued of all his children with the ſelfe ſame weapons wherewith they had bene killed in times paſt: to the ende that by renewing of the wound their death ſhould be lamented afreſh. Now whē they were thus informed of thoſe ceremonies, they thanked the Paracouſſy for their good intertainement which they had receiued, & ſo ſetting ſaile came to me vnto the fort: where

they declared all vnto me as I haue recited it heretofore. The eight and twentieth of Iuly our
ſhippes departed to returne into France. And within a while, about two monethes after our arri-
uall in Florida, the Paracouſſy Satourioua ſent certaine Indians vnto mee to knowe whether I
would ſtande to my promiſe which I had made him at my firſt arriuall in that Countrey, which
was that I would ſhewe my ſelfe friend to his friendes, and enemie vnto his enemies, and alſo to
accompany him with a good number of Harquebuzes, when he ſhould ſee it expedient, and ſhould
finde a fit occaſion to goe to warre. Now ſeeing he reſted vpon this promiſe, he prayed mee not to
deferre the ſame: ſeeing alſo that making accompt thereof, hee had taken ſuch good order for the
execution of his enterpriſe, that he was ready, and was furniſhed with all things that were neceſ-
ſary for the voyage: I made him anſwere, that for his amitie I would not purchaſe the enmitie
of the other, and that albeit I would, yet notwithſtanding I wanted meanes to doe it. For it be-
houed mee at that preſent to make prouiſion of victuals and munition for the defence of my Fort.
On the other ſide, that my Barkes were nothing ready, and that this enterpriſe would require
time: Moreouer, that the Paracouſſy Satourioua might holde himſelfe ready to depart within two
monethes, and that then I would thinke of fulfilling my promiſe to him.

The returne of their ſhips toward France the 28. of Iuly.

The Indians caried this anſwere to their Paracouſſy, which was litle pleaſed with it, becauſe
hee could not deferre his execution or expedition, aſwell becauſe all his victuals were ready, as al-
ſo becauſe tenne other Paracouſſies were aſſembled with him for the performance of this enter-
priſe. The ceremonie which this Sauage vſed before hee embarked his armie deſerueth not to
be forgotten. For when hee was ſet downe by the Riuers ſide, being compaſſed about with ten
other Paracouſſies, hee commaunded water to be brought him ſpeedily. This done, looking vp
into heauen, he fell to diſcourſe of diuers things with geſtures that ſhewed him to be in exceeding
great choller, which made him one while ſhake his head hither and thither, and by and by with I
wote not what furie to turne his face toward the Countrey of his enemies, and to threaten to kill
them. Hee oftentimes looked vpon the Sunne, praying him to graunt him a glorious victory of
his enemies. Which when hee had done by the ſpace of halfe an houre, hee ſprinkled with his
hand a little of the water which hee helde in a veſſell vpon the heads of the Paracouſſies, and caſt
the reſt as it were in a rage and deſpite into a fire which was there prepared for the purpoſe.
This done, hee cried out thriſe, He Thimogoa, and was followed with fiue hundreth Indians at
the leaſt, which were there aſſembled, which cried all with one voyce, He Thimogoa. This ce-
remonie, as a certaine Indian tolde mee familiarly, ſignifieth nothing elſe, but that Satourioua be-
ſought the Sunne to graunt vnto him ſo happy a victory, that hee might ſhed his enemies blood,
as he had ſhed that water at his pleaſure. Moreouer, that the Paracouſſies which were ſprinckled
with a part of that water, might returne with the heads of their enemies, which is the onely and
chiefe triumph of their victories.

The ceremonie which they vſe before they goe to warre.

Satourioua followed with fiue hundreth Indians.

The Paracouſſy Satourioua had no ſooner ended his ceremonies and had taken a viewe of all
his company, but he embarked himſelfe, and vſed ſuch diligence with his Almadies or boates, that
the next day two houres before the Sunnes ſet, he arriued on the territories of his enemies about
eight or tenne leagues from their villages. Afterward cauſing them all to goe on land, hee aſſem-
bled his counſell, wherein it was agreed that fiue of the Paracouſsies ſhould ſaile vp the Riuer
with halfe of the troupes, and by the breake of the day ſhould approche vnto the dwelling of their
enemie: for his owne part, that hee would take his iourney through the woods and forreſts as ſe-
cretly as hee coulde: that when they were come thither, as well they that went by water as hee
which went by land ſhould not faile by the breake of the day to enter into the village, and cut them
ll in pieces, except the women and little children.

Conſultation before they aſſault their enemies.

These things which were thus agreed vpon, were executed with as great fury as was poſ-
ble: which when they had done, they tooke the heades of their enemies which they had ſlaine,
d cut off their haire round about with a piece of their ſkulles: they tooke alſo foure and twen-
e priſoners, which they led away, and retired themſelues immediatly vnto their Boates which
ayed for them. Being come thither, they beganne to ſinge praiſes vnto the Sunne, to whom
ey attributed their victorie. And afterwards they put the ſkins of thoſe heads on the end of their
elings, and went altogether toward the territories of Paracouſſy Omoloa, one of them which
as in the company. Being come thither, they deuided their priſoners equally to each of the Pa-
couſſies, and left thirteene of them to Satourioua, which ſtraightway diſpatched an Indian his
uant, to carry newes before of the victory to them which ſtayed at home to guard their houſes,
hich immediatly beganne to weepe. But aſſoone as night was come, they neuer left dancing
o playing a thouſand gambols in honour of the feaſt.

How they vſe their enemies which they take in warre.

King Omoloa.

The next day the Paracouſſy Satourioua came home, who before hee entred into his lodging cauſed all the hairie ſkuls of his enemies to bee ſet vp before his doore, and crowned them with branches of Lawrell, ſhewing by this glorious ſpectacle the triumph of the victory which hee had obtained. Straightway beganne lamentation and mournings, which aſſoone as the night beganne were turned into pleaſures and dances.

Their maner of triumph.

After that I was aduertiſed of theſe things, I ſent a Souldier vnto Satourioua, praying him to ſende mee two of his priſoners: which hee denied mee, ſaying that hee was nothing beholding vnto mee, and that I had broken my promiſe, againſt the oath which I had ſworne vnto him at my arriuall. Which when I vnderſtoode by my Souldier, which was come backe with ſpeede, I deuiſed howe I might be reuenged of this Sauage, and to make him know how dearely this bolde brauado of his ſhould coſt him: therefore I commanded my Sergeant to prouide mee twentie Souldiers to goe with mee to the houſe of Satourioua: Where after I was come and entered into the hall without any maner of ſalutation, I went and ſate mee downe by him, and ſtayed a long while without ſpeaking any worde vnto him, or ſhewing him any ſigne of friendſhip, which thing put him deepely in his dumpes: beſides that certaine Souldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had giuen expreſſe commaundement to ſuffer no Indian to goe forth: hauing ſtoode ſtill about halfe an houre with this countenance, at length I demaunded where the priſoners were which hee had taken at Thimogoa, and commaunded them preſently to bee brought vnto me.

Whereunto the Paracouſſy angry at the heart, and aſtonied wonderfully, ſtoode a long while without making any anſwere, notwithſtanding at laſt hee anſwered me very ſtoutly, that being afraide to ſee vs comming thither in ſuch warrelike maner they fled into the woods, and that not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any meanes to bring them againe. Then I ſeemed to make as though I vnderſtood not what he ſaide, and asked for his priſoners againe, and for ſome of his principall allies. Then Satourioua commaunded his ſonne Athore to ſeeke out the priſoners, and to cauſe them to be brought into that place, which thing he did within an houre after.

Athore.

After they were come to the lodging of the Paracouſſy, they humbly ſaluted mee, and lifting vp their hands before me, they would haue fallen downe proſtrate as it were at my feet: but I would not ſuffer them, and ſoone after ledde them away with me vnto my owne Fort. The Paracouſſy being wonderfully offended with this brauado, bethought himſelfe by all meanes how hee might be reuenged of vs. But to giue vs no ſuſpition thereof, and the better to couer his intention, hee ſent his meſſengers oftentimes vnto vs bringing alwayes with them ſome kinde of preſents. Among others one day hee ſent three Indians, which brought vs two baskets full of great Pumpions, much more excellent then thoſe which we haue in France, and promiſed me in their Kings behalfe, that during mine abode in that Countrey, I ſhould neuer want victuals: I thanked them for their Kings good will, and ſignified vnto them the great deſire which I had, aſwell for the benefit of Satourioua, as for the quiet of his Subiects, to make a peace betweene him and thoſe of Thimogoa: which thing could not chooſe but turne to their great benefite, ſeeing that being allied with the Kings of thoſe parts, hee had an open paſſage againſt Onatheaqua his ancient enemie, which otherwiſe he could not ſet vpon. Moreouer that Olata Ouae Utina was ſo mightie a Paracouſſy, that Satourioua was not able to withſtand his forces: but being agreed together they might eaſily ouerthrow all their enemies, and might paſſe the confines of the fartheſt Riuers that were towards the South. The meſſengers prayed mee to haue patience vntill the morrow, at what time they would come againe vnto me to certifie me of their Lords inclination: which they failed not to doe, aduertiſing me that Paracouſſy Satourioua was the gladdeſt man in the world to treate of this accord (although indeed hee was quite contrary) and that he beſought mee to be diligent therein, promiſing to obſerue and performe whatſoeuer I ſhould agree vpon with thoſe of Thimogoa: which things the meſſengers alſo rehearſed vnto the priſoners which I had ledde away. After they were departed, I reſolued within two dayes to ſende backe againe the priſoners to Olata Ouae Utina, whoſe ſubiects they were: but before I embarked them, I gaue them certaine ſmall trifles, which were little kniues or tablets of glaſſe, wherein the image of King Charles the ninth was drawen very liuely, for which they gaue me very great thankes, as alſo for the honeſt entertainment which was giuen them at the Fort Caroline. After this they embarked themſelues, with Captaine Vaſſeur, and with Monſieur de Arlac mine Enſigne, which I had ſent of purpoſe to remaine a certaine time with Ouae Utina, hoping that the fauour of this great Paracouſſy would ſerue my turne greatly to make my diſcoueries in time to come. I ſent with him alſo one of my Sergeants, and ſixe gallant Souldiers.

Excellent Pumpions.

Thus things paſſed on this maner, and the hatred of Paracouſſy Satourioua againſt mee ſtill continue, vntill that on the nine and twentieth of Auguſt a lightning from heauen fell within halfe a league of our Fort, more worthy I beleeue to be wondered at, and to bee put in writing, then all the ſtrange ſignes which haue bene ſeene in times paſt, and whereof the hiſtories haue neuer written. For although the medowes were at that ſeaſon all greene, and halfe couered ouer with water, neuertheleſſe the lightning in one inſtant conſumed aboue fiue hundred acres therewith, and burned with the ardent heate thereof all the foules which tooke their paſtime in the medowes, which thing continued for three dayes ſpace, which cauſed vs not a little to muſe, not being able to iudge whereof this fire proceeded: for one while wee thought that the Indians had burnt their houſes, and abandoned their places for feare of vs: another while wee thought that they had diſcouered ſome ſhippes in the Sea, and that according to their cuſtome they had kindled many fires here and there, to ſignifie that their Countrey was inhabited: neuertheleſſe being not aſſured, I determined to ſende to Paracouſſy Serranay to knowe the trueth thereof. But euen as I was vpon the point to ſende one by boate to diſcouer the matter, ſixe Indians came vnto mee from Paracouſſy Allimacany, which at their firſt entrie made vnto mee a long diſcourſe, and a very large and ample oration (after they had preſented mee with certaine baskets full of Maiz, of Pompions and of Grapes) of the louing amitie which Allimacany deſired to continue with mee, and that hee looked from day to day when it would pleaſe mee to employ him in my ſeruice. Therefore conſidering the ſeruiceable affection that hee bare vnto mee, hee found it very ſtrange, that I thus diſcharged mine Ordinance againſt his dwelling, which had burnt vp an infinite ſight of greene medowes, and conſumed euen downe vnto the bottome of the water, and came ſo neere vnto his manſion, that hee thought hee ſawe the fire in his houſe: wherefore hee beſought mee moſt humbly to commaund my men that they would not ſhoote any more towards his lodging, otherwiſe that hereafter he ſhould be conſtrained to abandon his countrey, and to retire himſelfe into ſome place further off from vs.

A wonderfull lightning the 29. of Auguſt.

King Serranay.

King Allimacany.

The Sauages thinke the lightning to be diſcharging of the Chriſtians Ordinance.

Hauing vnderſtood the fooliſh opinion of this man, which notwithſtanding coulde not chooſe but bee very profitable for vs, I diſſembled what I thought thereof for that time, and anſwered the Indians with a cheerefull countenance, that the relation which they made vnto mee of the obedience of their Paracouſſy did pleaſe mee right well, becauſe that before hee had not behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort towards mee, eſpecially when I ſummoned him to ſende mee the priſoners of great Olata Ouae Vtina which he detained, whereof notwithſtanding he made no great accompt, which was the principall cauſe wherefore I had diſcharged mine Ordinance againſt him: not that I meant to reach vnto his houſe (as I might haue done eaſily, if it had pleaſed me) but that I was content to ſhoote the halfe way to make him knowe my force: aſſuring him furthermore, that on condition that he would continue in his good affection, no more ordinance ſhould be diſcharged againſt him hereafter: and beſides that I would become his faithfull protectour againſt his greateſt enemies.

Laudonniere vſed the preſent occaſion to his profite.

The Indians contented with mine anſwere returned to aſſure their Paracouſſy, which notwithſtanding the aſſurance withdrewe himſelfe from his dwelling twentie or fiue and twentie leagues off, and that for the ſpace of more then two moneths. After that three dayes were expired, the fire was quite extinguiſhed. But for two dayes after there followed ſuch an exceſſiue heate in the aire, that the Riuer neere vnto which we planted our habitation, became ſo hoat, that I thinke it was almoſt ready to ſeeth. For there died ſo great abundance of fiſh, and that of ſo many diuers ſorts, that in the mouth of the Riuer onely there were founde dead ynough to haue loaden fiftie Carts, whereof there iſſued a putrefaction in the aire, which bred many dangerous diſeaſes amongſt vs, inſomuch that moſt of my men fell ſicke, and almoſt ready to ende their dayes. Yet notwithſtanding it pleaſed our mercifull God ſo to prouide by his prouidence, that all our men recouered their health without the loſſe of any one of them.

A wonderfull heate.

Fiftie cart load of fiſh dead in the Riuer with this heat.

Monſieur de Arlac, Captaine Vaſſeur, and one of my Sergeants being embarked with their tenne Souldiers about the tenth of September, to cary backe the priſoners vnto Vtina, ſailed ſo farre vp the Riuer, that they diſcouered a place called Mayarqua diſtant from our Fort about reeſcore leagues, where the Indians gaue them good entertainement, and in many other villages which they found. From this place they rowed to the dwelling of Paracouſſy Vtina, which fter hee had feaſted them according to his abilitie and power, prayed Monſieur de Arlac and all s Souldiers to ſtay a while with him, to ayde and aſſiſt him in battaile againſt one of his enemies called Potanou, whereunto Monſieur de Arlac conſented willingly. And becauſe hee knew ot how long he might haue occaſion to ſtay in theſe parts, hee ſent mee Captaine Vaſſeur and the Barke backe againe, which brought home onely fiue Souldiers with him.

The thirde voyage the tenth of September.

Mayarqua a place 80. leagues vp the Riuer of May.

King Potanou.

Now becauſe the cuſtome of the Indians is alwayes to wage warre by ſurpriſe, Vtina reſolued to

The Indians maner of war.

Two hundreth Indians.

A village incloſed with trees.

Vtina getteth the victorie of Potanou by the helpe of the French.

Siluer, and gold, and painted ſkinnes.

take his enemie Potanou in the morning by the breake of the day : to bring this to paſſe, hee made his men to trauaile all the night, which might be in number two hundred perſons, ſo well aduiſed, that they prayed our French-ſhot to be in the fore-front, to the ende (as they ſaide) that the noyſe of their pieces might aſtoniſh their enemies : notwithſtanding they coulde not march ſo ſecretly, but that thoſe of the village of Potanou, diſtant from the dwelling of Vtina about fiue and twentie leagues, were ware of them : which ſuddenly employed and beſtowed all their endeuour to defend their village encloſed all with trees, and iſſued out in great companies: but finding themſelues charged with ſhotte, (a thing wherewith they neuer had bene acquainted) alſo beholding the Captaine of their bande fall downe dead in the beginning of their ſkirmiſh, with a ſhot of an Harquebuſe which ſtrooke him in the forehead, diſcharged by the hande of Monſieur de Arlac, they left the place : and the Indians of Vtina gate into the village, taking men, women, and children priſoners. Thus Paracouſſy Vtina obtained the victory by the ayde of our men, which ſlew many of his enemies, and loſt in this conflict one of their companions, wherewith Vtina was very much grieued. Eight or tenne dayes after, I ſent Captaine Vaſſeur backe againe with a Barke to fetch home Monſieur de Arlac and his Souldiers, which at their returne brought mee certaine preſents from Vtina, es ſome ſiluer, a ſmall quantitie of golde, painted ſkinnes, and other things, with a thouſand thankes, which the Paracouſſy gaue me, which promiſed that if in any enterpriſe of importance I ſhould haue neede of his men, he would furniſh mee with three hundreth and aboue.

La Roquettes conſpiracie.

Monſieur de Genre.

Genres meſſage to Laudoniere in the Souldiers name.

His anſwere.

A dangerous practiſe againſt the Captaine and his Lieutenant.

While I thus trauailed to purchaſe friends, & to practiſe one while with one here, an other while with another there, certaine Souldiers of my company were ſuborned vnder hand by one named la Roquette of the Countrey of Perigort, which put in their heads that hee was a great Magician, and that by the ſecrets of Art-magicke he had diſcouered a Mine of golde and ſiluer farre vp within the Riuer, whereby (vpon the loſſe of his life,) euery Souldier ſhould receiue in ready Bullion the value of tenne thouſand Crownes, beſide and aboue fifteene hundred thouſand which ſhould be reſerued for the Kings Maieſtie : wherefore they allied themſelues with La Roquette and another of his confederates, whoſe name was Le Genre, in whom notwithſtanding I had great affiance. This Genre exceeding deſirous to enrich himſelfe in thoſe parts, and ſeeking to be reuenged, becauſe I would not giue him the carriage of the Paquet into France, ſecretly informed the Souldiers that were already ſuborned by La Roquette, that I would depriue them of this great gaine, in that I did ſet them dayly on worke, not ſending them on euery ſide to diſcouer the Countreys : therefore that it were a good deede, after they had made mee vnderſtand ſo much, to ſeeke meanes to diſpatch mee out of the way, and to chooſe another Captaine in my place, if I would not giue them victuals according to their diſordinate appetite. Hee alſo brought mee word hereof himſelfe, making a large diſcourſe vnto mee of the good affection of the Souldiers, which all beſought mee that I would conduct them to the Countreys where the Mine was: I made him anſwere that all could not goe thither, and that it was neceſſary before their departure to ſettle our Fortreſſe in ſuch eſtate, that thoſe which were to ſtay at home behind ſhould remaine in ſecuritie againſt the Indians which might ſurpriſe them. Furthermore, that their maner of proceeding ſeemed ſtrange vnto mee, for that they imagined, that the Kings Maieſtie was at the charges of our voyage for none other ende, but onely to enrich them at their firſt arriuall, in as much as they ſhewed themſelues much more giuen vnto couetouſneſſe, then vnto the ſeruice of their Prince : But ſeeing mine anſwere tended vnto none other ende but to make our Fortreſſe ſtrong and defenſible, they determined to trauaile in the worke, and made an enſigne of olde linnen, which ordinarily they bare vpon the rampart when they went to worke, alwayes wearing their weapons, which I thought they had done to incourage themſelues to worke the better. But as I perceiued afterwards, and that by the confeſſion of Genre ſent mee in letters which he writ to mee of that matter, theſe gentle Souldiers did the ſame for none other ende, but to haue killed mee, and my Lieutenant alſo, if by chance I had giuen them any hard ſpeeches.

Laudonniers ſickneſſe.

Laudonniers Apothecarie.

About the twentieth of September, as I came home from the woods and coppiſes to finiſh the building of my Fort, (and that according to my vſuall maner, I marched firſt to giue encouragement vnto my Souldiers) I chafed my ſelfe in ſuch ſort, that I fell into a ſore and grieuous ſickeneſſe, whereof I thought I ſhould haue died : During which ſickeneſſe, I called Le Genre often vnto mee, as one that I truſted aboue all others, and of whoſe conſpiracies I doubted not any whit at all. In this meane while aſſembling his complices, ſometime in his chamber and ſometime in the woods to conſult with them, hee ſpake vnto them to chooſe another Captaine beſides mee, to the intent to put mee to death : but being not able by open force to execute his miſchieuous intention, hee gate him vnto mine Apothecarie, praying him inſtantly to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receiue one or two dayes after, ſome drugge that ſhould make mee pitch ouer the pearch, or at the leaſt that hee would giue him a little Arſenike or quicke Siluer, which hee himſelfe would put into my drinke. But the Apothecary denied him, as did in like maner Maſter S. which was Maſter of the fire-workes. Thus wholly diſappointed of both his meanes, hee with certaine others reſolued to hide a little barrell of gunne-powder vnderneath my bed, and by a traine to ſet it on fire.

The Maſter of the fire-workes.

Vpon theſe practiſes a Gentleman which I had diſpatched to returne into France, being about to take his leaue of me, aduertiſed me, that Gieure had giuen him a booke full of all kinde of lewde inuectiues and ſlanders againſt me, againſt Monſieur de Ottigny, and againſt the principal of my company: vpon which occaſion I aſſembled all my Souldiers together, and Captaine Bourdet with all his, which on the fourth of September arriued in the roade, and were come into our Riuer. In their preſence I cauſed the contents of the booke to bee read alowde, that they might beare record of the vntruths that were written againſt mee. Gieure, which had gotten him into the woods for feare of being taken, (where he liued for a while after with the Sauages by my permiſſion,) writ vnto mee often, and in many of his letters confeſſed vnto mee, that he had deſerued death, condemning himſelfe ſo farre foorth, that he referred all to my mercie and pitie.

Captaine Bourdet arriued in Florida the 4. of September.

The ſeuenth or eighth day of Nouember, after I had cauſed ſufficient prouiſion of ſuch victuals as were needefull to bee made, I ſent two of my men, to wit, La Roche Ferriere, and an other towarde King Vtina, to diſcouer euery day more and more of the Countrey: where hee was the ſpace of fiue or ſixe moneths, during which hee diſcouered many ſmall villages, and among others one named Hoſtaqua, the King whereof being deſirous of my friendſhip, ſent vnto mee a quiuer made of a Luierns ſkinne full of arrowes, a couple of bowes, foure or fiue ſkinnes painted after their maner, and a cheine of Siluer weying about a pounde weight. In recompence of which preſents I ſent him two whole ſutes of apparell, with certaine cutting hookes or hatchets.

The 4. voyage the 7 of Nouember.

Hoſtaqua a village.

After theſe things therefore in this ſort paſſed, about the tenth of this moneth, Captaine Bourdet determined to leaue mee and to returne into France. Then I requeſted him, yea rather was exceeding importunate with him, to carry home with him ſome ſixe or ſeuen Souldiers, whom I could not truſt by any meanes: which hee did for my ſake, and would not charge himſelfe with Gieure, which offered him a great ſumme of money, if it would pleaſe him to carry him into France: hee tranſported him onely to the other ſide of the Riuer. Three dayes after his departure thirteene Mariners which I had brought out of France, ſuborned by certaine other Mariners which Captaine Bourdet had left me, ſtole away my Barkes in maner following. Theſe Mariners of Captaine Bourdet put mine in the head, that if they had ſuch Barkes as mine were, they might gaine very much in the Iſles of the Antilles, and make an exceeding profitable voyage. Hereupon they beganne to deuiſe howe they might ſteale away my Barkes, and conſulted that when I ſhould command them to goe vnto the village of Sarauahi diſtant about a league and an halfe from our Fort, and ſituated vpon an arme of the Riuer, (whither according to my maner I ſent them dayly to ſeeke clay, to make bricke and morter for our houſes) they would returne no more, but would furniſh themſelues with victuals as well as they might poſſibly: and then would embarke themſelues all in one veſſell, and would goe their way: as in deede they did. And that which was worſe, two Flemiſh Carpenters, which the ſaide Bourdet had left mee, ſtole away the other Barke, and before their departure cut the cables of the Barke, and of the ſhip-boate, that it might goe away with the tyde, that I might not purſue them: ſo that I remained without either Barke or boate, which fell out as vnluckily for mee as was poſſible. For I was ready to imbarke my ſelfe with all ſpeede, to diſcouer as farre vp our Riuer, as I might by any meanes. Nowe my Mariners, (as I vnderſtood afterwards) tooke a Barke that was a paſſenger of the Spaniards neere the Iſle of Cuba, wherein they founde a certaine quantitie of golde and ſiluer, which they ſeazed vpon. And hauing this bootie they lay a while at Sea, vntill their victuals beganne to faile them: which was the cauſe, that oppreſſed with famine they came vnto Hauana the principall Towne of the Iſle of Cuba: whereupon proceeded that miſchiefe which hereafter I will declare more at large. When I ſaw my Barkes returned not at their wonted houre and ſuſpecting that which fell out in deed, I commanded my Carpenters with all diligence to make a little boat with a flat bottome, to ſearch thoſe Riuers for ſome newes of theſe Mariners. The boate diſpatched within a day and a night, by reaſon that my Carpenters found plankes ready ſawed to their hands, as commonly I cauſed my Sawyers to prouide it, I ſent men to ſeeke ſome newes of my theeues: but all was in vaine. Therefore I determined to cauſe two great Barkes to be built, eche of which might be thirtie fiue, or thirtie ſixe foote long in the keele.

One of his Barks ſtolne away by his Mariners.

The village of Sarauahi.

Another of his Barks ſtolne away by two Carpenters.

One of theſe Mariners named Francis Iean betrayed his own countrey men to the Spaniards, and brought them into Florida.

A Saw-mill neceſſary here.

And now the worke was very well forwarde which I ſet my workemen about, when ambition and auarice, the mother of all miſchiefe, tooke roote in the hearts of foure or fiue ſouldiers which could not away with the worke and paines taking: and which from hence forward (namely one Fourneaux, and one La Croix, and another called Steuen le Geneuois, the three principall authors of the ſedition) beganne to practiſe with the beſt of my troupe, ſhewing them that it was a vile thing for men of honeſt parentage, as they were, to moyle themſelues thus with abiect and baſe worke, ſeeing they had the beſt occaſion of the worlde offered them to make themſelues all riche: which was to arme the two Barkes which were in building, and ſo furniſh them with good men: and then to ſaile vnto Peru, and the other Iſles of the Antilles, where euery Souldier might eaſily enrich himſelfe with tenne thouſand Crownes. And if their enterpriſe ſhould bee miſliked withall in France, they ſhould bee alwayes able, by reaſon of the great wealth that they ſhould gaine, to retire themſelues into Italy, vntill the heate were ouerpaſſed, and that in the meane ſeaſon ſome warre would fall out, which would cauſe all this to be quite forgotten.

The third ſedition.

By Peru the French meane the coaſt of Carthagena and Nombre de Dios.

This word of riches ſounded ſo well in the eares of my Souldiers, that in fine, after they had oftentimes conſulted of their affaires, they grew to the number of threeſcore and ſixe: which to colour their great deſire which they had to goe on ſtealing, they cauſed a requeſt to bee preſented vnto mee by Francis de la Caille Sergeant of my company, conteyning in ſumme a declaration of the ſmall ſtore of victuals that was left to maintaine vs, vntil the time that ſhippes might returne from France: for remedy whereof they thought it neceſſary to ſende to New Spaine, Peru, and all the Iſles adioyning, which they beſought mee to be content to graunt. But I made them anſwere, that when the Barkes were finiſhed, I would take ſuch good order in generall, that by meanes of the Kings marchandiſe, without ſparing mine owne apparell, wee would get victuals of the inhabitants of the Countrey: ſeeing alſo that wee had ynough to ſerue vs for ſome monethes to come. For I feared greatly, that vnder pretence of ſearching victuals, they would enterpriſe ſomewhat againſt the King of Spaines Subiects, which in time to come might eaſily bee layde to my charge, conſidering that at our departure out of France, the Queene had charged me very expreſly, to doe no kinde of wrong to the King of Spaines Subiects, nor any thing whereof he might conceiue any ielouſie.

The captaines charge at his ſetting forth.

They made as though they were content with this anſwere. But eight dayes after, as I continued in working vpon our Forte, and on my Barkes, I fell ſicke. Then my ſeditious companions forgetting all honour and duetie, ſuppoſing that they had found good occaſion to execute their rebellious enterpriſe, beganne to practiſe afreſh their former deſignes, handling their buſineſſe ſo well, during my ſickneſſe, that they openly vowed that they would ſeaze on the Corps de gard, and on the Forte, yea, and force mee alſo, if I would not conſent vnto their wicked deſire. My Lieutenant being hereof aduertiſed, came and tolde mee that he ſuſpected ſome euill practiſe: and the next day in the morning I was ſaluted at my gate with men in complet harneſſe, what time my Souldiers were about to play mee a ſhrewde tricke: then I ſent to ſeeke a couple of Gentlemen whom I moſt truſted, which brought mee word that the Souldiers were determined to come to me to make a requeſt vnto me: But I tolde them that this was not the faſhion to preſent a requeſt vnto a Captaine in this maner, and therefore they ſhould ſend ſome fewe vnto me to ſignifie vnto mee what they would haue. Hereupon the fiue chiefe authours of the ſedition armed with Corſlets, their Piſtolles in their handes already bent, preſt into my chamber, ſaying vnto mee, that they would goe to New Spaine to ſeeke their aduenture. Then I warned them to bee well aduiſed what they meant to doe: but they forthwith replyed, that they were fully aduiſed already, and that I muſt graunt them this requeſt. Seeing then (quoth I) that I am enforced to doe it, I will ſende Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant, which will make anſwere and giue mee an accompt of euery thing that ſhall be done in this voyage: And to content you, I thinke it good that you take one man out of euery chamber, that they may accompany Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant. Whereupon, blaſpheming the Name of God, they anſwered that they muſt goe thither: and that there lacked nothing, but that I ſhould deliuer them the armour which I had in my cuſtodie, for feare leaſt I might vſe them to their diſaduantage (being ſo villanouſly abuſed by them:) wherein notwithſtanding I would not yeeld vnto them. But they tooke all by force, and caried it out of my houſe, yea and after they had hurt a Gentleman in my chamber, which ſpake againſt their doings, they layd handes on mee, and caried mee very ſicke, as I was, priſoner into a ſhippe which rode at ancker in the middeſt of the Riuer, wherein I was the ſpace of fifteene dayes, attended vpon with one man onely without permiſſion for any of my ſeruants to come to viſite mee: from euery one of whom, as alſo from the reſt that tooke my part, they tooke away their armour. And they ſent mee a paſſeport to ſigne, telling me plainely after I had denied them

Laudonniere kept 15. dayes priſoner by his owne ſouldiers.

that if I made any difficulty, they would all come and cut my throat in the ſhippe. Thus was I conſtrained to ſigne their Paſſe-port, and forthwith to grant them certaine mariners, with Trenchant an honeſt and ſkilfull Pilot. When the barks were finiſhed, they armed them with the kings munition, with powder, with bullets, and artillery, aſmuch as they needed, and choſe one of my Sergeants for their Captain, named Bertrand Conferrent, and for their Enſigne one named La Croix. They compelled Captaine Vaſſeur to deliuer them the flag of his ſhip. Then hauing determined to ſaile vnto a place of the Antilles, called Leauguaue, belonging vnto the king of Spaine, and there to goe on land on Chriſtmaſſe night, with intention to enter into the Church while the Maſſe was ſayd after midnight, and to murder all thoſe that they found there, they ſet ſaile the eight of December. But becauſe the greateſt part of them by this time repented them of their enterpriſe, and that now they began to fall into mutinies among themſelues, when they came foorth of the mouth of the riuer, the two barks diuided themſelues; the one kept along the coaſt vnto Cuba, to double the Cape more eaſily, and the other went right foorth to paſſe athwart the Iſles of Lucaya: by reaſon whereof they mette not vntill ſixe weekes after their departure. During which time the barke that tooke her way along the coaſt, wherein one of the chi[illegible] conſpiratours named De Orange was Captaine, and Trenchant his Pilot, neere vnto a place called Archaha, tooke a Brigantine laden with a certaine quantity of Caſſaui, which is a kinde of bread made of roots, and yet neuertheleſſe is very white, and good to eat, and ſome little Wine, which was not without ſome loſſe of their men: for in one aſſault that the inhabitants of Archaha made vpon them, two of their men were taken, to wit, Steuen Gondeau, and one named Grand Pré, beſides two more that were ſlaine in the place, namely Nicolas Maſter and Doublet: yet neuertheleſſe they tooke the Brigantine, wherein they put all their ſtuffe that was in their owne Barke, becauſe it was of greater burthen and better of ſaile then their owne. Afterward they ſailed right vnto the Cape of Santa Maria nere to Leauguaue, where they went on land to calke and bray their ſhip which had a great leake. In this meane while they reſolued to ſaile to Baracou, which is a village of the Iſle of Iamaica: where at their arriuall they found a Carauel of fifty or threeſcore tunnes burden, which they tooke without any body in it: and after they had made good cheere in the village the ſpace of fiue or ſixe dayes, they embarked themſelues in it, leauing their ſecond ſhip: then they returned to the Cape of Tiburon, where they met with a Patach, which they tooke by force after a long conflict. In this Patach the gouernour of Iamaica was taken, with great ſtore of riches, aſwell of golde and ſiluer as of merchandiſe and wine, and many other things; wherewith our ſeditious companions not content, determined to ſeeke more in their carauell, and their gouernour of Iamaica alſo. After they were come to Iamaica, they miſſed of another carauel which did ſaue it ſelfe in the hauen. The gouernour being fine and ſubtile, ſeeing himſelfe brought vnto the place which he deſired and where he commanded, obtained ſo much by his faire words, that they which had taken him let him put two little boyes which were taken with him into a little cocke boat, and ſend them to his wife into the village, to aduertiſe her that ſhe ſhould make prouiſion of victuals to ſend vnto him. But in ſtead of writing vnto his wife, he ſpake vnto the boyes ſecretly that with all diligence ſhe ſhould ſend the veſſels that were in the hauens neere that place to ſuccour and reſcue him. Which ſhe did ſo cunningly, that on a morning about the breake of the day, as our ſeditious companions were at the hauens mouth (which reacheth aboue two leagues vp within the land) there came out of the hauen a malgualire which maketh ſaile both forward and backward, and then two great ſhippes, which might be ech of them of fourescore or an hundred tunnes a piece, with good ſtore of ordinance and well furniſhed with men: at whoſe comming our mutinous fellowes were ſurpriſed, being not able to ſee them when they came, aſwell becauſe of the darkneſſe of the weather, as alſo by reaſon of the length of the hauen, conſidering alſo they miſtruſted nothing. True it is that fiue or ſix & twenty that were in the brigantine diſcouered theſe ſhips when they were nere them, which ſeeing themſelues preſſed for want of leaſure to weigh their anker, cut their cable, and the trumpeter which was in it aduertiſed the reſt: whereupon the Spanyards ſeeing themſelues deſcried, diſcharged a volley of canon ſhot againſt the French men, which they followed by the ſpace of three leagues, and recouered their own ſhips: the brigantine which eſcaped away, paſſed in the ſight of the Cape des Aigrettes, and the Cape of S. Anthony ſituate in the Iſle of Cuba, & from thence paſſed within the ſight of Hauana; but Trenchant their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certaine other mariners of this brigantine, which were led away by force in this voyage (as elſwhere we haue declared) deſired nothing more then to returne to me: wherefore theſe men agreed together (if peraduenture the wind ſerued them well) to paſſe the chanell of Bahama, while their ſeditious companions were aſleepe: which they did accompliſh with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that in the morning toward the

Trenchant a ſkilfull pilot.

Caſſaui, bread made of roots.

Baracou a village in the Iſle of Iamaica.

The cape of Tiburon.

The gouernour of Iamaica taken.

Malgualire a kinde of veſſell that will ſaile forward and backward.

The Cape of S. Antony in Cuba.

Hauana.

The chanell of Bahama.

the breake of the day about the fiue and twentieth of March they arriued vpon the coaſt of Florida: where knowing the fault which they had committed, in a kinde of mockery they counterfaited the Iudges: but they played not this pranke vntill they had tippled well of the Wine which remained yet in their prize. One counterfeited the Iudge, another preſented my perſon: one other after he had heard the matter pleaded, concluded thus: Make you your cauſes as good as it pleaſeth you, but if when you come to the fort Caroline the Captaine cauſe you not to be hanged, I will neuer take him for an honeſt man: others thought that my choler being paſſed, I would eaſily forget this matter. Their ſaile was no ſooner deſcried vpon our coaſt, but the king of the place named Patica, dwelling eight leagues diſtant from our fort, and being one of our good friends, ſent an Indian to aduertiſe me that he had deſcried a ſhippe vpon the coaſt, and that he thought it was one of our nation. Hereupon the brigantine oppreſſed with famine, came to an anker at the mouth of the riuer of May, when at the firſt bluſh we thought they had beene ſhippes come from France; which gaue vs occaſion of great ioy: but after I had cauſed her to be better viewed, I was aduertiſed that they were our ſeditious companions that were returned. Therefore I ſent them word by Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant, that they ſhould bring vp their brigantine before the fortreſſe: which they promiſed to doe. Now there was not aboue three leagues diſtance from the mouth of the riuer where they caſt anker vnto the fortreſſe. The next day I ſent the ſame Captaine and Sergeant with thirty ſouldiers, becauſe I ſaw they much delayed their comming. Then they brought them: and becauſe certaine of them had ſworne at their departure, that they would neuer come againe within the fort, I was well pleaſed they ſhould keepe their oth. For this purpoſe I waited for them at the riuers mouth, where I made my barkes to be built, and commanded my Sergeant to bring the foure chiefe authours of the mutiny on ſhore; whom I cauſed immediatly to be put in fetters: for my meaning was not to puniſh the reſt, conſidering that they were ſuborned, and becauſe my councell expreſly aſſembled for this purpoſe had concluded that theſe foure only ſhould die, to ſerue for an example to the reſt. In the ſame place I made an Oration vnto them in this maner.

King Patica.

The returne of part of Laudonnieres ſeditious ſouldiers.

Laudonnieres oration to his mutinous ſouldiers.

MY friends, you know the cauſe why our king ſent vs vnto this countrey; you know that he is our naturall Prince, whom we are bound to obey according to the commaundement of God, in ſuch ſort, that we ought neither to ſpare our goods nor liues to do thoſe things that concerne his ſeruice: ye know, or at leaſt you cannot be ignorant, that beſides this generall and naturall obligation, you haue this alſo ioyned thereunto, that in receiuing of him reaſonable pay and wages, you are bound to follow thoſe whom he hath eſtabliſhed ouer you to be your gouernours, and to command you in his name, hauing for this purpoſe giuen him an oth of fidelitie, which you cannot by any meanes reuoke for any faire apparance which you haue to doe the contrary: for this is reaſon, that ſeeing you liue vpon his charges on this condition, (this is reaſon I ſay) that you ſhould be faithfull vnto him. Notwithſtanding you haue had more regard vnto your vnbridled affections then vnto vertue, which inuited you to the obſeruance of your oth, in ſuch ſort that being become contemners of all honeſty, you haue paſſed your bonds, and thought that all things were lawfull for you. Whereupon it is fallen out, that while you thought to eſcape the iuſtice of men, you could not auoid the iudgement of God, which as a thing by no meanes to be auoided hath led you, and in ſpight of you hath made you to arriue in this place, to make you confeſſe how true his iudgements are, and that he neuer ſuffereth ſo foule a fault to eſcape vnpuniſhed.

After that I had vſed vnto them theſe or the like ſpeeches, following that which we had agreed vpon in councell, in reſpect of the crimes which they had committed, aſwel againſt the kings Maieſty as againſt mee which was their Captaine, I commanded that they ſhould be hanged. Seeing therefore that there was no ſtarting hole, nor meanes at all to ſaue themſelues from this arreſt, they tooke themſelues vnto their prayers: yet one of the foure, thinking to raiſe a mutiny among my ſouldiers, ſayd thus vnto them: What, brethren and companions, will you ſuffer vs to die ſo ſhamefully? And taking the word out of his mouth, I ſayd vnto him, that they were not companions of authours of ſedition and rebels vnto the kings ſeruice. Hereupon the ſouldiers beſought me not to hang them, but rather let them be ſhot thorow, & then afterward, if I thought good, their bodies might be hanged vpon certaine gibbets along the hauens mouth: which I cauſed preſently to be put in execution. Loe here what was the end of my mutinous ſouldiers, without which I had alwayes liued peaceably, and enioyed the good deſire which I had to make a happy and quiet voyage. But becauſe I haue ſpoken of nothing but their accidents and aduentures which happened vnto them after their departure, without making any mention of our fo I will returne to the matters from which I digreſſed, to declare that which fell out after their departure

The ſentence of death.

Execution.

The continuation of the hiſtory.

departure. Firſt I began to conſider, to the end I might confirme and make my ſelfe more conſtant in mine affliction, that theſe murmurers could not ground their ſedition vpon want of victuals: for from the time of our arriuall, euery ſouldier dayly vnto this day, and beſides vntill the eight and twentieth of February, had a loafe of bread weighing two and twenty ounces. Againe I recounted with my ſelfe that all new conqueſts by ſea or by land are ordinarily troubled with rebellions, which are eaſie to be raiſed, aſwell in reſpect of the diſtance of place, as in reſpect of the hope that the ſouldiers haue to make their profit, as we may be well informed both by ancient hiſtories and alſo by the troubles which lately happened vnto Chriſtopher Columbus, after his firſt diſcouery, to Francis Pizarro, & Diego de Almagro in Peru, & to Fernando Cortes. An hundred thouſand other things came vnto my minde, to incourage and confirme me. My Lieutenant Ottigny, and my Sergeant of my band came to ſeeke me in the ſhip, where I was priſoner, and caried me from thence in a barke aſſoone as our rebels were departed. After I was come vnto the fort, I cauſed all my company that remained, to be aſſembled in the midſt of the place before the Corps de garde, and declared vnto them the faults which they that had forſaken vs had committed, praying them to beare them in memory, to beare witneſſe thereof when need ſhould require. Forthwith I ordained new Captaines to command the troups; and preſcribed them an order, according whereunto they were to gouerne themſelues from thence forward, and to enter into their watch: for the greateſt part of the ſouldiers, of whom I had the beſt opinon, were gone away with them. My declaration ended, they promiſed mee all with one accord to obey mee moſt humbly, and to doe whatſoeuer I ſhould command them, though it were to die at my feet for the Kings ſeruice; wherein aſſuredly they neuer after failed: ſo that I dare ſay, after the departure of my mutinous companions I was as well obeyed as euer was Captaine in place where he commanded. The next day after my returne vnto the fort, I aſſembled my men together againe, to declare vnto them that our fort was not yet finiſhed, and that it was needfull that all of vs ſhould put thereto our helping hands, to aſſure our ſelues againſt the Indians: wherein hauing willingly agreed vnto mee, they raiſed it all with turfes from the gate vnto the riuer which is on the Weſt ſide. This done, I ſet my Carpenters on worke to make another barke of the ſame bigneſſe that the others were of: I commanded the Sawyers that they ſhould prepare plancks, the Smithes to prepare yron and nailes, and certaine others to make coales: ſo that the barke was finiſhed in eighteene dayes. Afterward I made another leſſer then the firſt, the better to diſcouer vp the riuer. In this meane ſpace the Indians viſited me, and brought me dayly certaine preſents, as Fiſh, Deere, Turki-cocks, Leopards, little Beares, and other things according to the place of their habitation. I recompenſed them with certaine Hatchets, Kniues, Beads of glaſſe, Combes, and Looking-glaſſes. Two Indians came vnto me one day to ſalute me on the behalfe of their King, whoſe name was Marracou, dwelling from the place of our fort ſome forty leagues toward the South, and tolde mee that there was one in the houſe of King Onathaqua which was called Barbu or the bearded man, and in the houſe of King Mathiaca another man whoſe name they knew not, which was not of their nation: whereupon I conceiued that theſe might be ſome Chriſtians. Wherefore I ſent to all the kings my neighbours to pray them, that if there were any Chriſtian dwelling in their countreys, they would finde meanes that he might be brought vnto mee, and that I would make them double recompenſe. They, which loue rewards, tooke ſo much paine, that the two men, whereof we haue ſpoken, were brought vnto the fort vnto me. They were naked, wearing their haire long vnto their hammes as the Sauages vſe to do, and were Spanyards borne, yet ſo well accuſtomed to the faſhion of the countrey, that at the firſt ſight they found our maner of apparell ſtrange. After that I had queſtioned of certaine matters with them, I cauſed them to be apparelled, and to cut their haire; which they would not loſe, but lapped it vp in a linnen cloth, ſaying that they would cary it into their countrey to be a teſtimony of the miſery that they had indured in the Indies. In the haire of one of them was found a little gold hidden, to the value of fiue and twenty crownes, which he gaue vnto me. And examining them of the places where they had bene, and how they came thither, they anſwered me that fifteene yeeres paſt, three ſhippes, in one of which they were, were caſt away ouer againſt a place named Calos vpon the Flats which are called The Martyres, and that the king of Calos recouered the greateſt part of the riches which were in the ſayd ſhippes, trauelling in ſuch ſort that the greateſt part of the people was ſaued, and many women; among which number there were three or foure women married, remaining there yet, and their children alſo, with this king of Calos. I deſired to learne what this king was. They anſwered me, that he was the goodlieſt and talleſt Indian of the country, a mighty man, a warrier, and hauing many ſubiects vnder his obedience. They tolde me moreouer, that he had great ſtore of golde and ſiluer, ſo farre forth

that

New conqueſts ſubiect to rebellions and mutinies.

Laudonniere ſetteth things in order after his returne out of priſon to the fort.

Reparation of the Weſt ſide of the fort.

King Marracou.

King Onathaqua.

King Mathiaca.

Two Spanyards brought vnto Laudonniere by the Sauages.

Calos a place vpon ye Flats called The Martyres neere the Cape of Florida.

The King of Calos.

Great quantitie of golde and ſiluer.

Plates of gold as broad as a ſawcer.

One of theſe Spanyards names was Martin Gomes.

King Oathcaqua of Houthca.

Sarrope an Iſland. Abundance of Dates. A root of great price to make bread of.

The greateſt victory among the Floridians.

The ſituation of Calos.

Cannaueral in 28 degrees.

that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the leaſt as high as a man, and as large as a tunne: all which wealth the Spanyards fully perſwaded themſelues that they could cauſe me to recouer, if I were able to march thither with an hundred ſhot, beſides that which I might get of the common people of the countrey, which had alſo great ſtore thereof. They further alſo aduertiſed me, that the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of golde as broad as a ſawcer, and in ſuch number, that the weight did hinder them to dance at their eaſe; and that the men ware the like alſo. The greateſt part of theſe riches was had, as they ſayd, out of the Spaniſh ſhippes, which commonly were caſt away in this ſtraight; and the reſt by the traffique which this king of Calos had with the other kings of the countrey: Finally, that he was had in great reuerence of his ſubiects; and that hee made them beleeue that his ſorceries and charmes were the cauſes that made the earth bring foorth her fruit: and that hee might the eaſier perſwade them that it was ſo, he retired himſelfe once or twiſe a yeere to a certaine houſe, accompanied with two or three of his moſt familiar friends, where hee vſed certaine inchantments; and if any man intruded himſelfe to goe to ſee what they did in this place, the king immediatly cauſed him to be put to death. Moreouer, they tolde me, that euery yeere in the time of harueſt, this Sauage king ſacrificed one man, which was kept expreſly for this purpoſe, and taken out of the number of the Spanyards which by tempeſt were caſt away vpon that coaſt. One of theſe two declared vnto me, that hee had ſerued him a long time for a meſſenger; and that often times by his commandement he had viſited a king named Oathcaqua, diſtant from Calos foure or fiue dayes iourney, which alwayes remained his faithfull friend: but that in the mid way there was an Iſland ſituate in a great lake of freſh water, named Sarrope, about fiue leagues in bigneſſe, abounding with many ſorts of fruits, ſpecially in Dates, which growe on the Palme trees, whereof they make a woonderfull traffique; yet not ſo great as of a kinde of root, whereof they make a kinde of meale, ſo good to make bread of, that it is vnpoſſible to eate better, and that for fifteene leagues about, all the countrey is fed therewith: which is the cauſe that the inhabitants of the Iſle gaine of their neighbours great wealth and profit: for they will not depart with this root without they be well payed for it. Beſides that, they are taken for the moſt warlike men of all that countrey, as they made good proofe when the king of Calos, hauing made alliance with Oathcaqua, was depriued of Oathcaquaes daughter, which he had promiſed to him in mariage. He tolde me the whole matter in this ſort: As Oathcaqua well accompanied with his people carried one of his daughters, exceeding beautifull, according to the colour of the countrey, vnto king Calos, to giue her vnto him for his wife, the inhabitants of this Iſle aduertiſed of the matter, layed an ambuſh for him in a place where he ſhould paſſe, and ſo behaued themſelues, that Oathcaqua was diſcomfited, the betrothed yoong ſpouſe taken, and all the damoſels that accompanied her; which they carried vnto their Iſle; which thing in all the Indians countrey they eſteeme to be the greateſt victory: for afterward they marry theſe virgins, and loue them aboue all meaſure. The Spanyard that made this relation, tolde mee that after this defeat he went to dwell with Oathcaqua, and had bene with him full eight yeeres, euen vntill the time that he was ſent vnto me. The place of Calos is ſituate vpon a riuer which is beyond the Cape of Florida, fifty or fifty leagues towards the Southweſt: and the dwelling of Oathcaqua is on this ſide the Cape toward the North, in a place which we call in the Chart Cannaueral, which is in 28 degrees.

The Floridians great traitours and diſſemblers.

About the fiue and twentieth of Ianuary Paracouſſy Satourioüa my neighbour ſent me certaine preſents by two of his ſubiects, to perſwade me to ioyne with him, and to make warre vpon Ouae Vtina which was my friend: and further beſought me to retire certaine of my men which were with Vtina; for whom if it had not bene, he had often times ſet vpon him, and defeited him. He beſought me heerein by diuers other kings his allies, which for three weekes or a [illegible] ſpace ſent meſſengers vnto mee to this end and purpoſe: but I would not graunt vnto them that they ſhould make warre vpon him; yea rather contrariwiſe I endeuoured to make them friends; wherein they condeſcended vnto me, ſo farre foorth that they were content to allow of any thing that I would ſet downe: whereupon the two Spanyards which of long time knew well the nature of the Indians, warned me that in any caſe I ſhould not truſt vnto them, becauſe that when they ſhewed good countenance and the beſt cheere vnto men, then was the time that they would ſurpriſe and betray them; and that of their nature they were the greateſt traitours and moſt decep diſſemblers of the world. Beſides I neuer truſted them but vpon good ground, as one that ha diſcouered a thouſand of their crafts and ſubtilities, aſwell by experience as by reading of the ſtories of late yeeres. Our two barks were not ſo ſoone finiſhed, but I ſent Captaine Vaſſeur diſcouer along the coaſt lying toward the North, and commanded him to ſaile vnto a riuer, king whereof was called Auduſta, which was lord of that place, where thoſe of the yeere 1562

habit

habited. I ſent him two ſutes of apparell, with certaine hatchets, kniues, and other ſmall trifles, the better to inſinuate my ſelfe into his friendſhip. And the better to win him, I ſent in the barke with captaine Vaſſeur a ſouldier called Aimon, which was one of them which returned home in the firſt voyage, hoping that king Auduſta might remember him. But before they were imbarked I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, which remained alone in thoſe parts when Nicolas Maſſon and thoſe of the firſt voyage imbarked themſelues to returne into France. They vnderſtood at their arriuall there, that a barke paſſing that way had caried away the ſame ſouldier: and afterward I knew for a certainty that they were Spaniards which had caried him to Hauana. The king Auduſta ſent me backe my barke full of mill, with a certaine quantity of beanes, two ſtags, ſome ſkinnes painted after their maner, and certaine pearles of ſmall value, becauſe they were burnt: and ſent me word that if I would dwel in his quarters, he would giue me a great countrey: and that after he had gathered his mill, he would ſpare me as much as I would haue. In the meane while there came vnto our fort a flocke of ſtocke-doues in ſo great number, and that for the ſpace of ſeuen weeks together, that euery day wee killed with harquebuſh ſhot two hundred in the woods about our fort. After that Captaine Vaſſeur was returned, I cauſed the two barks to be furniſhed againe with ſouldiers & mariners, and ſent them to cary a preſent from me vnto the widow of king Hiocaia, whoſe dwelling was diſtant from our fort about twelue legues Northward. She courteouſly receiued our men, ſent me backe my barks full of mill and acornes with certaine baſkets full of the leaues of Caſſine, wherwith they make their drinke. And the place where this widow dwelleth is the moſt plentifull of mill that is in all the coaſt, and the moſt pleaſant. It is thought that the queene is the moſt beautifull of all the Indians, and of whom they make moſt account: yea, and her ſubiects honour her ſo much, that almoſt continually they beare her on their ſhoulders, and will not ſuffer her to go on foot. Within a few dayes after the returne of my barks, ſhe ſent to viſit me by her Hiatiqui, which is as much to ſay, as her interpreter. Now while I thought I was furniſhed with victuals vntill the time that our ſhips might come out of France (for feare of keeping my people idle) I ſent my two barks to diſcouer along the riuer, and vp toward the head thereof, which went ſo far vp that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place named Mathiaqua, and there they diſcouered the entrance of a lake, vpon the one ſide whereof no land can be ſeene, according to the report of the Indians, which had oftentimes climed on the higheſt trees in the countrey to ſee land, and notwithſtanding could not diſcerne any: which was the cauſe that my men went no further, but returned backe; and in comming home went to ſee the Iſland of Edelano ſituated in the midſt of the riuer, as faire a place as any that may be ſeene thorow the world: for in the ſpace of ſome three leagues, that it may conteine in length and bredth, a man may ſee an exceeding rich countrey, and maruellouſly peopled. At the comming out of the village of Edelano to go vnto the riuers ſide a man muſt paſſe thorow an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad: on both ſides whereof great trees are planted, the boughes whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together ſo artificially that a man would thinke it were an arbour made of purpoſe, as faire I ſay, as any in all chriſtendome, although it be altogether natural. Our men departing from this place rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, & laſtly they came vnto Coya: where leauing their barks in a litle creeke of the riuer with men to guard them, they went to viſit Vtina, which receiued them very courteouſly: and when they departed from his houſe, he intreated them ſo earneſtly, that ſixe of my men remained with him; of which number there was one gentleman, named Grouald, which after he had abode there about two moneths, and taken great paines to diſcouer the countrey, with another which I had left a great while there to that intent, came vnto me to the fort, and tolde me that he neuer ſaw a fairer countrey. Among other things, he reported vnto me that he had ſeene a place named Hoſtaqua, and that the king thereof was ſo mighty, that he was able to bring three or foure thouſand Sauages to the field; with whom if I would ioyne and enter into league, we might be able to reduce all the reſt of the inhabitants vnto our obedience: beſides that this king knew the paſſages vnto the mountaine of Apalatci, which the French men deſired ſo greatly to atteine vnto, and where the enemy of Hoſtaqua made his abode; which was eaſie to be ſubdued, if ſo be wee would enter into league together. This king ſent me a plate of a minerall that came out of this mountaine, out of the foot whereof there runneth a ſtreame of golde or copper, as the Sauages thinke, out of which they dig vp the ſand with an hollow and drie cane of reed vntill the cane be full; afterward they ſhake it, and finde that there are many ſmall graines of copper and ſiluer among this ſand: which giueth them to vnderſtand, that ſome rich mine muſt needs be in the mountaine. And becauſe the mountaine was not paſt fiue or ſixe dayes iourney from our fort, lying toward the Northweſt, I determined aſſoone as our ſupply

Nicolas Maſſon otherwiſe called Nicolas Barre.

King Auduſtas great humanity.

Pearles burned.

Peter Martyr writeth cap. 1. decad. 7. that the like flocks of pigeons are in the Iſles of the Lucayos.

The widowe of king Hiocaia, or Hiobouhacara.

This queenes name was Nia Cubacani.

The firſt voyage vp the riuer of May.

Mathiaqua.

The diſcouery of a mighty lake, on the one ſide whereof no land can be ſeene.

The Iſle of Edelano.

An excellent worke of nature.

Eneguape.
Chilily.
Patica.
Coya.

The king of Hoſtaqua or Onſtaca able to bring three or foure thouſand Sauages to the field.

The mountaine of Apalatci.

There is a mine of golde or rich coper in the mountaine of Apalatci.

Peter Gamby ſlaine.

The village of Edelano.

Gold & ſiluer.

Vtina ſendeth to Laudonniere for his helpe.

A good note.

Three hundred Indians.

A lake three leagues diſtant from the village of Potanou.

Iawa ſignifieth their Prieſt or Magician.

Potanou accompanied with two thouſand Indians.

ſupply ſhould come out of France, to remoove our habitation vnto ſome riuer more toward the North, that I might be nerer thereunto. One of my ſouldiers whoſe name was Peter Gamby, which had remained a long ſpace before in this countrey to learne the languages and traffique with the Indians, at the laſt came to the village of Edelano, where hauing gotten together a certaine quantity of golde and ſiluer, and purpoſing to returne vnto me, he prayed the king of the village to lend him a canoa (which is a veſſell made of one whole piece of wood, which the Indians vſe to fiſh withal, and to row vpon the riuers) which this lord of Edelano granted him. But being greedy of the riches which he had, he commanded two Indians, which he had charged to conduct him in the canoa, to murder him & bring him the merchandiſe and the gold which he had. Which the two traitours villanouſly executed: for they knockt him on the head with an hatchet, as he was blowing of the fire in the canoa to ſeethe fiſh. The Paracouſſy Vtina ſent certeine dayes afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteene of my ſhot, to inuade his enemy Potanou, and ſent me word, that this enemy once vanquiſhed, he would make me paſſage, yea, and would conduct me vnto the mountaines in ſuch ſort, that no man ſhould be able to hinder me. Then I aſſembled my men to demand their aduice, as I was woont to do in all mine enterprizes. The greater part was of opinion, that I ſhould do well to ſend ſuccour vnto this Paracouſſy, becauſe it would be hard for me to diſcouer any further into the countrey without his helpe: and that the Spaniards when they were buſied in their conqueſts, did alwayes enter into alliance with ſome one king to ruine another. But notwithſtanding, becauſe I did alwayes miſtruſt the Indians, and the more after the laſt aduertiſement that the Spanyards had giuen me, I doubted leſt the ſmall number which Vtina demanded might incurre ſome danger; wherefore I ſent him thirty ſhot vnder the charge of my Lieutenant Ottigny, which ſtayed not aboue two dayes with Vtina, while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the cuſtome of the countrey are caried by women and yoong boyes, and by hermaphrodites. Vtina ſetting forward with three hundred of his ſubiects, hauing ech of them their bowe and quiuer full of arrowes, cauſed our thirty ſhot to be placed in the foreward, and made them march all the day, vntill that the night approching, and hauing not gone paſt halfe the way, they were inforced to lie all night in the woods, neere a great lake, and there to incampe themſelues: they ſeparated themſelues by fire and fire, making ech of them a fire about the place where their king lay, for whoſe guard they ordeined a certaine number of thoſe archers, in whom he put moſt confidence. Aſſoone as day was come, the campe of the Indians marched within three leagues of Potanou: there king Vtina requeſted my Lieutenant to grant him foure or fiue of his men to go and diſcouer the countrey; which departed immediatly, and had not gone farre, but they perceiued vpon a lake, diſtant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians which fiſhed in a canoa. Now the cuſtome is that when they fiſh in this lake, they haue alwayes a company of watchmen, armed with bowes and arrowes to guard the fiſhers. Our men being hereof aduertiſed by thoſe of the company, durſt not paſſe any further, for feare of falling into ſome ambuſh: wherefore they returned towards Vtina, which ſuddenly ſent them backe with a greater company to ſurpriſe the fiſhers, before they might retire and aduertiſe their king Potanou of the comming of his enemies. Which they could not execute ſo politikely, but that two of them eſcaped; the third alſo did the beſt he could to ſaue himſelfe by ſwimming, in which meane while he was ſtayed with ſhot of arrowes, and they drew him ſtarke dead vnto the banks ſide, where our Indians flayed off the ſkinne of his head, cut off both his armes in the high way, reſeruing his haire for the triumph, which their king hoped to make for the defeat of his enemy. Vtina fearing leaſt Potanou aduertiſed by the fiſhers which were eſcaped, ſhould put himſelfe in armes to withſtand him valiantly, aſked counſell of his Iawa, which is aſmuch to ſay in their language as his Magician, whether it were beſt to go any further. Then this Magician made certeine ſignes, hideous and fearefull to beholde, and vſed certeine words; which being ended, he ſayd vnto his king, that it was not beſt to paſſe any further, and that Potanou accompanied with two thouſand Indians at the leaſt ſtayed in ſuch and ſuch a place for him, to bidde him battell: and beſides this, that all the ſayd Indians were furniſhed with cords to binde the priſoners which they made full account to take.

The prediction of the Magician found true.

This relation cauſed Vtina to be vnwilling to paſſe any further: whereupon my Lieutenant being as angry as euer he might be, becauſe hee had taken ſo great paines without doing of any thing of account, ſayd vnto him, that hee would neuer thinke well of him nor of his people, if he would not hazzard himſelfe: and that if he would not doe it, at the leaſt, that he would giue him a guide to conduct him and his ſmall company to the place where the enemies were encamped. Hereupon Vtina was aſhamed, and ſeeing the good affection of Monſieur de Ottigny determined to go forward: and he failed not to finde his enemies in the very place which the Magician had named: where the ſkirmiſh beganne, which laſted three long houres: wherein without doubt Vtina had beene defeated, vnleſſe our harquebuſiers had not borne the burthen and brunt of all the battell, and ſlaine a great number of the ſouldiers of Potanou, vpon which occaſion they were put to flight. Wherewithall Vtina being content for the preſent, cauſed his people to retire and returne homeward to the great diſcontentment of Monſieur de Ottigny, which deſired nothing more, then to purſue his victorie. After he was come home to his houſe he ſent meſſengers to eighteene or twentie villages of other kings his vaſſals, and ſummoned them to be preſent at the feaſts and dances which he purpoſed to celebrate becauſe of his victorie. In the meane while Monſieur de Ottigny refreſhed himſelfe for two dayes, and then taking his leaue of the Paracouſſi, and leauing him twelue of his men to ſee that Potanou, bethinking himſelfe of his late loſſe, ſhould not come to burne the houſes of Vtina, he ſet forward on his way to come vnto me vnto our Fort, where he vp and told me how euery thing had paſſed: and withall that he had promiſed the twelue ſouldiers, that he would come backe againe to fetch them. Then the kings my neighbours all enemies to Vtina, being aduertiſed of the returne of my Lieutenant, came to viſite me with preſents and to enquire how things had paſſed, praying me all to receiue them into my fauour, and to become enemie to Vtina, which notwithſtanding I would not grant them for many reaſons that mooued me.

Vtina hath 18 or 20 kings to his Vaſſals.

The Indians are wont to leaue their houſes and to retire themſelues into the woods, the ſpace of three moneths, to wit January, February, and March: during which time by no meanes a man can ſee one Indian. For when they goe on hunting, they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire themſelues, liuing vpon that which they take in hunting. This was the cauſe that during this time, we could get no victuals by their meanes: and had it not beene that I had made good prouiſion thereof, while my men had ſtore, vntill the end of Aprill (which was the time when at the vttermoſt, we hoped to haue had ſuccour out of France) I ſhould haue beene greatly amazed. This hope was the cauſe that the ſouldiers tooke no great care to looke well vnto their victuals, although I deuided equally among them that which I could get abroad in the countrey, without reſeruing vnto my ſelfe any more then the leaſt ſouldier of al the company. The moneth of May approching and no manner of ſuccour come out of France, we fell into extreme want of victuals, conſtrained to eate the rootes of the earth and certaine ſorrell which we found in the fields. For although the Sauages were returned by this time vnto their villages, yet they ſuccoured vs with nothing but certaine fiſh, without which aſſuredly wee had periſhed with famine. Beſides they had giuen vs before the greateſt part of their maiz and of their beanes for our marchandiſe. This famine held vs from the beginning of May vntill the middeſt of June. During which time the poore ſouldiers and handicraftſmen became as feeble as might be, and being not able to worke did nothing but goe one after another in Centinel vnto the cliſt of an hill, ſituate very neere vnto the Fort, to ſee if they might diſcouer any French ſhip. In fine being fruſtrated of their hope, they aſſembled altogether, & came to beſeech me to take ſome order that they might returne into France, conſidering that if we let paſſe the ſeaſon to imbarke our ſelues, we were neuer like to ſee our countrey, where it could not be choſen but that ſome troubles were fallen out, ſeeing they had broken their promiſe made vnto vs, and that no ſuccour was come from thence. Thereupon it was conſulted and reſolued by all the company, that the barke Breton ſhould be trimmed vp, whereof Captaine Vaſſeur had charge. But becauſe the ſhip was not bigge enough to receiue vs all, ſome thought good to build the Brigandine two deckes higher, which our mutinous ſouldiers had brought backe, and that 25 men ſhould hazard themſelues to paſſe therein into France. The reſt being better aduiſed ſaid that it ſhould be farre better to build a faire ſhippe vpon the keele of the Galiote which I had cauſed to be made, promiſing to labour couragiouſly thereupon. Then I enquired of my ſhipwrights to knowe in what ſpace they could make this ſhippe readie. They aſſured the whole company that being furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, they would make it readie by the 8 of Auguſt. Immediatly I diſpoſed of the time to worke vpon it. I gaue charge to Monſieur de Ottigny my Lieutenant to cauſe timber neceſſary for the finiſhing of both the veſſels to be brought, and to Monſieur de Arlac my Standart-bearer to goe with a barke a league off from the Fort to cut downe trees fit to make plankes, and to cauſe the ſawiers which he carried with him to ſaw them: and to my Sergeant of the company to cauſe fifteene or ſixteene men to labour in making coales: and to Maſter Hance keeper of the Artillery, & to the gunner to gather ſtore of roſen to bray the veſſels: wherein he vſed ſuch diligence, that in leſſe then 3 weekes he gathered 2 hogs-heads of the ſame together. There remained now but the principal, which was to recouer victuals to ſuſtaine vs while our worke endured: which I vndertooke to doe with yͤ reſt of my cõpany & the Mariners of the ſhip. To this end I embarked my ſelfe making vp

A cuſtome of the Indians to leaue their houſes for 3 or 4 moneths and to liue in the woods.

They looke for ſuccour out of France by the end of Aprill at the vttermoſt.

Extreme famine for ſixe weekes ſpace.

Promiſe broken.

Two hogs-heads of roſen.

the thirtieth in my great barke, to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues, hauing with vs no prouiſion at all of victuals: whereby it may eaſily be gathered how ſimply thoſe of our Fort were prouided. True it is that certaine ſouldiers being better huſbandes then the reſt, and hauing made ſome prouiſion of maſt, ſolde a little meaſure thereof for fifteene and twentie ſous vnto their companions. During our voyage we liued of nothing elſe but raſpices, of a certaine round graine litle and blacke, and of the rootes of palmitos which we got by the riuer ſides: wherein after we had ſayled a long time in vaine, I was conſtrained to returne to the Fort: where the ſouldiers beginning to be wearie of working, becauſe of the extreme famine which did conſume them, aſſembled themſelues and declared vnto me, that ſeeing we could get no victuals of the Indians, it was expedient for the ſauing of their liues, to ſeaze vpon the perſon of one of the Kings of the Countrie: aſſuring themſelues that one being taken, the ſubiects would not ſuffer our men to want victuals. I made them anſwere that this enterpriſe was not raſhly to be attempted: But that we ought to haue good regarde vnto the conſequence that might inſue thereof. Herevpon they replyed vnto me, that ſeeing the time was paſt of our ſuccour from France, & that we were reſolued to abandon the Countrie, that there was no danger to conſtraine the Sauages to furniſh vs with victuals: which for the preſent I would not grant vnto them, but promiſed them aſſuredly that I would ſend to aduertiſe the Indians that they ſhould bring me victuals for exchange of marchandiſe and apparell: which they alſo did for the ſpace of certaine daies, during which they brought of their maſt and of their fiſh: which theſe Indians being traiterous, & miſchieuous of nature, and knowing our exceeding ſtrange famine, ſold vs at ſo deere a price, that for leſſe then nothing they had gotten from vs al the reſt of our marchandiſe which remained. And which was worſe, fearing to be forced by vs and ſeeing that they had gotten all from vs, they came no neerer to our Fort then the ſhot of an Harquebuze. Thither they brought their fiſh in their little boats, to which our poore ſouldiers were conſtrained to goe, and oftentimes (as I haue ſeene) to giue away the very ſhirts from their backs to get one fiſh. If at any time they ſhewed vnto the Sauages the exceſſiue price which they tooke, theſe villaines would anſwere them roughly & churliſhly: if thou make ſo great account of thy marchandiſe, eat it, and we will eat our fiſh: then fell they out a laughing and mocked vs with open throat. Whereupon our ſouldiers vtterly impatient, were oftentimes ready to cut them in pieces, and to make them pay the price of their fooliſh arrogancie. Notwithſtanding conſidering the importance hereof, I tooke paines to appeaſe the impatient ſouldier: for I would not by any meanes enter into queſtion with the Sauages, & it ſufficed me to delay the time. Wherefore I deuiſed to ſend vnto Vtina to pray him to deale ſo farre foorth with his ſubiects as to ſuccour me with maſt and maiz: which he did very ſparingly, ſending me 12 or 15 baſkets of maſt, and two of pinocks, which are a kind of little greene fruits which grow among the weedes in the riuer, and are as big as cheries: yea & this was not but by giuing of them in exchange twiſe as much marchandiſe and apparell as they were worth. For the ſubiects of Vtina perceiued euidently the neceſſitie wherein we were, & began to vſe the like ſpeech vnto vs, as the others: for as it is commonly ſeene that neede altereth mens affections. While theſe things were in doing, a certain breathing ſpace preſented it ſelfe: for Vtina gaue me to vnderſtand that there was a king his ſubiect whoſe name was Aſtina, which he determined to take priſoner, and to chaſtiſe him for his diſobedience: that for this cauſe, if I would giue him aide with a certaine number of my ſouldiers, he would bring them to the village of Aſtina, where there was meanes to recouer maſt and maiz. In the meane ſeaſon he excuſed himſelfe vnto me becauſe he had ſent me no more maiz, and ſent me word that the little ſtore that he had left, was ſcarſely ſufficient for his ſeede-corne. Now being ſomewhat relieued, as I thought, by the hope which I had of this offer, I would not faile to ſend him the men which he deſired of me, which neuertheleſſe were very euill intreated: for he deceiued them, and in ſtead of leading them againſt Aſtina, he cauſed them to march againſt his other enemies. My Lieutenant which had the charge of this enterpriſe with Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant was determined to be reuenged of Vtina and to cut him in pieces & his people: and had it not bene that they feared to do any thing againſt my wil, without all doubt they would haue put their enterpriſe in execution. Therfore they would not paſſe any further without aduertiſing me thereof. Wherefore being come backe againe vnto the Fort, angry & pricked deeply to the quicke for being ſo mocked, they made their cōplaints vnto me, declaring vnto me that they were almoſt dead for hunger. They told the whole matter to the reſt of the ſouldiers, which were very glad that they had not entred into that action, & reſolued, aſſembling themſelues againe together, to let me vnderſtand that they did perſiſt in their firſt deliberation, which was, to puniſh the boldneſſe and maliciouſnes of the Sauages, which they could no longer endure, & were determined to take one of their kings priſoner: which thing I was enforced to grant vnto them, to yͤ end to make a greater

The vile nature of the Indians.

A cruell anſwere of the Sauages.

Pinocks a certaine kinde of fruit as bigge as cheries.

Aſtina a king.

a greater miſchiefe, and the ſedition which I foreſaw would enſue, if I had made refuſall thereof. For, ſayd they, what occaſion haue you to deny vs, conſidering the neceſſitie wherein we are, and the ſmall account that they make of vs. Shall it not be lawfull for vs to puniſh them for the wrongs which they doe vnto vs, beſides that we know apparantly how little they reſpect vs? Is not this ſufficient although there were no neceſſitie at all, ſince they thus delude vs, and haue broken promiſe with vs? After I had therefore reſolued with them to ſeaze on the perſon of Vtina, which beſides that he had giuen vs occaſion hereof, was alſo moſt able to helpe vs to recouer victuals, I departed with fiftie of my beſt ſouldiers all embarked in two Barkes & we arriued in the dominions of Vtina, diſtant from our Fort about 40 or 50 leagues: then going on ſhore we drew towards his village ſituated 6 great leagues from the riuer, where we tooke him priſoner, howbeit not without great cries and alarmes, and led him away in our barkes, hauing firſt ſignified vnto his Father in law and his chiefe ſubiects, that in that I had taken him, it was not for any deſire that I had to doe him any harme, but onely to relieue my neceſſitie and want of victuals which oppreſſed me, and that in caſe they would helpe me to ſome, I would find meanes to ſet him againe at libertie: that in the meane ſpace I would retire my ſelfe into my Barkes (for I feared leaſt they would there aſſemble themſelues together, and that ſome miſchiefe might thereof inſue) where I would ſtay for him two dayes to receiue his anſwere: notwithſtanding that my meaning was not to haue any thing without exchange of marchandiſe. This they promiſed they would doe. And in very deede the very ſame euening, his wife accompanied with all the women of the village came vnto the Riuers brinke, and cryed vnto me to enter into the barke, to ſee her husband and her ſonne, which I held both priſoners. I diſcouered the next day fiue or ſixe hundred Indian archers, which drew neere vnto the riuer ſide, and came to me to ſignifie vnto me how that during the abſence of their king, their enemie Potanou being thereof aduertiſed, was entred into their village, and had ſet all on fire. They prayed me that I would ſuccour them: neuertheleſſe in the meane while they had one part of their troope in ambuſh, with intent to ſet vpon me if I had come on land, which was eaſie for mee to diſcerne. For ſeeing that I refuſed ſo to doe, they greatly doubted that they were diſcouered, and ſought by all meanes to remoue out of my minde that euill opinion which I had conceiued of them. They brought mee therefore fiſh in their little boates and of their meale of Mayz, they made alſo of their drinke which they call caſſine, which they ſent to Vtina and me.

Vtina taken priſoner in his village by Laudonniere and 50 of his ſouldiers.

Fiue or ſixe hundred Indians.

The deepe diſſembling of the Indians.

Now albeit I had gotten this point of them that I held their king priſoner, yet neuertheleſſe I could not get any great quantitie of victuals for the preſent: the reaſon was, becauſe they thought that after I had drawen victuals from them, I would put their king to death. For they meaſured my will according to their cuſtome, whereby they put to death all the men priſoners that they take in warre. And thus being out of all hope of his libertie, they aſſembled themſelues in the great houſe, and hauing called all the people together they propoſed the election of a new King, at which time the Father in lawe of Vtina ſet one of the kings young ſonnes vpon the Royall throne: and tooke ſuch paynes that euery man did him homage by the maior part of the voyces. This election had like to haue bene the cauſe of great troubles among them. For there was a kinſman of the kings neere adioyning, which pretended a Title to the kingdome, and in deede he had gotten one part of the ſubiects: notwithſtanding this enterpriſe could not take effect, foraſmuch as by a common conſent of the chiefe, it was conſulted and concluded, that the ſonne was more meete to ſucceede the Father then any other. Now all this while I kept Vtina with me, to whom I had giuen ſome of mine apparell to cloth him, as I had likewiſe done vnto his ſonne. But his ſubiects which before had an opinion that I would haue killed him, being aduertiſed of the good entertainment which I vſed towards him, ſent two men which walked along the riuer, and came to viſite him, and brought vs ſome victuals. Theſe two men at their comming were receiued by me with all courteſie, and entertained according to the victuals which I had. While theſe things thus paſſed, there arriued from all quarters many Sauages of the countries adioyning, which came to ſee Vtina, and ſought by all meanes to perſwade me to put him to death, offering that if I would do ſo, they would take order that I ſhould want no victuals. There was alſo a King my neighbour whoſe name was Saturioüa, a ſubtill and craftie man, and one that ſhewed by proofe that he was greatly practiſed in affaires. This King ſent ordinarily meſſengers vnto me, to pray me to deliuer Vtina vnto him: and to win me the more eaſily, he ſent twiſe ſeuen or eight baſkets of Mayz or of Maſt, thinking by this way to allure me, & to make me come to compoſition with him: in the end notwithſtanding when he ſaw he loſt his time, he ceaſed to viſite me with embaſſages & victuals: & in the meane while I was not able with ẏ ſame ſtore of victuals which I had, ſo well to proportion out the trauaile vpon the ſhips which we built to returne into

The Indians kill all the men priſoners that they take in warre.

The election of a new king.

The hatred among the Sauage kings of Florida.

Note.

France, but that in the end we were conſtrained to indure extreme famine, which continued among vs all the moneth of May: for in this latter ſeaſon, neither Maiz nor Beanes, nor Maſt was to be found in the villages, becauſe they had employed all for to ſowe their fields, inſomuch that we were conſtrayned to eate rootes, which the moſt part of our men punned in the morters which I had brought with me to beate gunnepowder in, and the graine which came to vs from other places: ſome tooke the wood of Eſquine, beate it, and made meale thereof, which they boyled with water, and eate it: others went with their harquebuſies to ſeeke to kill ſome foule. Yea this miſerie was ſo great, that one was found that gathered vp among the filth of my houſe, all the fiſh bones that he could finde, which he dried and beate into powder to make bread thereof. The effects of this hideous famine appeared incontinently among vs, for our bones eftſoones beganne to cleaue ſo neere vnto the ſkinne, that the moſt part of the ſouldiers had their ſkinnes peirced thorow with them in many partes of their bodies: in ſuch ſort that my greateſt feare was, leaſt the Indians would riſe vp againſt vs, conſidering that it would haue bene very hard for vs to haue defended our ſelues in ſuch extreme decay of all our forces, beſides the ſcarſitie of all victuals, which fayled vs all at once. For the very riuer had not ſuch plentie of fiſh as it was wont, and it ſeemed that the land and water did fight againſt vs. Now as we were thus vpon termes of diſpayre, about the end of the moneth of May, and the beginning of June, I was aduertiſed by certaine Indians that were my neighbours, that in the high Countrey vp aboue the riuer, there was new Maiz, and that that countrey was moſt forward of all. This cauſed me to take vpon me to go thither with a certaine number of my men, and I went vp the riuer to a place called Enecaque: where I met the ſiſter of Vtina in a village where ſhe made vs very good cheere and ſent vs fiſh. We found that which was tolde vs to be true: for the maiz was now ripe: but by this good lucke one ſhrewde turne happened vnto me. For the moſt part of my ſouldiers fell ſicke with eating more of it then their weakened ſtomackes could digeſt. We had alſo beene the ſpace of foure dayes ſince we departed from our Fort, without eating any thing, ſauing little pinockes, and a little fiſh, which we got of the fiſhers which wee met ſometimes along the riuer. And yet this was ſo little that certaine ſouldiers eate priuily little whelpes which were newly whelped. The next day I purpoſed to go into ỹ Ile of Edelano to take the king which had cauſed one of my men to be ſlaine, as I haue mentioned before: but being aduertiſed of my departing out of my Fort, and of the way which I tooke vp the riuer, he feared that I went foorth with a purpoſe to be reuenged of the euill turne which he played: ſo that when I came thither, I found the houſes emptie, for he was retyred a little before with all his people: & I could not by any meanes keepe my ſouldiers, being angry becauſe they had loſt one of their companions, from ſetting the village on fire. At my departure from thence I paſſed backe againe by Enecaque, where I gathered as much maiz as I could poſſibly: which with great diligence I conueied to our Fort to ſuccour my poore men, which I had left in great neceſſitie. They therefore ſeeing me a farre off comming, ranne to that ſide of the riuer where they thought I would come on land: for hunger ſo pinched them to the heart, that they could not ſtay vntill the victuals were brought them to the Fort. And that they well ſhewed aſſoone as I was come, and that I had diſtributed that little maiz among them, which I had giuen to ech man, before I came out of the barke: for they eate it before they had taken it out of the huſke. But ſeeing my ſelfe in this extreme neede, I tooke paines day by day to ſeeke ſome villages where there was ſome food. And as I trauailed this way and that way, it happened that two of my Carpenters were killed by the two ſonnes of king Emola, and by one whoſe name was Caſti, as they went on walking to the village called Athore. The cauſe of this murder was, becauſe they could not refraine thẽſelues as they walked through the fields from gathering a little maiz, which as they were doing, they were taken in the manner: whereof I was preſently aduertiſed by an Indian which a little before had brought me a preſent frõ Nia Cubacani Queene of a village, and neighbour to our Fort. Vpon receipt of this aduertiſement, I ſent my Sergeant with a number of ſouldiers which found nothing elſe but the 2 dead corpſes, which they buried and returned without doing any other exploit, becauſe the inhabitants were fled away, fearing they ſhould be puniſhed for ſuch a foule fact. As theſe things thus paſſed, & that by this time we had almoſt driuen out the moneth of May, two ſubiects of king Vtina came vnto me with an Hermaphrodite, which ſhewed mee that by this time the maiz was ripe in the greateſt part of their quarters. Whereupon Vtina ſignified vnto me that in caſe I would carrie him home to his houſe, he would take ſuch good order that I ſhould haue plentie of maiz & beanes and withall, that the field which he had cauſed to be ſowen for me, ſhould be reſerued to my vſe. I conſulted with my men concerning this matter, and found by the aduice of all my company, that it was beſt to grant him his requeſt, ſaying, that he had meanes to ſuccour vs with food ſufficient

to

Note.

Rootes.

Eſquine.

New come by the end of May in Florida.

The village of Enecaque.

A little greene fruite that groweth in the riuers as big as cherries.

The Ile of Edelano.

Two Carpenters killed for gathering the Indians maiz.

The village Athore.

Nia Cubacani a Queene.

to ſerue our turnes for our embarkements, and that therefore I might as well to carry him home. Wherefore I cauſed the two barks forthwith to be made readie, wherein I ſailed to Patica, a place diſtant from his village 8 or 9 leagues, where I found no body, for they were gotten into the woods, and would not ſhew themſelues, albeit Vtina ſhewed himſelfe vnto them, for as much as they imagined that I ſhould be conſtrained to let him go. But ſeeing no body to ſhew themſelues, I was conſtrained to hazard one of my men which had bene acquainted with the ſtate of the countrie, to whom I deliuered the young ſonne of Vtina, and commanded him to goe with diligence to the village of Vtina, vnto his father in law and his wife, to aduertiſe them that if they would haue their king againe, they ſhould bring me victuals vnto the ſide of the little riuer whither I was gone. At my mans comming euery one made much of the little childe, neither was there a man that thought not himſelfe well appaide to touch him. His father in law and his wife hearing of theſe newes came preſently towards our barkes, and brought bread which they gaue vnto my ſouldiers, they held me there three dayes, and in the meane while did all that they could to take me: which preſently I diſcouered, and therefore ſtood diligently vpon my gard. Wherefore perceiuing they could not haue their purpoſe, and that they were already diſcouered, they ſent to aduertiſe me that as yet they could not helpe me to victuals, and that the corne was not yet ripe. Thus I was conſtrained to returne and to carry backe Vtina home, where I had much adoe to ſaue him from the rage of my ſouldiers: which perceiuing the maliciouſnes of the Indians, went about to haue murdered him. Moreouer it ſeemed they were content that they had gotten the ſonne, & that they cared not greatly for the father. Now my hope failing me on this ſide, I deuiſed to ſend my men to the villages where I thought the maiz was by this time ripe; I went to diuers places, and continued ſo doing 15 daies after, when as Vtina beſought me again to ſend him vnto his village, aſſuring himſelfe that his ſubiects would not ſticke to giue me victuals: and that in caſe they refuſed ſo to do, he was content that I ſhould do what I thought good with him. I vndertooke this voyage the ſecond time with the two barkes furniſhed as before. At my comming vnto the little riuer, we found his ſubiects there, which failed not to come thither with ſome quantitie of bread, beanes, and fiſh, to giue my ſouldiers. Neuertheleſſe returning againe to their former practiſe they ſought all meanes to entrap me, hoping to cry quittance for the impriſonment of their king, if they might haue gotten the victorie of me. But after that they ſawe the ſmall meanes, which they had to annoy me, they returned to intreaties, and offered that if I would giue them their king with certaine of my ſouldiers, they would conduct them vnto the village, and that the ſubiects ſeeing him, would be more willing to giue vs victuals. Which thing notwithſtanding I would not grant vnto them (miſtruſting their ſubtiltie, which was not ſo couert, but that one might eſpie day at a little hole) vntill they had firſt giuen me two men in pledge with charge that by the next day they ſhould bring me victuals. Which thing they granted, and gaue mee two men which I put in chaines for feare they ſhould eſcape away, as I knew well they were inſtructed to doe. Foure dayes were ſpent in theſe conferences, at the end whereof they declared vnto me, that they could not fully and wholly performe their promiſe: and that the vttermoſt that they could doe for the preſent, was to cauſe ech ſubiect to bring his burthen of mill. To conclude, they were content to doe ſo on condition that I would ſend them their two pledges within ten dayes. As my Lieutenant was ready to depart, I warned him aboue all things to take heede he fell not into the Indians hands: becauſe I knew them to be very ſubtill and craftie to enterpriſe and execute any thing to our diſaduantage. He departed therefore with his troope, and came to the ſmall riuer whereinto we were accuſtomed to enter to approch as neere as we could vnto the village of Vtina, being ſixe French leagues diſtant from thence. There he went on ſhore, put his men in good array, and drew ſtreight towards the great houſe that was the kings, where the chiefe men of the countrey were aſſembled, which cauſed very great ſtore of victuals to be brought now one and then another, in doing whereof they ſpent notwithſtanding three or foure dayes: in which meane while they gathered men together to ſet vpon vs at our returne. They vſed therefore many meanes to holde vs ſtill in breath. For one while they demanded their pledges, another while (ſeeing my Lieutenant would not yeeld to them, vntill ſuch time as they had brought the victuals into the boats, according to the agreement paſſed betweene vs) they ſignified vnto him that the women and young children were affraide out of all meaſure to ſee fire in their matches ſo neere their harquebuzes: and that therefore they moſt earneſtly beſought them to put them out, that they might more eaſily get people ynough to carry the victuals; and that they for their parts would leaue their bowes and arrowes, and would be contented that their ſeruants ſhould carry them. This ſecond requeſt was as finely denied them as the former: for it was an eaſie matter to ſmell out their intention. But while theſe things were thus in handling, Vtina by no meanes

Patica a village.

Deſire of reuenge rooted in the ſauages.

A neceſſarie admonition.

The ſleights and ſubtilties.

was to be ſeene, but hid and kept himſelfe ſecret in a little houſe apart, where certaine choſen men of mine went to ſee him ſhewing themſelues agrieued with him for the long delayes of his ſubiects: whereunto he anſwered, that his ſubiects were ſo much incenſed againſt him, that by no meanes poſſible he was able to keepe them in ſuch obedience as he willingly would haue done, and that he could not hold them from waging of warre againſt Monſieur de Ottigny. That he alſo called to minde, that euen while he was priſoner, at what time our men leade him into his Countrey to obtaine ſome victuals, he ſaw along the high wayes arrowes ſticke vp, at the endes whereof long haires were faſtened, which was a certaine ſigne of open warre proclaimed, which arrowes the Captaine alſo carried with him to the fort. He ſaid further that in reſpect of the good will he bare to the Captaine, he forewarned his Lieutenant that his ſubiects were determined to cut downe the trees, and cauſe them to fall athwart the little riuer where the boates were, to keepe them from departing thence, that they might fight with them at their eaſe, and that if it thus fell out, he aſſured him for his part he would not be there to meddle in the matter. And the which much more augmented the ſuſpition of warre was, that as my meſſengers departed from Vtina, they heard the voyce of one of my men, which during the voyage had alwayes bene among the Indians, and whom as yet they would neuer render, vntill they had gotten their pledges home. This poore fellow cryed out amaine becauſe two Indians would haue carried him into the woods to haue cut his throte: whereupon he was ſuccoured and deliuered. Theſe admonitions being well vnderſtood, after ripe deliberation thereof Monſieur de Ottigny reſolued to retire himſelfe the ſeuen and twentieth of Iuly. Wherefore he ſet his ſouldiers in order, and deliuered to ech of them a ſacke full of mill: and afterward hee marched toward his barkes, thinking to preuent the enterpriſe of the ſauages. There is at the comming forth of the village a great alley about three or foure hundred paces long, which is couered on both ſides with great trees. My Lieutenant diſpoſed his men in this alley and ſet them in ſuch order as they deſired to march: for he was well aſſured that if there were any ambuſh, it would be at the comming out of the trees. Therefore he cauſed Monſieur de Arlac mine Enſigne to march ſomewhat before with 8 harquebuſiers to diſcouer whether there were any danger: beſides he commanded one of my Sergeants & Corporals to march on the out ſide of the alley with foure harquebuſiers while he himſelfe conducted the reſt of his company through it. Now as he ſuſpected, ſo it fell out: for Monſieur de Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, which ſaluted him with an infinite number of their arrowes, & with ſuch furie that it was eaſie to ſee with what deſire they ſought to charge vs. Howbeit they were ſo well ſuſtained in the firſt aſſault which mine Enſigne gaue them, that they which fell downe dead, did ſomewhat abate the choler of thoſe which remained aliue. This done my Lieutenant haſted to gaine ground in ſuch ſort as I haue already ſaid. After he had marched about foure hundred paces, he was charged afreſh with a new troope of Sauages which were in number about 300, which aſſayled him before, while the reſt of the former ſet vpon him behind. This ſecond aſſault was ſo valiantly ſuſtayned, that I may well ſay that Monſieur de Ottigny ſo well diſcharged his dutie, as was poſſible for a good Captaine to doe. And ſo it ſtood them vpon: for he had to deale with ſuch kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head which conducted them, and which knewe ſo well to behaue themſelues in this conflict, as if Ottigny had not preuented their practiſe, he had beene in danger to haue bene defeated. Their maner in this fight was, that when two hundred had ſhot, they retyred themſelues and gaue place to the reſt that were behind, and all the while had their eye and foot ſo quicke and readie, that aſſoone as euer they ſaw the harquebuze laide to the cheeke, ſo ſoone were they on the ground, and eftſoone vp to anſwere with their bowes and to flie their way, if by chance they perceiued we went about to take them: for there is nothing that they feare ſo much, becauſe of our ſwords and daggers. This conflict continued and laſted from nine of the clocke in the morning, vntill the night departed them. And if Ottigny had not bethought himſelfe to cauſe his men to breake the arrowes which they found in the way, & ſo to depriue the Sauages of the meanes to beginne againe, without all doubt he ſhould haue had very much to doe: for by this meanes they lacked arrowes, and ſo were conſtrained to retire themſelues. During the time of the conflict they cryed and made ſignes that they were the Captaines and Lieutenants friends: and that they fought for none other cauſe but to be reuenged on the ſouldiers, which were their mortall enemies. My Lieutenant being come vnto his boates tooke a reuiew of his companie, and found two men wanting which were killed, of whom the one was called Iames Sale, and the other Iean Malleraux. He found moreouer 22 of them wounded, which with much adoe he cauſed to be brought vnto the boates. All the mill that he found among his company came but to two mens burdens, which he diuided equally among them. For aſſoone as the conflict began, euery man

men

A certaine ſigne of warre.

An alley of 3 or 4 hundred paces long.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the Sauages and the French.

A ſecond freſh charge of Sauages.

The Floridians maner of fight.

The Floridians chiefe feare.

[illegible]

Two ſlaine.

Two & twentie wounded.

was conſtrained to leaue his ſacke to put his hand to his weapon. In this meane while I remained at the Forte, and cauſed euery man diligently to trauell, hoping that my Lieutenant would bring vs victuals. But ſeeing the time continue away, I began to ſuſpect the truth of that which fell out, whereof I was aſſured immediately after at their returne. Seeing therefore mine hope fruſtrate on that ſide, I made my prayer vnto God, and thanked him of his grace which hee had ſhewed vnto my poore ſouldiers which were eſcaped: Afterward I thought vpon new meanes to obtaine victuals, aſwell for our returne into France, as to driue out the time vntill our embarking. I was aduertiſed by certaine of our company, which vſually went on hunting into the woods and through the villages, that in the village Sarauahi ſituated on the other ſide of the riuer, and two leagues diſtant from the Forte, and in the village Emoloa there were fields wherein the mill was very forward, and that there was thereof in thoſe partes in great abundance. Wherefore I cauſed my boates to be made ready, and ſent my Sergeant thither with certaine ſouldiours, which vſed ſuch diligence, that wee had good ſtore of mill. I ſent alſo to the riuer which the Sauages call Iracana, named by Captaine Ribault the Riuer of Somme, where Captaine Vaſſeur and my Sergeant arriued with two boates and their ordinary furniture, and found there a great aſſembly of the Lords of the countrey, among whome was Athore the ſonne of Satouriona, Apalou, and Tacadocorou, which were there aſſembled to make merrie: becauſe that in this place are the faireſt maids and women of all the countrey. Captaine Vaſſeur in my name gaue certaine ſmall trifles to all the Lords, to the Queene, to the maids and women of the villages. Whereupon the boates were forthwith laden with mill, after they had made our men as good cheere as they could deuiſe. The Queene ſent me two ſmall Mats ſo artificially wrought as it was vnpoſſible to make better. Nowe finding our ſelues by this meane ſufficiently furniſhed with victuals, we began each of vs in his place, to trauaile and vſe ſuch diligence, as the deſire to ſee our natiue countrey might mooue vs. But becauſe two of our Carpenters were ſlaine by the Indians (as heretofore I mentioned) Iohn de Hais, maſter Carpenter, a man very worthy of his vocation, repaired vnto me, and tolde me that by reaſon of want of men hee was not able to make me vp the ſhip againſt the time that he had promiſed me: which ſpeech cauſed ſuch a mutinie among the ſouldiers that very hardly he eſcaped killing: howbeit I appeaſed them aſwell as I could, and determined to worke no more from thenceforth vpon the ſhippe, but to content our ſelues to repaire the Brigandine which I had. So we began to beate downe all the houſes that were without the Fort, and cauſed coles to be made of the timber thereof: likewiſe the ſouldiers beate downe the palliſade which was toward the waters ſide, neither was I euer able to keepe them from doing it. I had alſo determined to beat downe the Fort before my departure and to ſet it on fire, for feare leaſt ſome new-come gueſt ſhould haue enioyed and poſſeſſed it. In the meane while there was none of vs to whom it was not an extreme griefe to leaue a countrey, wherein wee had endured ſo great trauailes and neceſſities, to diſcouer that which we muſt forſake through our owne countreymens default. For if wee had bene ſuccoured in time and place, & according to the promiſe that was made vnto vs, the warre which was betweene vs and Vtina, had not fallen out, neither ſhould wee haue had occaſion to offend the Indians, which with all paines in the world I entertained in good amitie, aſwell with merchandiſe and apparel, as with promiſe of greater matters, and with whom I ſo behaued my ſelf, that although ſometimes I was conſtrained to take victuals in ſome fewe villages, yet I loſt not the alliance of eight Kings and Lords my neighbours, which continually ſuccoured and ayded me with whatſoeuer they were able to affoord. Yea this was the principall ſcope of all my purpoſes, to winne and entertaine them, knowing how greatly their amitie might aduance our enterpriſe, and principally while I diſcouered the commodities of the countrey, and ſought to ſtrengthen my ſelfe therein. I leaue it to your cogitation to thinke how neere it went to our hearts, to leaue a place abounding in riches (as we were thoroughly enformed thereof) in comming whereunto, and doing ſeruice vnto our Prince, we left our owne countrey, wiues, children, parents, and friends, and paſſed the perils of the ſea, and were therein arriued, as in a plentifull treaſure of all our hearts deſire. As ech of vs were much tormented in minde with theſe & ſuch like cogitations, the third of Auguſt I deſcried foure ſayles in the ſea, as I walked vpon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apaid: I ſent immediatly one of them which were with me to aduertiſe thoſe of the Fort thereof, which were ſo glad of thoſe newes, that one would haue thought them to be out of their wittes to ſee them laugh and leape for ioy. After theſe ſhips had caſt anker, we deſcried that they ſent one of their ſhip boates to land: whereupon I cauſed one of mine to be armed with diligence, to ſend to meete them, and to know who they were. In the meane while fearing leſt they were Spaniards, I ſet my ſouldiers in order and in readineſſe, attending the returne of

Captaine

Prayer and thanks vnto God for their deliuerance.

The village Sarauahi.

The village Emoloa.

The riuer of Iracana called by Ribault ye riuer of Somme.

Curteſie and liberalitie the beſt meanes to deale with the ſauages.

Moſt artificiall mattes.

The beating downe of the houſes without the Fort, & the palliſado.

The cauſe why the French loſt Florida.

Eight kings Laudonniers friends and allies.

The principall ſcope of planters in ſtrange countreys.

Florida a rich countrey.

[illegible] Aug. 1565.

Captaine Vaſſeur and my Lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, which brought me word that they were Engliſhmen: and in trueth they had in their company one whoſe name was Martine Atinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their ſeruice, which on the behalfe of Maſter Iohn Hawkins their Generall came to requeſt mee that I would ſuffer them to take freſh water, whereof they ſtood in great neede, ſignifying vnto me that they had bene aboue fifteene dayes on the coaſt to get ſome. Hee brought vnto mee from the Generall two flagons of wine, and bread made of wheate: which greatly refreſhed me, foraſmuch as for ſeuen moneths ſpace I neuer taſted a drop of wine: neuertheleſſe it was all diuided among the greateſt part of my ſouldiers. This Martine Atinas had guided the Engliſhmen vnto our coaſt, wherewith he was acquainted: for in the yeere 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore the Generall ſent him to me. Therefore after I had granted his requeſt, hee ſignified the ſame vnto the Generall, which the next day following cauſed one of his ſmall ſhippes to enter into the riuer, and came to ſee me in a great ſhipboate, accompanied with gentlemen honourably apparelled, yet vnarmed. He ſent for great ſtore of bread and wine, to diſtribute thereof to euery one: On my part I made him the beſt cheere I could poſſibly, and cauſed certaine ſheepe and poultry to be killed, which vntill this preſent I had carefully preſerued hoping to ſtore the countrey withall. For notwithſtanding all the neceſſities and ſickneſſe that happened vnto me, I would not ſuffer ſo much as one chicken to be killed: by which meanes in a ſhort time I had gathered together aboue an hundred pullets. Now three dayes paſſed, while the Engliſh Generall remained with me, during which time the Indians came in from all parts to ſee him, and asked me whether he were my brother: I tolde them he was ſo, and ſignified vnto them, that he was come to ſee me and ayde me with ſo great ſtore of victuals, that from thence forward I ſhould haue no neede to take any thing of them. The bruite hereof incontinently was ſpread ouer all the countrey, in ſuch ſort as Ambaſſadours came vnto me from all parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their maſters deſired to make alliance with me: and euen they, which before ſought to make warre againſt me, came to offer their friendſhip and ſeruice vnto me: Whereupon I receiued them and gratified them with certaine preſents. The Generall immediatly vnderſtood the deſire & vrgent occaſion which I had to returne into France: whereupon he offred to tranſport me and all my company home: whereunto notwithſtanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occaſion he made ſo large an offer. For I knew not how the caſe ſtood betweene the French and the Engliſh: and although hee promiſed me on his faith to put mee on land in France, before hee would touch in England, yet I ſtood in doubt leaſt he would attempt ſomewhat in Florida in the name of his miſtreſſe. Wherefore I flatly refuſed his offer: whereupon there aroſe a great mutinie among my ſouldiers, which ſayd that I ſought to deſtroy them all, and that the Brigandine, whereof I ſpake before, was not ſufficient to tranſport them, conſidering the ſeaſon of the yeere wherein wee were. The bruite and mutiny increaſed more and more: for after that the Generall was returned to his ſhips, he told certaine gentlemen and ſouldiers which went to ſee him, partly to make good cheere with him, hee declared, I ſay, vnto them, that he greatly doubted that hardly we ſhould be able to paſſe ſafely in thoſe veſſels which we had: and that in caſe we ſhould enterpriſe the ſame, we ſhould no doubt be in great ieopardy: notwithſtanding, if I were ſo contented, he would tranſport part of my men in his ſhips, and that he would leaue me a ſmall ſhip to tranſport the reſt. The ſouldiers were no ſooner come home, but they ſignified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently conſented together that in caſe I would not accept the ſame, they would embarke themſelues with him and forſake me, ſo that he would receiue them according to his promiſe. They therefore aſſembled themſelues all together and came to ſeeke me in my chamber, and ſignified vnto me their intention, which I promiſed to anſwere within one houre after. In which meane ſpace I gathered together the principall members of my company, which after I had broken the matter with them, anſwered me all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuſe this offer, nor contemne the occaſion which preſented it ſelfe, and that they could not thinke euill of it in France, if being forſaken, as we were, we ayded our ſelues with ſuch meanes as God had ſent vs. After ſundry debatings of this matter, in concluſion I gaue mine aduiſe, that wee ought to deliuer him the price of the ſhip which he was to leaue vs, and that for my part I was content to giue him the beſt of my ſtuffe, and the ſiluer which I had gathered in the countrey. Whereupon notwithſtanding it was determined that I ſhould keepe the ſiluer, for feare leſt the Queene of England ſeeing the ſame, ſhould the rather bee encouraged to ſet footing there, as before ſhe had deſired: that it was far better to carie it into France to giue encouragement vnto our Princes not to leaue off an enterpriſe of ſo great importance for our commonwealth, and that ſeeing wee were reſolued to depart, it was farre better to giue him our Artillerie, which otherwiſe we ſhould be conſtrained to leaue behind vs, or to hide

M. Iohn Hawkins ẏ Engliſh Generall.

Sheepe and poultrie carried into Florida.

An aduantage wiſely taken.

The French miſtruſted that the Engliſhmen would plant in Florida.

Siluer found in Florida.

Note.

The great importance of this enterpriſe.

the ground by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of our men, being not able to embarke the ſame. This point being thus concluded and reſolued on, I went my ſelfe vnto the Engliſh Generall, accompanied with my Lieutenant, and Captaine Vaſſeur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the Pilot, and my Sergeant, all men of experience in ſuch affaires and knowing ſufficiently how to driue ſuch a bargaine. We therefore tooke a view of the ſhip which the Generall would ſell, whom we drew to ſuch reaſon, that he was content to ſtand to mine owne mens iudgement, who eſteemed it to be worth ſeuen hundreth crownes, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I deliuered him in earneſt of the ſumme, two baſtards, two mynions, one thouſand of iron, & one thouſand of powder. This bargaine thus made, he conſidered the neceſſity wherein we were, hauing for all our ſuſtenance but mill and water: whereupon being moued with pitie, he offred to relieue me with 20 barels of meale, ſixe pipes of beanes, one hogſhead of ſalt, and a hundred of waxe to make candels. Moreouer foraſmuch as he ſawe my ſouldiers goe barefoote, hee offred me beſides fifty paires of ſhoes, which I accepted and agreed of a price with him, and gaue him a bill of mine hand for the ſame, for which vntill this preſent I am indebted to him. He did more then this: for particularly he beſtowed vpon my ſelfe a great iarre of oyle, a iarre of vineger, a barell of Oliues, and a great quantitie of Rice, and a barell of white Biſcuit. Beſides he gaue diuers preſents to the principall Officers of my company according to their qualities: ſo that I may ſay that we receiued as many courteſies of the Generall, as it was poſſible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtleſſe he hath wonne the reputation of a good and charitable man, deſeruing to be eſteemed as much of vs all as if he had ſaued all our liues. Incontinent after his departure I ſpared no paine to haſten my men to make biſcuits of the meale which he had left me, and to hoope my caſke to take in water needfull for the voyage. A man may well thinke what diligence we vſed, in reſpect of the great deſire we had to depart, wherein we continued ſo well, that the fifteenth day of Auguſt the biſcuit, the greateſt part of our water, & all the ſouldiers ſtuffe was brought aboord: ſo that from that day forward wee did nothing but ſtay for good windes to driue vs into France: which had freed vs from an infinite number of miſchiefes which afterward wee ſuffred, if they had come as we deſired: but it was not Gods good pleaſure, as ſhall appeare hereafter. Being thus in a readineſſe to ſet ſayle, we bethought our ſelues that it would doe well to bring certaine men and women of the countrey into France, to the end that if this voyage ſhould be taken in hand againe they might declare vnto their Kings the greatneſſe of our King, the excellencie of our Princes, the goodneſſe of our Countrey, and the maner of liuing of the Frenchmen: and that they might alſo learne our language, to ſerue our turnes thereby in time to come. Wherein I tooke ſo good order, that I found meanes to bring away with me the goodlieſt perſons of all the countrey, if our intentions had ſucceeded as I hoped they would haue done. In the meane ſeaſon the Kings my neighbours came often to ſee and viſite me: which, after that they vnderſtood that I would returne into France, demanded of mee whether I meant to returne againe or no, and whether it would be in ſhort time. I ſignified vnto them that within tenne Moones (ſo they call their Moneths) I would viſite them againe with ſuch force, that I would be able to make them Conquerours ouer all their enemies. They prayed me that I would leaue them my houſe, that I would forbid my ſouldiers to beate downe the Fort and their lodgings, and that I would leaue them a boate to ayde them withall in their warre againſt their enemies. Which I made as though I would grant vnto them, to the end I might alwaies remaine their friend vntill my laſt departure.

The great humanity and bounty of Maſter Iohn Hawkins to the French.

The departure of the Engliſh Generall.

Auguſt 15.

The Floridians meaſure their moneths by the reuolutions of the Moone.

The third voyage of the Frenchmen made by Captaine *Iohn Ribault* vnto *Florida*.

AS I was thus occupied in theſe conferences, the winde and the tide ſerued well to ſet ſayle, which was the eight and twentieth of Auguſt, at which inſtant Captaine Vaſſeur which commanded in one of my ſhippes, and Captaine Verdier which was chiefe in the other, now ready to goe foorth, began to deſcry certaine ſayles at ſea, whereof they aduertiſed mee with diligence: whereupon I appointed to arme foorth a boate in good order to goe to deſcrie and know what they were. I ſent alſo to the Sentinels, which I cauſed to be kept on a little knappe, to cauſe certaine men to climbe vp to the toppe of the higheſt trees the better to diſcouer them. They deſcried the great boate of the ſhippes, which as yet they could not perfectly diſcerne, which as farre as they could iudge, ſeemed to chaſe my boate, which by this time was paſſed the barre of the riuer: ſo that we could not yet iudge whether they were enemies which would haue caried her away with them: for it was too great a ken to iudge the trueth thereof. Vpon this doubt I put my men in order and in ſuch

The arriuall of Captaine Iohn Ribault at the Fort the 28 of Auguſt 1565.

Note.

ſuch array as though they had beene enemies: and indeede I had great occaſion to miſtruſt the ſame: for my boate came vnto their ſhip about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and ſent me no newes all that day long to put me out of doubt who they ſhould be. The next day in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke I ſaw ſeuen boates (among which mine owne was one) full of ſouldiers enter into the riuer, hauing euery man his harquebuze and morion on his head, which marched all in battaile along the cliffes where my centinels were, to whom they would make no kind of anſwere, notwithſtanding all the demandes that were made vnto them, inſomuch as one of my ſouldiers was conſtrained to beſtowe a ſhot at them without doing hurt neuertheleſſe to any of them, by reaſon of the diſtance betweene him and the boates. The report hereof being made vnto me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend our ſelues, if they had bene enemies, as in trueth wee thought them to haue bene: likewiſe I cauſed the two ſmall field-pieces which I had left me, to be trimmed in ſuch ſort, as if in approching to the Fort they had not cryed that it was Captaine Ribault, I had not failed to haue diſcharged the ſame vpon them. Afterward I vnderſtood that the cauſe why they entred in this maner, proceeded of the falſe reports which had bene made vnto my Lord Admirall by thoſe which were returned into France in the firſt ſhippes. For they had put in his head, that I played the Lord and the King, and that I would hardly ſuffer that any other ſaue my ſelfe ſhould enter in thither to gouerne there. Thus we ſee how the good name of the moſt honeſt is oftentimes aſſayled by ſuch, as hauing no meanes to win themſelues credit by vertuous and laudable endeuours, thinke by defaming of other mens vertues to augment the feeble force of their faint courage, which neuertheleſſe is one of the moſt notable dangers which may happen in a commonwealth, and chiefly among men of warre which are placed in gouernment. For it is very hard, yea vtterly vnpoſſible, that in gouerning of a company of men gathered out of diuers places and ſundry Nations, and namely ſuch as we know them to be in our warres, it is, I ſay, vnpoſſible, but there will be alwayes ſome of euill conditions and hard to be ruled, which eaſily conceiue an hatred againſt him, which by admonitions and light corrections endeuoureth to reduce them to the diſcipline of warre. For they ſeeke nothing elſe, but for a ſmall occaſion grounded vpon a light pretext to ſound into the eares of great Lords that which miſchieuouſly they haue contriued againſt thoſe, whoſe execution of iuſtice is odious vnto them. And albeit I will not place my ſelfe in the ranke of great and renowmed Captaines, ſuch as liued in times paſſed, yet we may iudge by their examples, how hurtfull backbiters haue beene vnto commonwealths. I will onely take Alcibiades for witneſſe in the commonwealth of the Athenians, which by this meane was caſt into baniſhment, whereupon the citizens felt the ſmart of an infinite number of miſchiefes: inſomuch as in the end they were conſtrained to call him home againe, and acknowledge at length the fault they had committed in forgetting his good ſeruices, and rather beleeuing a falſe report, then hauing had regard vnto ſo many notable exploits which in former time hee had atchieued. But that I looſe not my ſelfe in digreſſing ſo farre in this my iuſtification, I will returne againe to my firſt courſe. Being therefore aduertiſed that it was Captaine Ribault, I went foorth of the Fort to goe to meete him, and to doe him all the honour I could by any meanes, I cauſed him to be welcommed with the artillery, and a gentle volley of my ſhot, whereunto he anſwered with his. Afterward being come on ſhore and receiued honourably with ioy, I brought him to my lodging, reioycing not a little becauſe that in this company I knew a good number of my friends, which I intreated in the beſt ſort that I was able, with ſuch victuals as I could get in the countrey, and that ſmall ſtore which I had left me, with that which I had of the Engliſh General. Howbeit I marueiled not a little when as all of them with one voice began to vtter vnto me theſe or the like ſpeeches. My Captaine, we praiſe God that we haue found you aliue, and chiefly becauſe we know, that the reports which haue bene made of you, are falſe. Theſe ſpeeches mooued me in ſuch ſort, that I would needs out of hand know more, miſtruſting ſome euill. Wherefore hauing accoſted Captaine Iohn Ribault, and going both of vs aſide together out of the Fort, he ſignified vnto me the charge which he had, praying me not to returne into France, but to ſtay with him my ſelfe and my company, and aſſured me that he would make it well thought of at home. Whereupon I replyed that out of this place I would doe him all ſeruice: that for the preſent I could not nor ought not accept this offer, ſince he was come for no other intent then to occupie the place which I before poſſeſſed, that I could haue no credit to be there commanded: that my friends would neuer like of it, and that he would hardly giue me that counſaile, if in good earneſt I ſhould demand his aduiſe therein. He made me anſwere, that he would not command me, that we ſhould be companions, & that he would build another fortreſſe, and that he would leaue mine owne vnto me. This notwithſtanding I fully aduertiſed him that I could not receiue a greater comfort then the newes which he brought me to returne into Franc

False reports of Laudonniere to the Admiral of France.

The danger of backbiting.

Alcibiades baniſhed by backbiters.

Laudonnieres receiuing of Captaine Ribault.

and farther that though I ſhould ſtay there, yet it muſt needes be that one of vs both was to command with title of the Kings Lieutenant, that this could not well agree together: that I had rather haue it caſt in my teeth to be the pooreſt begger in the world, then to be commanded in that place, where I had endured ſo much to inhabite and plant there, if it were not by ſome great Lord or Knight of the order: and that in theſe reſpects I prayed him very hartily to deliuer me the letters which my Lord Admirall had written vnto me, which he performed.

The contents of thoſe letters were theſe.

Letters of the Lord Admirall vnto Laudonniere.

CApitaine *Laudonniere*, becauſe ſome of them which are returned from *Florida* ſpeake indifferently of the Countrey, the King deſireth your preſence, to the end, that according to your tryall, he may reſolue to beſtow great coſt thereon, or wholly to leaue it: and therfore I ſend Captayne *Iohn Ribault* to bee gouernour there, to whom you ſhall deliuer whatſoeuer you haue in charge, and informe him of all things you haue diſcouered. And in a poſtſcript of the letter was thus written. Thinke not, that whereas I ſend for you, it is for any euill opinion or miſtruſt that I haue of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit, and aſſure your ſelfe that during my life you ſhall find me your good Maſter.

CHASTILLON.

Accuſations againſt him. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

1. Laudonniere anſwere thereunto.

Now after I had long diſcourſed with Captaine Ribault, Captaine la Grange accoſted mee,
and told me of an infinite number of falſe reports which had bene made of mee to my great hinde-
rance: and among other things he informed me, that my Lord Admirall tooke it very euill that
I had caried a woman with mee: likewiſe that ſome bodie had tolde him that I went about to
unterfeit the King, and to play the tyrant: that I was too cruell vnto the men that went with
ee: that I ſought to be aduanced by other meanes then by my Lord Admirall: and that I had
written to many Lords of the Court, which I ought not to haue done. Whereunto I anſwered,
at the woman was a poore chambermayd, which I had taken vp in an Inne, to ouerſee my
houſhold buſineſſe, to looke to an infinite ſort of diuers beaſts, as ſheepe and poultrie which I
arie ouer with me to ſtore the countrey withall: that it was not meete to put a man to attend
as buſineſſe: likewiſe, conſidering the length of the time that I was to abide there, mee thought
ſhould not offend any body to take a woman with me, aſwell to helpe my ſouldiers in their ſicke-
eſſes, as in mine owne, whereinto I fell afterward. And how neceſſary her ſeruice was for vs,
h one at that time might eaſily perceiue: That all my men thought ſo well of her, that at one
nſtant there were ſixe or ſeuen which did demand her of me in mariage; as in very deede one of
em had her after our returne. Touching that which was ſayd that I playd the King, theſe re- 2.
s were made, becauſe I would not beare with any thing which was againſt the duety of my
harge, and the Kings ſeruice. Moreouer, that in ſuch enterpriſes it is neceſſary for a Gouernour
o make himſelfe knowen and obeyed, for feare leaſt euery body would become a maſter, percei-
ing themſelues far from greater forces. And that if the tale-tellers called this rigour, it rather 3.
roceeded of their diſobedience, then of my nature leſſe ſubiect to crueltie then they were to rebel-
on. For the two laſt points, that I had not written to any of the Lords of the Court but by the 4.
ouer & commandement of my Lord Admirall, which willed me at my departure to ſend part of
uch things as I ſhould find in the countrey vnto the Lords of the Counſel: to the end that being
owen by this meane, they might deale with the Queene mother for the continuance of this en-
priſe: that hauing bene ſo ſmall time in the countrey, continually hindred with building of
reſſes, and vnlading of my ſhips, I was not able to come by any newe or rare things to ſend
m, whereupon I thought it beſt to content them in the meane while with letters, vntill ſuch
e as I might haue longer ſpace to ſearch out the Countrey, and might recouer ſomething to
e them: the diſtribution of which letters I meant not otherwiſe but to referre to my Lord
als good pleaſure: that if the bearer had forgot himſelfe ſo farre, as that he had broken the
ting of the letters, and preſented them himſelfe for hope of gaine, it was not my commande-
t. And that I neuer honoured noble man ſo much, nor did to any man more willing and faith- 5.
ll ſeruice then to my Lord Admirall, nor euer ſought aduancement but by his meanes. You ſee
w things paſſed for this day. The next day the Indians came in from all parts, to know what
ople theſe were: to whom I ſignified that this was he which in the yeere 1562. arriued in this
untrey, and erected the pillar which ſtood at the entrie of the riuer. Some of them knew him
r truth he was eaſie to be knowen by reaſon of the great bearde which he ware. He receiued
preſents of them which were of the villages neere adioyning, among whom there were

ſome

Fiue Indian kings.

ſome that he had not yet forgotten. The kings Homoloa, Serauahi, Alimacani, Malica, and Caſti came to viſit him and welcome him with diuers giftes according to their manner. I aduertiſed them that hee was ſent thither by the king of France, to remaine there in my roome, and that I was ſent for. Then they demanded and prayed him, if it might ſtand with his good pleaſure, to cauſe the merchandiſe that hee had brought with him to be deliuered them, and that in fewe dayes they would bring him to the mountaines of Apalatcy, whither they had promiſed to conduct me, and that in caſe they performed not their promiſe, that they were content to be cut in pieces. In thoſe mountaines, as they ſayd, is found red copper, which they call in their language Sieroa Pira, which is as much to ſay as red mettall, whereof I had a piece, which at the very inſtant I ſhewed to Captaine Ribault, which cauſed his gold-finer to make an aſſay thereof, which reported vnto him that it was perfect golde. About the time of theſe conferences, commings and goings of the kings of the countrey, being weakened with my former trauaile, and fallen into a melancholy vpon the falſe reports that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall feuer, which held me eight or nine dayes: during which time Captaine Ribault cauſed his victuals to be brought on ſhore, and beſtowed the moſt part thereof in the houſe which my Lieutenant had built about two hundred paſes without the forte: which hee did to the ende they might bee the better defended from the weather, and likewiſe to the intent that the meale might bee neerer to the bake-houſe, which I had built of purpoſe in that place, the better to auoide the danger of the fire, as I ſayd before. But loe howe oftentimes misfortune doth ſearch and purſue vs, euen then when we thinke to be at reſt! loe ſee what happened after that captaine Ribault had brought vp three of his ſmall ſhips into the riuer, which was the fourth of September! Sixe great Spaniſh ſhips arriued in the rode, where foure of our greateſt ſhips remained, which caſt anker, aſſuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chiefe captaines of the enterpriſe did, & called them all by their names and ſurnames. I report me to you if it could be otherwiſe but theſe men before they went out of Spaine muſt needs be informed of the enterpriſe & of thoſe that were to execute the ſame. About the breake of day they began to make toward our men: but our men which truſted them neuer a deale, had hoyſed their ſayles by night, being ready to cut the ſtrings that tyed them. Wherefore perceiuing that this making toward our men of the Spaniards was not to doe them any pleaſure, and knowing wel that their furniture was too ſmal to make head againſt them, becauſe that the moſt part of their men were on ſhore, they cut their cables, left their ankers, and ſet ſaile. The Spaniards ſeeing themſelues diſcouered, ſent them certaine volleis of their great ordinance, made ſaile after them, and chaſed them all day long: but our men got way of them ſtill toward the ſea. And the Spaniards ſeeing they could not reach them, by reaſon that the French ſhips were better of ſaile then theirs, and alſo becauſe they would not leaue the coaſt, turned backe and went on ſhore in the riuer Seloy, which we call the riuer of Dolphines 8 or 10 leagues diſtant from the place where we were. Our men therefore finding themſelues better of ſaile then they, followed them to deſcry what they did, which after they had done, they returned vnto the riuer of May, where captaine Ribault hauing deſcried them, embarked himſelfe in a great boat to know what newes they had. Being at the entry of the riuer he met with the boat of captaine Couſets ſhip, wherein there was a good number of men which made relation vnto him of all the Spaniards doings: and how the great ſhip named the Trinitie had kept the ſea, and that ſhe was not returned with them. They told him moreouer that they had ſeen three Spaniſh ſhips enter into the riuer of Dolphins, & the other three remained in the rode; farther that they had put their ſouldiers, their victuals & munition on land. After he vnderſtood theſe newes hee returned to the fortreſſe, and came to my chamber where I was ſick, and there in the preſence of the captaines, La Grange, S. Marie, Ottigny, Villy, Yonuille, and other gentlemen, he propounded, that it was neceſſary for the kings ſeruice, to embarke himſelfe with all his forces, and with the three ſhips that were in the rode to ſeeke the Spaniſh fleete, whereupon he asked our aduiſe. I firſt replyed, and ſhewed vnto him the conſequence of ſuch an enterpriſe, aduertiſing him among other things of the perillous flawes of windes that riſe on this coaſt, and that if it chanced that hee were driuen from the ſhore, it would be very hard for him to recouer it againe, that in the meane while they which ſhould ſtay in the Forte ſhould be in feare and danger. The Captaines, Saint Marie, and La Grange declared vnto him farther, that they thought it not good to put any ſuch enterpriſe in execution, that it was farre better to keepe the land, & do their beſt indeuour to fortifie themſelues: And that after that the Trinitie (which was the principall ſhip) were returned, there would be much more likelihood to enterpriſe this voyage. This notwithſtanding he reſolued to vndertake it, and that which more is, after he vnderſtoode by king Emola, one of our neighbours which arriued vpon the handling of theſe matters, that the Spaniards in great numbers were gone on ſhore, which

The mountaines of Apalatcy wherein are mines of perfect gold. Sieroa Pira red mettall.

Perfect gold.

Good meanes to auoid the danger of fire.

September 4.

The Spaniards vnderſtanding and ſurpriſing of the French.

The riuer Seloy or the riuer of Dolphins but 8 or 10 leagues ouer land from the fort: but it is thirty with doubling the Cape by ſea.

Dangerous flawes of wind on the coaſt of Florida in September.

King Emola.

tooke

taken poſſeſſion of the houſes of Seloy, in the moſt part whereof they had placed their Negros, which they had brought to labour, and alſo lodged themſelues and had caſt diuers trenches about them. Thus for the conſiderations which he had, and doubting (as he might well doe) that the Spanyards would encampe themſelues there to moleſt vs, and in the ende to chaſe vs out of the Countrey, he reſolued and continued in his embarkment, cauſed a Proclamation to be made, that all ſouldiers that were vnder his charge ſhould preſently with their weapons embarke them, and that his two enſignes ſhould march: which was put in execution. He came into my chamber, and prayed me to lend him my Lieutenant, mine enſigne, and my ſergeant, and to let all my good ſouldiers, which I had, goe with him, which I denied him, becauſe my ſelfe being ſicke, there was no man to ſtay in the fort. Thereupon he anſwered me that I needed not to doubt at all, and that he would returne the morrow after, that in the meane ſpace Monſieur de Lys ſhould ſtay behind to looke to all things. Then I ſhewed vnto him that he was chiefe in this Countrey, and that I for my part had no further authoritie: that therefore hee would take good aduiſement what hee did, for feare leaſt ſome inconuenience might enſue. Then he tolde me that he could doe no leſſe, then to continue this enterpriſe, and that in the letter which he had receiued from my Lord Admirall, there was a poſtſcript, which hee ſhewed me written in theſe wordes: Captaine *Iohn Ribault*, as I was encloſing vp this letter, I receiued a certaine aduice, that *Don Pedro Melendez* departeth from *Spaine* to goe to the coaſt of *Newe France*: ſee you that you ſuffer him not to encroch vpon you, no more then he would that you ſhould encroch vpon him. You ſee (quoth he) the charge that I haue, and I leaue it vnto your ſelfe to iudge, if you could do any leſſe in this caſe, conſidering the certaine aduertiſement that we haue, that they are already en lande, and will inuade vs. This ſtopped my mouth. Thus therefore confirmed or rather obſtinate in this enterpriſe, and hauing regard rather vnto his particular opinion then vnto the aduertiſments which I had giuen him, and the inconueniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked himſelfe the eight of September, and tooke mine enſigne and eight and thirtie of my men away with him. I report mee to thoſe that know what warres meane, if when an enſigne marcheth, any ſouldier that hath any courage in him will ſtay behind, to forſake his enſigne: Thus no man of commandement ſtayed behind with mee, for ech one followed him as chiefe, in whoſe name ſtraight after his arriuall, all cries and proclamations were made. Captaine Grange, which liked not very well of this enterpriſe, was vnto the tenth of the moneth with mee, and would not haue gone aboorde, if it had not beene for the inſtant requeſtes that Captaine Ribault made vnto him, which ſtaid two dayes in the rode attending vntill La Grange was come vnto him: Who being come aboord, they ſet ſayle altogether, and from that time forward I neuer ſaw them more. The very day that he departed, which was the tenth of September, there roſe ſo great a tempeſt accompanied with ſuch ſtormes, that the Indians themſelues aſſured me that it was the worſt weather that euer was ſeene on the coaſt: whereupon two or three dayes after, fearing leaſt our ſhips might be in ſome diſtreſſe, I ſent for Monſieur du Lys vnto mee, to take order to aſſemble the reſt of our people to declare vnto them what neede wee had to fortifie our ſelues: which was done accordingly: and then I gaue them to vnderſtand the neceſſity and inconueniences whereinto we were like to fall, aſwel by the abſence of our ſhips, as by the neereneſſe of the Spanyards, at whoſe hands we could looke for no leſſe then an open and ſufficient proclaimed war, ſeeing they had taken land and fortified themſelues ſo neere vnto vs. And if any misfortune were fallen vnto our men which were at Sea, we ought to make a full account with our ſelues that wee were to endure many great miſeries, being in ſo ſmall number, and ſo many wayes afflicted as we were. Thus euery one promiſed mee to take paines: and therefore conſidering that their proportion of victuals was ſmall, and that ſo continuing, they would not bee able to doe any great worke, I augmented their allowance: although that after the arriuall of Captaine Ribault my portion of victuals was allotted vnto mee as vnto a common ſouldier, neither was I able to giue ſo much as part of a bottell of wine to any man which deſerued it: for I was ſo farre from hauing meanes to doe ſo, that the Captaine himſelfe tooke two of my boates, wherein the reſt of the meale was, which was left me of the biſcuits which I cauſed to bee made to returne into France: ſo that if I ſhould ſay that I receiued more fauour at the handes of the Engliſhmen beeing Strangers vnto mee, I ſhould ſay but a trueth. Wee beganne therefore to fortifie our ſelues and to repaire that which was broken downe, principally toward the water ſide, where I cauſed threeſcore foote of trees to be planted, to repaire the Paliſſado with the plankes which I cauſed to bee taken of the Shippe which I had builded. Neuertheleſſe notwithſtanding all our diligence and trauaile, wee were neuer able fully to repaire it by reaſon of the ſtormes, which commonly did vs ſo great annoy, that wee could not finiſh our incloſure. Perceiuing my ſelfe in ſuch extremitie

A village and riuer both of that name.

An aduertiſement of my Lord Admirall to Captaine Ribault.

Captaine Ribaults embarkment Sept. 8.

The tenth of September.

A mighty tempeſt the tenth of Sept.

Laudonniere hardly vſed by Ribault.

Laudonniere and his company beginne to fortifie themſelues.

A muſter of the men left in the fort by Ribault.

Fourescore and fiue left in the fort with Laudonniere.

The Spaniards diſcryed the 20 of September.

The Spaniards enter the fort.

Francis Iean a traitour to his nation.
Don Pedro Melendes captaine of the Spaniards.

Laudonniere eſcape.

I tooke a muſter of the men, which captaine Ribault had left me, to ſee if there were any that wanted weapon: I found nine or ten of them whereof not paſt two or three had euer drawen ſword out of a ſcabbard, as I thinke. Let them which haue [illegible] bold to ſay, that I had men ynough left me ſo that I had meanes to defend my ſelfe, giue eare a litle now vnto mee, and if they haue eyes in their heads, let them ſee what men I had. Of the nine there were foure but yong ſtriplings, which ſerued Captaine Ribault and kept his dogs, the fift was a cooke: among thoſe that were without the fort, and which were of the foreſaid company of Captaine Ribault, there was a Carpenter of three ſcore yeeres olde, one a Beere-brewer, one olde Croſſe-bow maker, two Shoomakers, and foure or fiue men that had their wiues, a player on the Virginals, two ſeruants of Monſieur du Lys, one of Monſieur de Beauhaire, one of Monſieur de la Grange, and about fourescore and fiue or ſixe in all, counting aſwel Lackeys as women and children. Behold the goodly troupe ſo ſufficient to defend themſelues, and ſo couragious as they haue eſteemed them to be: and for my part I leaue it to others conſideration to imagine whether Captaine Ribault would haue left them with me to haue borrowed my men, if they had bene ſuch. Thoſe that were left me of mine owne company were about ſixeteene or ſeuenteene that could beare armes, and all of them poore and leane: the reſt were ſicke and maymed in the conflict which my Lieutenant had againſt Vtina. This view being thus taken, wee ſet our watches, whereof wee made two Centinels, that the ſouldiers might haue one night free. Then wee bethought our ſelues of thoſe which might bee moſt ſufficient, among whome wee choſe two, one of whom was named Monſieur Saint Cler, and the other Monſieur de la Vigne, to whom we deliuered candles and Lanterns to goe round about the fort to viewe the watch, becauſe of the foule and foggie weather. I deliuered them alſo a ſandglaſſe or clocke, that the Centinels might not be troubled more one then another. In the meane while I ceaſed not, for all the foule weather nor my ſickneſſe which I had, to ouerſee the Corps de garde. The night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth of September La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he vſed all endeuour, although it rayned without ceaſing. When the day was therefore come, and that hee ſaw that it rayned ſtill worſe then it did before, hee pitied the Centinels ſo too moyled and wette: and thinking the Spanyardes would not haue come in ſuch a ſtrange time, hee let them depart, and to ſay the trueth, hee went himſelfe vnto his lodging. In the meane while one which had ſomething to doe without the fort, and my trumpet which went vp vnto the rampart perceiued a troupe of Spanyards which came downe from a little knappe. Where incontinently they beganne to cry alarme, and the Trumpetter alſo: Which aſſoone as euer I vnderſtoode, forthwith I iſſued out, with my target and ſword in my hand, and gatte mee into the middeſt of the Court, where I beganne to crie vpon my ſouldiers. Some of them which were of the forward ſort went toward the breach, which was on the Southſide, and where the munitions of the artillerie lay, where they were repulſed and ſlaine. By the ſelfe ſame place two enſignes entred, which immediately were planted on the wals. Two other enſignes alſo entred on the other ſide toward the Weſt, where there was another breach: and thoſe which were lodged in this quarter, & which ſhewed themſelues, were likewiſe defeated. As I went to ſuccour them which were defending the breach on the ſouthweſt ſide, I encountred by chance a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulſed our men and were now entred, which draue me backe vnto the court of the fort: being there I eſpied with them one called Francis Iean, which was one of the Mariners which ſtole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spanyards thither. Aſſoone as he ſawe me, he began to ſay, This is the Captaine. This troupe was led by a captaine whoſe name, as I thinke, was Don Pedro Melendes: theſe made certain puſhes at me with their pikes which lighted on my target. But perceiuing that I was not able to withſtand ſo great a company, and that the court was already wonne, and their enſignes planted on the ramparts, & that I had neuer a man about me, ſauing one only whoſe name was Bartholomew, I entred into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not bene for a tent that was ſet vp, I had bin taken: but the Spanyards which followed me were occupied in cutting of the cordes of the tent, and in the meane while I ſaued my ſelfe by the breach which was on the Weſt ſide neere vnto my Lieutenants lodging, and gate away into the woods: where I found certain of my men which were eſcaped, of which number there were three or foure which were ſore hurt. Then ſpake I thus vnto them: Sirs, ſince it hath pleaſed God that this miſchance is happened vnto vs, we muſt needs take the paines to get ouer the marſhes vnto the ſhips which are at the mouth of the riuer. Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods, the reſt followed me through the reedes in the water, where being able to go no farther by reaſon of my ſickneſſe which I had, I ſent two of my men which were with me, which could ſwimme well, vnto the ſhips, to aduertiſe them of that which had happened, and to ſend them word to come and helpe me. They were not able that day to get vnto the ſhips to certifie them thereof: ſo I was conſtrained to ſtand in the water vp to the ſhoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would neuer forſake me. The next day morning, being ſcarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betooke me to my prayers with the ſouldier which was with mee, whoſe name was Iohn du Chemin: for I felt my ſelfe ſo weake, that I was afraid I ſhould die ſuddenly: and in trueth if he had not imbraced me in both his armes, and ſo held me vp, it had not bene poſſible to ſaue me. After we had made an ende of our prayers, I heard a voyce, which in my iudgement was one of theirs which I had ſent, which were ouer againſt the ſhips and called for the ſhip boat, which was ſo in deed: and becauſe thoſe of the ſhips had vnderſtanding of the taking of the fort by one called Iohn de Hais, maſter Carpenter, which fled vnto them in a ſhallop, they had ſent a boate to run along the coaſt to ſee if they might ſaue any: wherein doubtleſſe they did very well their indeuour. They went ſtraight to the place where the two men were which I had ſent and which called them. Aſſoone as they had receiued them in and vnderſtood where I was, they came and found me in a pitifull caſe. Fiue or ſixe of them tooke me and caried me into the ſhallop: for I was not able by any meanes to goe one foot. After I was brought into the ſhallop ſome of the Mariners tooke their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would haue caried me preſently to their ſhips to giue me a little Aqua vitæ. Howbeit I would not goe thither, vntill I had firſt gone with the boat along the reeds, to ſeeke out the poore ſoules which were ſcattered abroad, where we gathered vp 18 or 20 of them. The laſt that I took in was the nephew of the Treaſurer le Beau. After we were al come to the ſhips, I comforted them as well as I could, and ſent back the boat againe with ſpeed to ſee if they could find yet any more. Vpon her returne, the Mariners told mee how that captaine Iames Ribault which was in his ſhip about two muſkets ſhot diſtant from the fort, had parled with the Spaniards, and that Francis Iean came vnto his ſhip, where hee ſtayed a long ſpace, whereat they greatly marueiled, conſidering hee was the cauſe of this enterpriſe, how hee would let him eſcape. After I was come into the ſhip called the Greyhound, captaine Iames Ribault & captaine Valuot came to ſee me: and there we concluded to returne into France. Now foraſmuch as I found the ſhip vnfurniſhed of Captaine, Pilot, Maſter, and Maſters-mate, I gaue aduice to chooſe out one of the moſt able men among al the mariners, & that by their owne voices. I tooke alſo ſixe men out of another ſmall ſhip, which we had ſunke becauſe it wanted ballaſt and could not be ſaued. Thus I increaſed the furniture of the ſhip wherein I was my ſelfe embarked, and made one, which had bene Maſters-mate in the foreſaid ſmall ſhip, Maſter of mine. And becauſe I lacked a pilot, I prayed Iames Ribault that he would grant me one of the foure men that he had in his ſhip, which I ſhould name vnto him, to ſerue me for a Pilot: he promiſed to giue me them, which neuertheleſſe he did not at the inſtant when wee were ready to depart, notwithſtanding all the ſpeech I vſed to him, in declaring that it was for the kings ſeruice. I was conſtrained to leaue the ſhip behind me which I had bought of the Engliſh Captaine, becauſe I wanted men to bring her away. For captaine Iames Ribault had taken away her furniture: I tooke away her ordinance onely, which was all diſmounted, whereof I gaue nine pieces to Iames Ribault to carrie into France, the other fiue I put into my ſhip. The 25 of September wee ſet ſailes to returne into France, and Captaine Iames Ribault and I kept company all that day and the next vntill three or foure a clock in the afternoone: but becauſe his ſhip was better at bowline then ours, he kept him to the wind and left vs the ſame day. Thus we continued our voyage, wherein we had marueilous flawes of wind. And about the eight and twentieth of October in the morning at the breake of the day we diſcried the Iſle of Flores, one of the Açores, where immediatly vpon our approching to the land we had a mightie guſt of wind which came from the Northeaſt, which cauſed vs to beare againſt it foure dayes: afterward the wind came South and Southeaſt, and was alwayes variable. In all the time of our paſſage we had none other foode ſauing biſquit and water. About the tenth or eleuenth of Nouember, after we had ſailed a long time, and ſuppoſing we were not farre from land, I cauſed my men to ſound, where they found threeſcore and fifteene fathoms water, whereat we all reioyced, and praiſed God becauſe we had ſailed ſo proſperouſly. Immediatly after I cauſed them to ſet ſaile againe and ſo we continued our way: but foraſmuch as we had borne too much toward the Northeaſt we entred into Saint Georges chanell, a place much feared of all Sailers, and where as many ſhips are caſt away: But it was a faire gift of God that we entred it when the weather was cleare. We ſailed all the night, ſuppoſing wee had bene ſhot into the narrow Sea betweene England and France, and by the next day to reach Diepe, but we were deceiued of our longing: for about two or three of the clocke after midnight as I walked vpon the hatches, I diſcried land round about me, whereat wee were aſtonied. Immediatly I cauſed them to ſtrike ſaile and ſound: we found we had not vnder vs paſt 8 fathoms of water, whereupon

Iohn du Chemin a faithfull ſouldiour.

The diligence of the Mariners to ſaue them that eſcaped out of the fort.

Among theſe was Iaques Morgues painter ſometime dwelling in the Black-fryers in London.

Francis Iean cauſe of this enterpriſe.

The bad dealing of Iames Ribault.

Our returne into France the 25 of September 1565.

October 28.

Nouember 10.

The chanel of Saint George.

I com-

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

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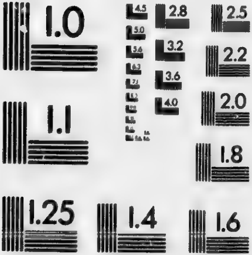

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I commanded them to ſtay till breake of day: which being come, and ſeeing my Mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approch vnto it. Being neere thereunto I made them caſt anker, & ſent the boat on ſhore to vnderſtand in what Countrey we were. Word was brought me that we were in Wales a prouince of England. I went incontinently on land, where after I had taken the ayre, a ſickeneſſe tooke mee whereof I thought I ſhould haue dyed. In the meane while I cauſed the ſhip to be brought into the bay of a ſmall towne called Swanſey, where I found merchants of S. Malo, which lent me money, wherewith I made certaine apparel for my ſelfe and part of my company that was with me: and becauſe there were no victuals in the ſhip, I bought two Oxen, and ſalted them, and a tunne of Beere, which I deliuered into his hands which had charge of the ſhip, praying him to cary it into France, which he promiſed me to doe: for mine owne part I purpoſed with my men to paſſe by land, and after I had taken leaue of my Mariners, I departed from Swanſey, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the Lord of the place, vnderſtanding what I was, ſtayed me with him for the ſpace of 6 or 7 dayes, and at my departure mooued with pitie to ſee me goe on foot, eſpecially being ſo weake as I was, gaue me a litle Hackny. Thus I paſſed on my iourney firſt to Briſtoll, & then to London, where I went to doe my duty to Monſieur de Foix, which for the preſent was the kings Ambaſſador, and holpe me with mony in my neceſſitie. From thence I paſſed to Caleis, afterward to Paris, where I was informed that the king was gone to Molins to ſoiourne there: incontinently, & with all the haſt I could poſſibly make, I gate me thither with part of my cõpany. Thus briefly you ſee the diſcourſe of all that happened in New France ſince the time it pleaſed the kings Maieſty to ſend his ſubiects thither to diſcouer thoſe parts. The indifferent and vnpaſſionate readers may eaſily weigh the truth of my doings, and be vpright iudges of the endeuor which I there vſed. For mine owne part I wil not accuſe nor excuſe any: it ſufficeth mee to haue followed the trueth of the hiſtory, whereof many are able to beare witneſſe, which were there preſent. I will plainly ſay one thing, That the long delay that Captaine *Iohn Ribault* vſed in his embarking, and the 15. daies that he ſpent in rouing along the coaſt of *Florida*, before he came to our fort Caroline, were the cauſe of the loſſe that we ſuſteined. For he diſcouered the coaſt the 14 of Auguſt, and ſpent the time in going from riuer to riuer, which had bene ſufficient for him to haue diſcharged his ſhips in, and for me to haue embarked my ſelfe to returne into France. I wote well that al that he did was vpon a good intent: yet in mine opinion he ſhould haue had more regard vnto his charge, then to the deuiſes of his owne braine, which ſometimes hee printed in his head ſo deeply, that it was very hard to put them out: which alſo turned to his vtter vndoing: for hee was no ſooner departed from vs, but a tempeſt tooke him, which in fine wrackt him vpon the coaſt, where all his ſhippes were caſt away, and he with much adoe eſcaped drowning, to fall into their hands which cruelly maſſacred him and all his company.

Laudonnieres arriuall in Swanſey Bay in Glamorgan ſhire in South-Wales.

The courteſie of one Maſter Morgan.

Briſtoll. London. Monſieur de Foix Ambaſſadour for the French king in England.

The concluſion.

The cauſes why the French loſt Florida.

The French Fleete caſt away on the coaſt of Florida.

The fourth voyage of the Frenchmen into *Florida*, vnder the conduct of Captaine *Gourgues*, in the yeere, 1567.

Captaine Gourgues a Gentleman borne in the Countrey neere vnto Bourdeaux incited with a deſire of reuenge, to repaire the honour of his nation, borowed of his friends and ſold part of his owne goods to ſet forth and furniſh three ſhips of indifferent burthen with all things neceſſary, hauing in them an hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, and fourescore choſen Mariners vnder Captaine Cazenoue his lieutenant, and Francis Bourdelois Maſter ouer the Mariners. He ſet forth the 22 of Auguſt 1567. And hauing endured contrary winds and ſtormes for a ſeaſon, at length hee arriued and went on ſhore in the Iſle of Cuba. From thence he paſſed to the Cape of Saint Antony at the end of the Ile of Cuba, about two hundred leagues diſtant from Florida, where the captaine diſcloſed vnto them his intention which hitherto he had concealed from them, praying and exhorting them not to leaue him being ſo neere the enemie, ſo well furniſhed, and in ſuch a cauſe: which they all ſware vnto him, and that with ſuch courage that they would not ſtay the full Moone to paſſe the chanell of Bahama, but ſpeedily diſcouered Florida, where the Spanyards ſaluted them with two Canon ſhot from their fort, ſuppoſing that they had beene of their nation, and Gourgues ſaluted them againe to entertaine them in this errour, that hee might ſurpriſe them at more aduantage, yet ſailing by them, & making as though he went to ſome other place vntil he had ſailed out of ſight of the place, ſo that about euening, hee landed 15 leagues from the fort, at the mouth of the Riuer Tacatacouru, which the Frenchmen called Seine, becauſe they thought it to bee like Seine in France. Afterward perceiuing the ſhore to bee couered with Sauages

The chanell of Bahama betweene Florida and the Iſles of Lucayos.

The Frenchmens landing at the Riuer Tacatacouru.

with their bowes and arrowes, (beſides the ſigne of peace and amitie which he made them from his ſhips) he ſent his Trumpetter, to aſſure them, that they were come thither for none other ende but to renew the amitie and ancient league of the French with them. The Trumpetter did his meſſage ſo well (by reaſon he had bene there before vnder Laudonniere) that he brought backe from king Satouriona, the greateſt of all the other kings, a kidde and other meat to refreſh vs, beſides the offer of his friendſhip and amitie. Afterward they retired danſing in ſigne of ioy, to aduertiſe all the kings Satourionaes kinſmen to repaire thither the next day to make a league of amitie with the Frenchmen. Whereupon in the meane ſpace our generall went about to ſound the chanel of the riuer to bring in his ſhips, and the better to traffike and deale with the Sauages, of whom the chiefe the next day in the morning preſented themſelues, namely the great king Satouriona, Tacatacourou, Halmacanir, Athore, Harpaha, Helmacapé, Helicopilé, Molloua, and others his kinſmen and allies, with their accuſtomed weapons.

Eight ſauage kings.

Then ſent they to intreate the French general to come on ſhore, which he cauſed his men to do with their ſwords and harquebuſes, which he made them leaue behind them, in token of mutuall aſſurance, leauing his men but their ſwords only, after that the Sauages complaining thereof had left and likewiſe ſent away their weapons at the requeſt of Gourgues. This done Satouriona going to meet him, cauſed him to ſit on his right hand in a ſeat of wood of lentiſque couered with moſſe made of purpoſe like vnto his owne.

The kings ſeate.

Then two of the eldeſt of the company pulled vp the brambles & other weeds which were before them, and after they had made the place very cleane, they all ſate round about them on the ground. Afterward Gourgues being about to ſpeake, Satouriona preuented him, declaring at large vnto him the incredible wrongs, and continuall outrages that all the Sauages, their wiues and children had receiued of the Spanyards ſince their comming into the Countrey and maſſacring of the Frenchmen, with their continuall deſire if we would aſſiſt them throughly to reuenge ſo ſhamefull a treaſon, aſwell as their owne particular griefes, for the firme good will they alwayes had borne vnto the Frenchmen.

Complaints of the Sauages againſt the Spanyards.

Whereupon Gourgues giuing them his faith, and making a league betweene them and him with an othe gaue them certaine preſents of daggers, kniues, looking glaſſes, hatchets, rings, belles, and ſuch other things, trifles vnto vs, but precious vnto theſe kings: which moreouer, ſeeing his great liberality, demanded eche one a ſhirt of him to weare onely on their feſtiuall dayes, and to be buried in at their death. Which things after that they had receiued, and Satouriona had giuen in recompenſe to Captaine Gourgues two chaines of ſiluer graines which hung about his necke, and ech of the kings certaine deere ſkinnes dreſſed after their manner, they retired themſelues danſing and very iocond, with promiſe to keep all things ſecret, and to bring vnto the ſayd place good companies of their ſubiects all well armed to be auenged throughly on the Spanyards.

Two chaines of ſiluer giuen to Gourgues.

In the meane ſpace Gourgues very narrowly examined Peter de Bré borne in Newhauen, which being but a yong ſtripling eſcaped out of the fort into the woods while the Spanyards murdered the reſt of the French, & was afterward brought vp with Satouriona, which at that time beſtowed him on our generall, whoſe aduiſe ſtood him in great ſtead.

Peter de Bré had liued about two yeeres with Satouriona.

Whereupon he ſent to diſcouer the fort and the eſtate of the enemies by certaine of his men, being guided by Olotacara Satourionaes nephew which hee had giuen him for this purpoſe and for aſſurance of Eſtampes a gentleman of Comminges, and others which he ſent to diſcry the ſtate of the enemies. Moreouer he gaue him a ſonne of his ſtarke naked as all of them are, and his wife which he loued beſt of all the reſt, of eighteene yeeres olde, apparelled with the moſſe of trees, which for 3 dayes ſpace were in the ſhips, vntill our men returned from diſcrying the ſtate of the enemie, and the kings had furniſhed their preparation at their rende-uous.

Three pledges deliuered to Gourgues by Satouriona.

Their marching being concluded, and the Sauages rende-vous being appointed them beyond the riuer Salinacani, of our men called Somme, they all dranke with great ſolemnitie their drinke called Caſſine, made of the iuice of certaine hearbs (as they are wont to do, when they go to any place of danger,) which hath ſuch force, that it taketh from them hunger and thirſt for 24 houres, and Gourgues was faine to make as though he drank thereof for company.

The riuer of Salinacani, called Somme by the French.

Afterward they lift vp their hands and ſware all that they would neuer forſake him. Olotocara followed him with a pike in hand. Being all met at the riuer of Sarauahi, not without great trouble, by reaſon of the raine and places full of water which they muſt needes paſſe, which hindred their paſſage, they were diſtreſſed with famine finding nothing by the way to eat, their Bark of prouiſion being not arriued, which was to come vnto him from the ſhips, the ouerſight and charge whereof he had left vnto Burdelois with the reſt of the Mariners.

The riuer of Sarauahi.

Now he had learned that the Spanyards were foure hundred ſtrong, diuided into three forts builded and flanked, and well fortified vpon the riuer of May, the great fort eſpecially begunne by the French, and afterward repaired by them: vpon the moſt dangerous and principall landing place whereof, two leagues lower and neerer towards the Riuers mouth, they

The eſtate of the Spanyards in Florida.

they had made two ſmaller Forts, which were defended, the riuer paſſing betweene them, with ſixe ſcore ſouldiers, good ſtore of artillery and other munition, which they had in the ſame.

The riuer of Saracary, or Sarauahi.

From Saracary vnto theſe ſmal forts was two leagues ſpace, which he found very painful, becauſe of the bad waies and continual raines. Afterward he departed from the riuer Catacouru with 10. ſhot, to view the firſt fort, and to aſſault it the next day in the morning by the breake of day, which hee could not doe, becauſe of the foule weather, and darkneſſe of the night. King Helicopile ſeeing him out of quiet in that he had failed of his purpoſe there, aſſured him to guide him a more eaſie way, though it were farther about. Inſomuch as leading him through the woods, he brought him within ſight of the fort, where he diſcerned one quarter which was but begun to bee entrenched. Thus after he had ſounded the ſmall riuer that falleth downe thereby, hee ſtayed vntill ten of the clock in the morning for an ebbe water, that his men might paſſe ouer there, vnto a place where he had ſeene a litle groue between the riuer & the fort (that he might not be ſeene to paſſe and ſet his ſouldiers in array) cauſing them to faſten their flaſks to their Morions, & to hold vp their ſwords and kaliuers in their hands, for feare leaſt the water, which reached vp to their girdles, ſhould not wet them: where they found ſuch abundance of great oyſters, and ſhels which were ſo ſharpe, that many had their legs cut with them, and many others loſt their ſhoes. Notwithſtanding aſſoone as they were paſſed ouer, with a French courage they prepared themſelues to the aſſault on the ſunday eue next after Eaſter day, in Aprill 1568. Inſomuch that Gourgues to employ the ardent heat of this good affection, gaue twenty ſhot to his Lieutenant Cazenoue, and ten Mariners laden with pots and balles of wild fire to burne the gate:

The aſſault and taking of the firſt Fort.

and then he aſſaulted the Fort on another ſide, after he had made a ſhort ſpeech vnto his men of the ſtrange treaſons which the Spanyards had plaid their companions. But being diſcried as they came holding downe their heads within two hundred paces from the Fort, the Gunner being vpon the terrace of the Fort, after he had cried, Arme, Arme, theſe be French men, diſcharged twiſe vpō them a coluerine, whereon the Armes of France were grauen, which had bin taken from Laudonniere. But as he went about to charge it the third time, Olotocara, which had not learned to keepe his ranke, or rather moued with rage,

The valure of Olotocara.

lept on the platforme, and thruſt him through the bodie with his pike and ſlew him. Whereupon Gourgues aduanced forward, and after he had heard Cazenoue cry, that the Spaniards which iſſued out armed at the cry of the alarme, were fled, hee drew to that part, and ſo hemmed them in betweene him and his Lieutenant, that of threeſcore there eſcaped not a man, ſauing only fifteene reſerued vnto the ſame death which they had put the French vnto. The Spanyards of the other fort in the meane while ceaſed not to play with their ordinance, which much annoied the aſſailants: although to anſwere them they had by this placed and oftentimes pointed the foure pieces found in the firſt Fort.

The aſſault and taking of the ſecond fort.

Whereupon Gourgues being accompanied with fourſcore ſhot went into the barke which met him there to good purpoſe to paſſe into the wood neere vnto the Fort, out of which he ſuppoſed the Spanyards would iſſue to ſaue themſelues through the benefit of the woods in the great fort, which was not paſt one league diſtant from ẏ ſame. Afterward the Sauages not ſtaying for the returne of the bark, lept al into the water holding vp their bowes & arrowes in one hand, & ſwimming with the other,

The Sauages great ſwimmers.

ſo that the Spaniards ſeeing both ẏ ſhores couered with ſo great a number of men, thought to flee towards the woods: but being charged by the French, and afterward repulſed by the Sauages, toward whō they would haue retired, they were ſooner then they would bereft of their liues. To conclude they al there ended their dayes ſauing 15 of thoſe which were reſerued to be executed for the example of others.

The Spaniards of the ſecond Fort all ſlaine.

Whereupon Captaine Gourgues hauing cauſed al that he found in the ſecond fort to be tranſported into the firſt, where he meant to ſtrengthen himſelfe to take reſolution againſt the great Fort, the [illegible] hereof hee did not vnderſtand: in fine a Sergeant of a band one of the priſoners aſſured him, that they might be there very neere 300 wel furniſhed vnder a braue Gouernor, which had fortified there, attending farther ſuccours. Thus hauing obtained of him the platforme, the height, the fortification and paſſages vnto it, and

Note.

hauing prepared eight good ladders, and raiſed all the Countrey againſt the Spanyard, that he neither might haue newes, nor ſuccours, nor retract [illegible], he determined to march forward.

A notable Spaniſh ſubtilite.

In the meane while the Gouernour ſent a Spanyard diſguiſed like a Sauage to ſpie out the ſtate of the French. And though he were diſcouered by Olotocara, yet he vſed all the cunning he could poſſibly to perſwade them that he was one of the ſecond fort, out of which hauing eſcaped, and ſeeing none but ſauages on euery ſide, he hoped more in Frenchmens then their mercy, vnto whom he came to yeeld himſelf diſguiſed like a ſauage, for feare leſt if he ſhould haue bin knowen, he ſhould haue bin maſſacred by thoſe Barbarians: but the ſpie being brought face to face with the ſergeant of the the band, & conuicted to be one of the great fort, was reſerued vntill an other time: after that he had aſſured Gourgues that the bruit was that he had 2000 Frenchmen with him for feare of whom the 200 and threeſcore Spaniardes which remained in the great fort, were greatly aſtonied. Whereupon Gourgues being reſolued to ſet vpon them, while they were thus amazed, and leauing his Standard-bearer and a Captaine with fifteene ſhot to keepe the Fort, and the entry of the Riuer, he cauſed the Sauages to depart by night to lye in ambuſh within the woods on both ſides of the riuer, then he departed in the Morning, leauing the Sergeant and the ſpy faſt bound along with him, to ſhew him that in deede, which they had only made him vnderſtand before in paynting. As they marched Olotocara a reſolute Sauage which neuer left the Captaine, ſaid vnto him, that he had ſerued him faithfully, and done whatſoeuer hee had commaunded him, that he was aſſured to dye in the conflict at the great Fort, wherein neuertheleſſe he would not faile, though it were to ſaue his life: but he prayed him to giue that vnto his wife, if hee eſcaped not, which he had meant to beſtow on him, that ſhee might bury the ſame with him, that thereby hee might be better welcome vnto the village of the ſoules or ſpirits departed. To whom Captaine Gourgues anſwered, after he had commended his faithfull valour, the loue toward his wife, and his noble care of immortall honour, that he deſired rather to honour him aliue then dead, and that by Gods helpe he would bring him home againe with victorie. After the diſcouerie of the Fort, the Spanyards were no niggards of their Canon ſhotte, nor of two double Coluerines, which being mounted vpon a Bulwarke, commaunded all along the Riuer, which made captaine Gorgues to get to the hill couered with wood, at the foot whereof the Fort beginneth, and the forreſt or wood continueth and ſtretcheth foorth beyond it: ſo that he had ſufficient couerture to approch thereunto without offence. He purpoſed alſo to remaine there vntill the Morning, wherein hee was reſolued to aſſault the Spaniards by ſcaling their walles on the ſide toward the hill, where the Trench ſeemed not ſufficiently flanked for the defence of the courtains, and from whence part of his men might draw them that were beſieged, which ſhould ſhew themſelues to defend the rampart while the reſt were comming vp. But the Gouernour haſtened his vnhappy deſtinie, cauſing threeſcore ſhotte to ſallie foorth, which paſſing through the Trenches, aduaunced forward to deſcrye the number and valour of the French, whereof twentie vnder the conduct of Cazenoue, getting betweene the Fort and them which now were iſſued foorth, cut off their repaſſage, while Gourgues commaunded the reſt to charge them in the Front, but not to diſcharge but neere at hand, and ſo that they might be ſure to hitte them, that afterward with more eaſe they might cut them in pieces with their ſwordes. So that turning their backs aſſoone as they were charged, and compaſſed in by his Lieutenant, they remayned all ſlaine vpon the place. Whereat the reſt that were beſieged were ſo aſtonied, that they knew none other meane to ſaue their liues, but by fleeing into the Woodes adioyning, where neuertheleſſe being incountred againe by the arrowes of the Sauages which lay in wayte there for them (whereof one ranne through the target and body of a Spanyard, which therewithall fell downe ſtarke dead) ſome were conſtrayned to turne backe, chooſing rather to dye by the hand of the French, which purſued them: aſſuring themſelues, that none of them could finde any fauour neyther with the one nor the other Nation, whom they had alike and ſo out of meaſure cruelly intreated, ſauing thoſe which were reſerued to be an example for the time to come. The Fort when it was taken, was found well prouided of all neceſſaries: namely of fiue double Coluerines, and foure Mynions, with diuers other ſmall pieces of all ſorts, and eighteene groſſe cakes of gunnepowder, all ſorts of weapons, which Gourgues cauſed with ſpeede to be imbarked, ſauing the powder and other moueables, by reaſon it was all conſumed with fire through the negligence of a Sauage, which in ſeething of his fiſh, ſet fire on a traine of powder which was made and hidden by the Spanyardes, to haue ſeaſed the French at the firſt aſſault, thus blowing vp the ſtore houſe, and the other houſes built of Pine trees. The reſt of the Spaniards being led away priſoners with the others, after that the Generall had ſhewed them the wrong which they had done without occaſion to all the French Nation, were all hanged on the boughs of the ſame trees, whereon the French hung: of which number fiue were hanged by one Spaniard, which perceiuing himſelfe in the like miſerable eſtate, confeſſed his fault, and the iuſt iudgement which God had brought vpon him. But in ſtead of the writing which Pedro Melendes had hanged ouer them, importing theſe wordes in Spaniſh, I doe not this as vnto French men, but as vnto Lutherans, Gourgues cauſed to be imprinted with a ſearing iron in a table of Firrewood, I doe not this as vnto Spaniardes, nor as vnto Mariners, but as vnto Traitors, Robbers, and Murtherers. Afterward conſidering he had not men inough to keepe his Forts which he had wonne, much leſſe to ſtore them, fearing alſo leſt the Spaniard which hath Dominions neere adioyning ſhould renew his forces, or the Sauages ſhould preuaile againſt the French men, vnleſſe his Maieſtie would ſend thither, hee reſolued to raze them. And indeede, after he had aſſembled, and in the ende perſwaded all the Sauage kings ſo to doe, they

The cauſe why the Floridians bury their goods with them.

Note.

The ſlaughter of the Spaniards of the third Fort.

The taking of the third Fort.

The writings hanged ouer the French and Spaniards ſlaine in Florida.

cauſed

The three Forts razed.

Great honour done by the Sauages to Gourgues.

Kniues in great eſtimation.

The third of May.

The arriuall of Gourgues at Rochel, the ſixt of Iune.

Che-de Bois.

The birth, life and death of captaine Gourgues.

cauſed their ſubiects to runne thither with ſuch affection, that they ouerthrew all the three Forts flatte euen with the ground in one day. This done by Gourgues, that hee might returne to his Shippes which were left in the Riuer of Seyne called Tacatacourou, fifteene leagues diſtant from thence, he ſent Cazenoue and the artillery by water: afterward with foure ſcore harquebuſiers, armed with corſlets, and matches light, followed with fortie Mariners bearing pikes, by reaſon of the ſmall confidence he was to haue in ſo many Sauages, he marched by land alwayes in battell ray, finding the wayes couered with Sauages, which came to honour him with preſents and prayſes, as the deliuerer of all the countreis round about adioyning. An old woman among the reſt ſayd vnto him, that now ſhe cared not any more to dye, ſince ſhe had ſeene the Frenchmen once againe in Florida, and the Spaniards chaſed out. Briefly being arriued, and finding his ſhips ſet in order, and euery thing ready to ſet ſayle, hee counſelled the kings to continue in the amitie and ancient league which they had made with the king of France, which would defend them againſt all Nations: which they all promiſed, ſhedding teares becauſe of his departure, Olocotara eſpecially: for appeaſing of whom he promiſed them to returne within twelue Moones, (ſo they count the yeeres) and that his king would ſend them an army, and ſtore of kniues for preſents, and all other things neceſſary. So that after he had taken his leaue of them, and aſſembled his men, he thanked God of all his ſucceſſe ſince his ſetting foorth, and prayed to him for an happy returne. The third of May 1568, all things were made ready, the Rendez-uous appoynted, and the Ankers weighed to ſet ſayle ſo proſperouſly, that in ſeuenteene dayes they ranne eleuen hundred leagues: continuing which courſe they arriued at Rochel the ſixt of Iune, the foure and thirtieth day after their departure from the Riuer of May, hauing loſt but a ſmall Pinneſſe and eight men in it, with a few gentlemen and others which were ſlaine in the aſſaulting of the Forts. After the cheere and good intertainment which he receiued of thoſe of Rochel, hee ſayled to Burdeaux to informe Monſieur Monluc of the things aboue mentioned, albeit hee was aduertiſed of eighteene Pinneſſes, and a great Shippe of two hundred Tunnes full of Spanyardes, which being aſſured of the defeat in Florida, and that he was at Rochel, came as farre as Che-de Bois, the ſame day that he departed thence, and followed him as farre as Blay (but he was gotten already to Bordeaux) to make him yeeld another account of his voyage, then that, wherewith hee made many Frenchmen right glad. The Catholicke king being afterward informed that Gourgues could not eaſily be taken, offered a great ſumme of money to him that could bring him his head, praying moreouer king Charles to doe iuſtice on him as of the authour of ſo bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendſhippe. In ſo much as comming to Paris to preſent himſelfe vnto the King, to ſignifie vnto him the ſucceſſe of his Voyage, and the meanes which hee had to ſubdue this whole Countrey vnto his obedience, (wherein hee offered to imploy his life, and all his goods) hee found his entertainement and anſwere ſo contrary to his expectation, that in fine hee was conſtrayned to hide himſelfe a long ſpace in the Court of Roan, about the yeere 1570 And without the aſſiſtance of Preſident Marigny, in whoſe houſe he remayned certaine dayes, and of the Receiuer of Vacquieulx, which alwayes was his faithfull friend, hee had beene in great danger. Which grieued not a litle Dominique de Gourgues, conſidering the ſeruices which hee had done aſwell vnto him as to his predeceſſours kings of France. Hee was borne in Mount Marſan in Guyenne, and imployed for the ſeruice of the most Chriſtian Kings in all the Armies made ſince theſe twentie fiue or thirtie yeeres: at laſt he had the charge and honour of a Captaine, which in a place neere vnto Siene, with thirtie Souldiers ſuſtayned the brunt of a part of the Spaniſh Armie, by which beeing taken in the aſſault, and hauing all his men cutte in pieces, hee was put into a Galley in token of the good warre and ſingular fauour which the Spanyard is woont to ſhewe vs. But as the Galley was going toward Sicillie, beeing taken by the Turkes, ledde away to Rhodes, and thence to Conſtantinople, it was ſhortly afterwarde recouered by Romeguas, commaunder ouer the Armie of Malta. By this meane returning home, hee made a Voyage on the coaſt of Africa, whence hee tooke his courſe to Breſil, and to the South Sea. At length beeing deſirous to repayre the honour of France, he ſet vpon Florida with ſuch ſucceſſe as you haue heard. So that being become by his continuall warlike actions both by Land and Sea no leſſe valiant Captaine then ſkilfull Mariner, hee hath made himſelfe feared of the Spanyard, and acceptable vnto the Queene of England for the deſert of his vertues. To conclude, he dyed in the yeere 1582, to the great griefe of ſuch as knew him.

The

The relation of *Pedro Morales* a Spaniard, which ſir *Francis Drake* brought from *Saint Auguſtines* in *Florida*, where he had remayned ſixe yeeres, touching the ſtate of thoſe partes, taken from his mouth by Maſter *Richard Hakluyt* 1586.

Three ſcore leagues vp to the Northweſt from Saint Helena are the mountaines of the golde and Chryſtall Mines, named Apalatci.

The riuer of Wateri is thirtie leagues from S.Helena Northward, which is able to receiue any Fleete of ſhips of great burden.

Wateri a goodly riuer.

Wateri and Caiowa are two kings, and two riuers to the North of Saint Helena.

Oriſtou,
Ahoia,
Ahoiaue,
Iſamacon,
Icoſa or Dicoſa
} Kings and Riuers to the South of Saint Helena.

The Spaniards haue killed three hundred of the ſubiects of Potanou.

The greateſt number of Spaniards that haue bene in Florida this ſixe yeeres, was three hundred, and now they were but two hundred in both the Forts.

There is a great Citie ſixteene or twentie dayes iourney from Saint Helena Northweſtward, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, which they thinke to bee very rich and exceeding great, and haue bene within the ſight of it, ſome of them.

La grand Copal a rich citie.

They haue offered in generall to the King to take no wages at all of him, if he will giue them leaue to diſcouer this citie, and the rich mountaines, and the paſſage to a ſea or mighty Lake which they heare to be within foure and twenty dayes trauel from Saint Helena, which is in 32. degrees of latitude: and is that riuer which the French called Port-royal.

He ſaith alſo that he hath ſeene a rich Diamond which was brought from the mountaines that lye vp in the countrey Weſtward from S.Helena. Theſe hils ſeeme wholy to be the mountaines of Apalatci, whereof the Sauages aduertiſed Laudonniere, and it may bee they are the hils of Chaunis Temoatam, which Maſter Lane had aduertiſement of.

The relation of *Nicholas Burgoignon*, aliâs *Holy*, whom ſir *Francis Drake* brought from *Saint Auguſtine* alſo in *Florida*, where he had remayned ſixe yeeres, in mine and *Maſter Heriots* hearing.

This Nicholas Burgoignon ſayth, that betweene S. Auguſtine and S Helen there is a Caſique whoſe name is Caſicôla, which is lord of ten thouſand Indians, and another caſique whoſe name is Dicaſca, and another called Touppekyn toward the North, and a fourth named Potanou toward the South, and another called Moſcita toward the South likewiſe. Beſides theſe he acknowledgeth Oriſtou, Ahoia, Ahoiaue, Iſamacon, alledged by the Spaniard.

He further affirmeth, that there is a citie Northweſtward from S.Helenes in the mountaines, which the Spaniards call La grand Copal, and is very great and rich, and that in theſe mountains there is great ſtore of Chriſtal, golde, and Rubies, and Diamonds: And that a Spaniard brought from thence a Diamond which was worth fiue thouſand crownes, which Pedro Melendes the marques nephew to olde Pedro Melendes that ſlew Ribault, & is now gouerner of Florida, weareth. He ſaith alſo, that to make paſſage vnto theſe mountaines, it is needefull to haue ſtore of hatchets to giue vnto the Indians, and ſtore of Pickaxes to breake the mountaines, which ſhine ſo bright in the day in ſome places, that they cannot behold them, and therefore they trauell vnto them by night. Alſo coſlets of Cotton, which the Spaniards call Zecopitz, are neceſſary to bee had againſt the arrowes of the Sauages.

He ſayth farther, that a Tunne of the ſaſſafras of Florida is ſolde in Spaine for ſixtie ducates: and that they haue there great ſtore of Turkie cocks, of Beanes, of Peaſon, and that there are great ſtore of pearles.

The things, as he reporteth, that the Floridians make moſt account of, are red Cloth, or redde Cotton to make bawdricks or gyrdles: copper, and hatchets to cut withall.

The Spaniards haue all demaunded leaue at their owne coſts, to diſcouer theſe mountaines, which the King denyeth, for feare leſt the English or French would enter into the ſame action, once knowen.

All the Spaniards would paſſe vp by the riuer of Saint Helena vnto the mountaines of golde and Chryſtall.

The Spaniards entring 50. leagues vp Saint Helena, found Indians wearing golde rings at their noſtrels and eares. They found alſo Oxen, but leſſe then ours. Oxen.

Sixe leagues from Saint Helena toward the North, there is a poynt that runneth farre into the ſea, which is the marke to the Seamen to finde Saint Helena and Waterin.

Waterin is a riuer fortie leagues diſtant Northward from Saint Helena, where any fleete of great ſhips may ride ſafely. I take this riuer to be that which we call Waren in Virginia, whither at Chriſtmaſſe laſt 1585. the Spaniards ſent a barke with fortie men to diſcouer where we were ſeated: in which barke was Nicholas Burgoignon the reporter of all theſe things.

The Spaniards of S. Auguſtine haue ſlaine three hundred of the ſubiects of Potanou. One Potaſſi is neighbour to Potanou. Oratina is he which the French hiſtory calleth Olata Outina.

Calauai is another caſique which they knowe.

SVNDRY VOYAGES MADE FROM *Nueua Galicia*, and *Nueua Viſcaia* in new *Spaine*, to the 15. Prouinces of new *Mexico*, and to *Quiuira* and *Cibola*, all ſituate on the backeſide of *Guaſtecan*, *Florida*, and *Virginia*, as farre as 37. degrees of Northerly latitude: with a deſcription of the riuers, lakes, cities, townes, nations, fertile ſoyle, and temperate ayre in thoſe partes; and moſt certaine notice of many exceeding rich ſiluer-mines, and other principall commodities.

A diſcourſe of the famous Coſmographer *Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius*, concerning the three voyages of Frier *Marco de Niça*, *Francis Vaſquez de Coronado*, and *Ferdinando Alorchon* next following: taken out of his third volume of Nauigations and Voyages.

The right honourable Don Antonio de Mendoça being ſent by Charles the Emperour to be viceroy of Mexico and Nueua Eſpanna, and hauing vnderſtood that Don Ferdinando Cortez had ſent many ſhips along the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna to diſcouer countries, and to find out the Iſles of the Malucos, began himſelfe to deſire to do the like, as viceroy of Nueua Eſpanna; and hereupon they fell out: for Cortez ſaid that he was generall and diſcouerer of the South ſea, and that it belonged to him to ſet forth thoſe voyages. On the other ſide, the lord Don Antonio alledged that it belonged to him to make that diſcouery, as being viceroy of Nueua Eſpanna. So that they fell at great variance, and Cortez returned into Spaine to complaine vnto the Emperour. Don Antonio in the meane ſeaſon hauing obteined knowledge of the voiage, which Andrew Dorantez (who was one of the company of Pamphilo Naruaez that eſcaped, as you may reade in the relation of Aluaro Nunnez, called Cabeça de Vaca) made; ſent Frier Marco de Niça with a Negro of the ſaid Dorantez to diſcouer that country. Which Frier Marco de Niça being returned, & hauing informed his lordſhip of all his diſcouery, he ſent captaine Francis Vaſquez de Coronado with many Spaniards on horſebacke and Indians on foot: likewiſe he ſent a fleete by ſea, whereof Ferdinando Alorchon was captaine, as may be ſeene in the relations following.

An extract of a letter of captaine *Francis Vaſques de Coronado*, written to a Secretary of the right noble *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, viceroy of *Nueua Eſpanna*. Dated in *Culiacan*, the 8. of March 1539.

HE ſaith that Frier Marcus de Niça arriued in the Prouince of Topira, where he found all the Indians fled vnto the mountaines for feare of the Chriſtians, and that for his ſake they came all downe to ſee him, with great ioy & boldneſſe. They are men of good making, and whiter then others, and their women are more beautifull then others of the neighbour-prouinces. There are no great cities there, yet are the houſes built of ſtone, and are very good, and in them they haue great ſtore of gold, which is as it were loſt, becauſe they know not what vſe to put it to. The people weare Emeralds and other precious iewels vpon their bodies: they are valiant, hauing very

Store of golde, ſiluer, and precious ſtones in Topira.

ſtrong armour made of ſiluer, faſhioned after diuers ſhapes of beaſts. They worſhip for their gods
ſuch things as they haue in their houſes, as namely hearbes, and birdes, and ſing ſongs vnto them
in their language, which differeth but litle from that of Culiacan. They told the Frier that they
were willing to become Chriſtians, and the Emperors ſubiects, for they were without a gouer-
nour; with condition that no man ſhould hurt them: and that they would change their golde for
ſuch things as they wanted. Commandement was giuen, that they ſhould bee receiued without
doing them any diſpleaſure. Neere vnto this countrey there is another Prouince heretofore diſ-
couered by our men, where the people go naked without any thing before them: they are very
hardly reduced to Chriſtianitie, and they are valiant and ſtoute. Their houſes are couered with
ſtraw. They ſeeke no other riches but to feede cattel. They goe at certaine ſeaſons to their ſacri-
fices into a valley ſituate in that Prouince, which is inhabited with people, eſteemed by thoſe of the
countrey as ſaints and prieſts, whom they call Chichimecas, which dwell in the woods without
houſes: and they eate ſuch things as they of the countrey giue them of almes. They goe naked,
and are tanned in the ſmoke, and tye their priuie member with a ſtring vnto their knee, and the
women likewiſe goe ſtarke naked. They haue certain temples couered with ſtrawe, with ſmall
round windowes full of the ſkuls of dead men; before their temple is a great round ditch, the brim
whereof is compaſſed with the figure of a ſerpent made of gold and ſiluer, and with another mix-
ture of vnknowen metals: and this ſerpent holdeth his tayle in his mouth. They of this valley
from time to time caſt lots, whoſe lucke it ſhal be to be ſacrificed, and they make him great cheere,
on whom the lotte falleth, and with great ioy they crowne him with flowers vpon a bed prepared
in the ſayd ditch all full of flowres and ſweete hearbes, on which they lay him along, and lay great
ſtore of dry wood on both ſides of him, and ſet it on fire on eyther part, and ſo he dyeth. Where he
continueth ſo quietly without being bound, as though hee did ſomething, wherein he tooke great
pleaſure. And they ſay that hee is a Saint, and doe worſhippe him for that yeere, and ſing prayſ-
ſes, and Hymnes vnto him, and afterward ſet vp his head with the reſt in order within thoſe win-
dowes. Alſo they ſacrifice their priſoners, whom they burne in another deeper ditch, and not
with the foreſayde ceremonies. The Spanyardes which are in Xaliſco write, that hauing
good aſſiſtance, they hope that thoſe people will become Chriſtians. The Countrey is very good
and fruitfull, and hath great ſtore of good and wholeſome waters.

A Letter of *Francis Vazquez de Coronado*, Gouernour of *Nueua Galicia*, to the lord *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, Viceroy of *Nueua Eſpanna*. Dated in *Saint Michael* of *Culiacan* the 8. of March, 1539.

Of the hard paſſage from *Saint Michael* of *Culiacan* to *Topira*. The deſcription of that Prouince, and of another neere vnto the ſame, very rich in gold and precious ſtones. The number of the people which *Vazquez* caried with him in his iourney thither; and how greatly Frier *Marcus* of *Niça* is honoured by the Indians of *Petatlan*.

By the helpe of God I meane to ſet forward from this City of S.Michael of
Culiacan toward Topira the 10.of April: neither can I any ſooner ſet for-
ward, becauſe the powder and match which your Lordſhip ſendeth mee, can-
not be brought thither before that time, and I thinke it be now in Compo-
ſtella. Beſides this, I am to paſſe many leagues ouer mightie high moun-
taines, which reach vp to the ſkyes, and ouer a Riuer, which at this preſent
is ſo bigge and ſwolne, that it can in no place be waded ouer. [illegible] I de-
part at the time aforeſayde, they ſay wee may wade ouer it. They tolde mee that from hence to
Topira was not aboue 50. leagues; and I haue learned ſince that it is aboue foure ſcore leagues.
I doe not remember that I haue written to your Lordſhippe the information which I haue of
Topira: and though I had written thereof vnto you, yet becauſe that ſince that time I haue lear-
ned ſomething more, I thinke it meete to ſignifie the ſame vnto your Lordſhip in theſe my letters. Topira.
It may pleaſe your honour therefore to vnderſtand, that they tell mee, that Topira is a very popu-
ous Prouince, lying betweene two riuers, and that there are aboue 50. inhabited townes there-
n. And that beyond the ſame there is another Countrey greater then it, the name whereof the
Indians could not tell mee, wherein there is great ſtore of victuals of Maiz, French peaſon, Another greater Prouince.
ri or Pepper, Melons, and Gourds, and great ſtore of Hennes of the countrey. The people
weare on their bodies golde, Emeralds, and other precious ſtones, and are ſerued commonly in
lde and ſiluer, wherewith they couer their houſes: and the chiefe men weare great chaines of

golde

These may ſeeme to be the Pintados mentioned by Frier Marco de Niza in his 2. Chap.

golde well wrought, about their necks, and are apparelled with paynted garments, and haue ſtore of wilde kine; and they ſay they enter not into their countrey, becauſe themſelues haue no great ſtore of people: thoſe Indians being many in number, and very valiant. That which here I ſay, I learned by two other relations of Indians dwelling neere vnto them. I meane to ſet forward at the time before mentioned, and I carrie with me 150. horſemen, and twelue ſpare horſes, and 200. footmen, croſſebow-men, and gunners. I take alſo with mee liue hogs, ſheepe, and all ſuch things as I can get for money: aſſure your Lordſhip that I meane not to returne to Mexico, vntil I be able to informe your honour more perfectly, what the ſtate of that place is: and if I find ought that we may doe good in, I will ſtay there, vntill I haue aduertiſed your Lordſhip, that you may command what you will haue done: and if it fall out ſo vnluckily, that there be nothing of importance, I will ſeeke to diſcouer 100. leagues farther, wherein (I hope in God) there will be ſomething found in which your Lordſhip may imploy all theſe gentlemen, and thoſe which ſhall come hither hereafter. I thinke I cannot chuſe but ſtay there: and the waters, the ſeaſons, and diſpoſition of the countrey, and other accidents wil direct mee what is beſt to be done. Frier Marco de Niça entred a good way into the country, accompanied with Stephan Dorantez, the 7. of February laſt paſt: when I departed from them, I left them with aboue 100. Indians of Petatlan, and and from the time of their comming thither they greatly honoured the father, ſhewing him all the courteſies they could poſſibly. I cannot ſend you, nor deſcribe vnto you his entrance among them better then I haue done in all my relations which I wrote in my letters from Compoſtella, and I ſignified vnto you all things to the full from the citie of S.Michael: and though there be but the tenth part of thoſe things, it is a great matter. Herewithall I haue ſent your Lordſhip a Letter, which I receiued from the ſaid father: the Indians tell me, that all the people of the countrey doe greatly reuerence him: and I beleeue he may trauel many leagues farther in that ſort. He ſaith, that if he finde any good countrey, he will write to me thereof: I will not goe thither without informing your Lordſhip of my iourney. I hope in God, that by one way or other wee ſhall diſcouer ſome good thing.

A Letter written by the moſt honourable Lord *Don Antonio de Mendoça*, Vice-roy of *Nueua Eſpanna*, to the Emperors Maieſtie.

Of certaine Noblemen which ſought to diſcouer the end of the firme land of *Nueua Eſpanna* toward the North. The arriuall of *Vazquez de Coronado* with Frier *Marco* at *S. Michael* of *Culiacan*, with commiſſion to the Gouernors of thoſe partes, to pacifie the Indians, and not to make them ſlaues any more.

IN the ſhips that went laſt from hence (whereof Michael de Vſnago was Admiral) I wrote vnto your Maieſtie, how I had ſent two Franciſcan Friers to diſcouer the end of this firme land, which ſtretcheth to the North. And becauſe their iourney fell out to greater purpoſe then was looked for, I will declare the whole matter from the beginning. It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to call to minde how often I wrote vnto your Highneſſe, that I deſired to know the ende of this Prouince of Nueua Eſpanna, becauſe it is ſo great a countrey, and that we haue yet no knowledge thereof. Neither had I onely this deſire; for Nunno de Guzman departed out of this city of Mexico with 400. horſemen, and 14000. Indians footemen borne in theſe Indias, being the beſt men, & the beſt furniſhed, which haue bene ſeene in theſe parts: and he did ſo litle with them, that the moſt part of them were conſumed in the enterprize, & could not enter nor diſcouer any more then already was diſcouered. After this the ſaide Nunno Guzman beeing Gouernour of Nueua Galicia, ſent Captaines and Horſemen foorth diuers times, which ſped no better then he had done. Likewiſe the Marques de valle Hernando Cortez ſent a captaine with 2. ſhips to diſcouer the coaſt: which 2. ſhips and the captaine periſhed. After that he ſent againe 2. other ſhips, one of the which was diuided from her conſort, and the Maſter and certaine mariners ſlue the captaine, & vſurped ouer the ſhip. After this they came to an Iſland, where the Maſter with certaine mariners going on land, the Indians of the country ſlew them, and tooke their boat: and the ſhip with thoſe that were in it, returned to the coaſt of Nueua Galicia, where it ran on ground. By the men which came home in this ſhip, the Marques had knowledge of the countrey which they had diſcouered: and then, either for the diſcontentment which hee had with the biſhop of Saint Domingo, and with the Iudges of this royal audience in Mexico, or rather becauſe of his ſo proſperous ſucceſſe in all things here in Nueua Eſpanna, without ſeeking any fur-

This was the Port of Santa Cruz in the Iſle of California.

th

ther intelligence of the ſtate of that Iſland, he ſet forward on that voyage with 3. Ships, and with certaine footemen and horſemen, not throughly furniſhed with things neceſſary; which fell out ſo contrary to his expectation, that the moſt part of the people which he carryed with him, dyed of hunger. And although he had ſhips, and a Countrey very neere him abounding with victuals, yet could hee neuer finde meanes to conquer it, but rather it ſeemed, that God miraculouſly did hide it from him: and ſo he returned home without atchieuing ought elſe of moment. After this, hauing heere in my company Andrew Dorantez, which is one of thoſe who were in the voyage of Panphilo Naruaez, I often was in hand with him, ſuppoſing that he was able to doe your Maieſtie great ſeruice, to imploy him with fortie or fiftie horſes, to ſearch out the ſecret of thoſe parts: and hauing prouided all things neceſſary for his iourney, and ſpent much money in that behalfe, the matter was broken off, I wot not how, and that enterpriſe was giuen ouer. Yet of the things which were prouided for that purpoſe, I had left mee a Negro, which returned from the foreſayde voyage of Naruaez with Dorantez, and certaine ſlaues which I had bought, and certaine Indians which I had gathered together, who were borne in thoſe North partes, whome I ſent with Frier Marco de Niça, and his companion a Franciſcan Frier, becauſe they had bene long trauelled, and exerciſed in thoſe partes, and had great experience in the affaires of the Indies, and were men of good life and conſcience, for whom I obtained leaue of their ſuperiours: and ſo they went with Francis Vazquez de Coronado, gouernour of Nueua Galicia vnto the Citie of Saint Michael of Culiacan, which is the laſt Prouince ſubdued by the Spaniards towarde that quarter, being two hundred leagues diſtant from this Citie of Mexico. Aſſoone as the gouernour, and the Friers were come vnto that Citie, hee ſent certaine of thoſe Indians which I had giuen him, home into their Countrey, to ſignifie, and declare to the people of the ſame, That they were to vnderſtand, that your Maieſtie had commaunded they ſhould not hereafter bee made ſlaues, and that they ſhould not be afrayd any more, but might returne vnto their houſes, and liue peaceably in them, (for before that time they had bin greatly troubled by the euil dealings which were vſed toward them) and that your Maieſtie would cauſe them to be chaſtened, which were the cauſes of their vexation. With theſe Indians about twentie dayes after returned about 400. men; which comming before the gouernour ſaid vnto him, that they came on the behalfe of al their Countrey-men, to tell him, that they deſired to ſee and know thoſe men which did them ſo great a pleaſure as to ſuffer them to returne to their houſes, and to ſow Maiz for their ſuſtenance: for by the ſpace of many yeres they were driuen to flee into the mountaines, hiding themſelues like wild beaſts, for feare leſt they ſhould be made ſlaues, and that they and all the reſt of their people were ready to doe whatſoeuer ſhould bee commaunded them. Whom the gouernour comforted with good wordes, and gaue them victuals, and ſtayed them with him three or foure dayes, wherein the Friers taught them to make the ſigne of the Croſſe, and to learne the name of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, and they with great diligence ſought to learne the ſame. After theſe dayes hee ſent them home againe, willing them not to be afraid, but to be quiet, giuing them apparel, beades, kniues, and other ſuch like things, which I had giuen him for ſuch purpoſes. The ſayde Indians departed very well pleaſed, and ſaid, that whenſoeuer hee would ſend for them, they and many others would come to doe whatſoeuer he would command them. The entrance being thus prepared, Frier Marco and his companion, with the Negro and other ſlaues, and Indians which I had giuen him, went forward on their voyage 10. or 12. dayes after. And becauſe I had likewiſe aduertiſement of a certaine Prouince called Topira ſituate in the mountaines, and had appoynted the gouernour Vazquez de Coronado, that he ſhould vſe meanes to learne the ſtate thereof; he ſuppoſing this to be a matter of great moment, determined himſelfe to goe and ſearch it, hauing agreed with the ſayd Frier, that he ſhould returne by that part of the mountaine, to meete with him in a certaine valley called Valle de los Coraçones, beeing 120. leagues diſtant from Culiacan. The gouernour trauelling into this Prouince (as I haue written in my former letters) found great ſcarcity of victuals there, and the mountaines ſo craggy, that he could finde no way to paſſe forward, and was inforced to returne home to Saint Michael: ſo that aſwell in chuſing of the entrance, as in not being able to finde the way, it ſeemeth vnto all men, that God would ſhut vp the gate to all thoſe, which by ſtrength of humane force haue gone about to attempt this enterpriſe, and hath reuciled it to a poore and bare-footed Frier. And ſo the Frier beganne to enter into the Land, who becauſe he found his entrance ſo well prepared, was very well receiued; and becauſe he wrote the whole ſucceſſe of his voyage, according to the inſtruction which I had giuen him to undertake the ſame, I will not write any more at large, but ſend your Maieſtie this copy of all ſuch things as he obſerued in the ſame.

Valle de los Corazones mentioned by Vazquez de Coronado cap. 1.

A relation of the reuerend father Frier *Marco de Niça*, touching his diſcouery of the kingdome of *Cenola* or *Cibola*, ſituate about 30.degrees of latitude, to the North of *Nueua Eſpanna*.

Chap. 1.

Frier *Marco de Niça* departeth from *Saint Michael* in the Prouince of *Culiacan*, ſtanding in 24.degrees of Northerly latitude: and comming to the Towne of *Petatlan*, receiueth many courteſies of the Indians there. Departing from thence, he had information of many Iſlands, and of a great countrey inhabited with ciuil people; he commeth to *Vacupa*: where during his aboad, he heard newes of *Cenola*, and of the ſtate of the 7. Cities, and of other prouinces, & of the rich Iſlands of perles, which extend northward vpon the coaſt.

I Frier Marco de Niça of the order of S. Francis, for the execution of the inſtruction of the right honourable lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy and captaine Generall for the Emperors Maieſtie in New Spaine, departed from the towne of S. Michael in the prouince of Culiacan on Friday the 7. of March, in the yeere 1539. hauing for my companion Frier Honoratus, and carying with me Stephan a Negro, belonging to Andrew Dorantez, and certaine of thoſe Indians which the ſayde lord Vice-roy had made free, and bought for this purpoſe: whom Francis Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueua Galicia deliuered me, and with many other Indians of Petatlan, and of the towne called Cuchillo, which is ſome 50. leagues from Petatlan, who came to the valley of Culiacan, ſhewing themſelues to bee exceeding glad, becauſe they were certified by the Indians which had bin ſet free, whom the ſaid gouernour had ſent before to aduertiſe them of their libertie, that none of them from thenceforth ſhould be made ſlaues, and that no man ſhould inuade them, nor vſe them badly; ſignifying vnto them, that the Emperors Maieſty had willed and commanded that it ſhould be ſo. With the foreſaid company I went on my voyage vntill I came to the towne of Petatlan, finding all the way great intertainment, and prouiſion of victuals, with roſes, flowres, and other ſuch things, and bowers which they made for me of chalke and boughs platted together in all places where there were no houſes. In this towne of Petatlan I reſted 3. dayes, becauſe my companion Honoratus fell ſo ſicke, that I was conſtrained to leaue him there behinde.

Petatlan a towne.

Then, according to my ſaid inſtruction, I followed my iourney as the holy Ghoſt did leade me, without any merit of mine, hauing in my company the ſaid Stephan the Negro of Dorantez, and certaine of the Indians which had bin ſet at liberty, and many of the people of the countrey, which gaue me great intertainment and welcome in all places where I came, and made mee bowers of trees, giuing me ſuch victuals as they had, although they were but ſmall: becauſe (as they ſaid) it had not rained there in 3 yeres, and becauſe the Indians of this countrey ſought meanes rather to hide themſelues, then to ſowe corne, for feare of the Chriſtians of the towne of S. Michael, which were wont to make in-roades euen to that place, and to warre vpon them, and to cary them away captiues. In all this way, which may be about 25 or 30. leagus from that part of Petatlan, I ſaw nothing worthy the noting, ſaue that there came to ſeeke me certaine Indians from the Iſland, where Fernando Cortez the Marques of the valley had bin, of whom I was informed, that it was an iſland, & not firme land, as ſome ſuppoſe it to be. They came to ẏ firme land vpon certaine rafts of wood: and from the maine to the iſland is but halfe a league by ſea, litle more or leſſe. Likewiſe certaine Indians of another iſland greater then this came to viſit me, which iſland is farther off, of whom I was informed that there were 30. other ſmal iſlands, which were inhabited, but had ſmal ſtore of victuals, ſauing 2. which haue Maiz or corne of the country. Theſe Indians had about their necks many great ſhels which were mother of Pearle. I ſhewed them pearles which I carryed with me for a ſhew, and they told me that there were in the Iſlands great ſtore of them, and thoſe very great: howbeit I ſaw none of them. I followed my voyage through a deſert of 4. dayes iourney, hauing in my company both the Indians of the iſlands, & thoſe of the mountaines which I had paſſed, and at the end of this deſert I found other Indians which maruelled to ſee me, becauſe they had no knowledge of any Chriſtians, hauing no traffike nor conuerſation with thoſe Indians which I had paſſed, in regard of the great deſert which was between them. Theſe Indians interteined me exceeding courteouſly, & gaue me great ſtore of victuals, & ſought to touch my garments, and called me Hayota, which in their language ſignifieth A man come from heauen. Theſe Indians I aduertiſed by my interpreter, according to my inſtructions, in the knowledge of our Lord God in heauen, & of the Emperor. In theſe countries & in all places els by all wayes and meanes poſſible,

The iſland of Saint Iago.

A great iſland, and 30. ſmall iſlands, which ſeeme to be the new iſlands of California rich in pearles.

A deſert foure daies iourney.

poſſible, I ſought information where any Countreys were of more Cities and people of ciuilitie and vnderſtanding, then thoſe which I had found; and I could heare no newes of any ſuch: howbeit they tolde mee, that foure or fiue dayes iourney within the Countrey, at the foote of the mountaines, there is a large and mightie plaine, wherein they tolde mee, that there were many great Townes, and people clad in Cotton: and when I ſhewed them certaine Metals which I carryed with mee, to learne what riche Metals were in the Lande, they tooke the minerall of Golde and tolde mee, that thereof were veſſelles among the people of that plaine, and that they carryed certaine round greene ſtones hanging at their noſtrilles, and at their eares, and that they haue certaine thinne plates of that Golde, wherewith they ſcrape off their ſweat, and that the walles of their Temples are couered therewith, and that they vſe it in all their houſhold veſſels. And becauſe this Valley is diſtant from the Sea-coaſt, and my inſtruction was not to leaue the Coaſt, I determined to leaue the diſcouery thereof vntill my returne; at which time I might doe it more commodiouſly.

This was the valley of Coracones.

Thus I trauelled three dayes iourney through Townes inhabited by the ſayde people, of whome I was receiued as I was of thoſe which I had paſſed, and came vnto a Towne of reaſonable bigneſſe, called Vacupa, where they ſhewed mee great courteſies, and gaue mee great ſtore of good victuals, becauſe the ſoyle is very fruitfull, and may bee watered. This Towne is fortie leagues diſtant from the Sea. And becauſe I was ſo farre from the Sea, it being two dayes before Paſſion Sunday, I determined to ſtay there vntill Eaſter, to informe my ſelfe of the Iſlandes, whereof I ſayde before that I had information. And ſo I ſent certaine Indians to the Sea by three ſeuerall wayes, whom I commaunded to bring mee ſome Indians of the Sea-coaſt and of ſome of thoſe Iſlandes, that I might receiue information of them: and I ſent Stephan Dorantez the Negro another way, whom I commaunded to goe directly Northward fiftie or threeſcore leagues, to ſee if by that way hee might learne any newes of any notable thing which wee ſought to diſcouer, and I agreed with him, that if hee found any knowledge of any peopled and riche Countrey which were of great importance, that hee ſhould goe no further, but ſhould returne in perſon, or ſhould ſende mee certaine Indians with that token which wee were agreed vpon, to wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee ſhould ſende mee a white Croſſe of one handfull long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfuls long; and if it were a Countrey greater and better then Nueua Eſpanna, hee ſhould ſend mee a great croſſe. So the ſayde Stephan departed from mee on Paſſion-ſunday after dinner: and within foure dayes after the meſſengers of Stephan returned vnto me with a great Croſſe as high as a man, and they brought me word from Stephan, that I ſhould forthwith come away after him, for hee had found people which gaue him information of a very mighty Prouince, and that he had certaine Indians in his company, which had bene in the ſayd Prouince, and that he had ſent me one of the ſaid Indians. This Indian told me, that it was thirtie dayes iourney from the Towne where Stephan was, vnto the firſt Citie of the ſayde Prouince, which is called Ceuola. Hee affirmed alſo that there are ſeuen great Cities in this Prouince, all vnder one Lord, the houſes whereof are made of Lyme and Stone, and are very great, and the leaſt of them with one lofte aboue head, and ſome of two and of three loftes, and the houſe of the Lorde of the Prouince of foure, and that all of them ioyne one vnto the other in good order, and that in the gates of the principall houſes there are many Turques-ſtones cunningly wrought, whereof hee ſayth they haue there great plentie: alſo that the people of this Citie goe very well apparelled: and that beyond this there are other Prouinces, all which (hee ſayth) are much greater then theſe ſeuen cities. I gaue credite to his ſpeach, becauſe I found him to bee a man of good vnderſtanding: but I deferred my departure to follow Stephan Dorantes, both becauſe I thought hee would ſtay for mee, and alſo to attend the returne of my meſſengers which I had ſent vnto the Sea, who returned vnto me vpon Eaſter day, bringing with them certaine inhabitants of the Sea-coaſt, and of two of the Iſlands. Of whom I vnderſtoode, that the Iſlandes aboue mentioned were ſcarce of victuals, as I had learned before, and that they are inhabited by people, which weare ſhelles of Pearles vpon their foreheads, and they ſay that they haue great Pearles, and much Golde. They informed mee of foure and thirtie Iſlandes, lying one neere vnto another: they ſay that the people on the Sea-coaſt haue ſmall ſtore of victuals, as alſo thoſe of the Iſlandes, and that they traffique one with the other vpon raftes. This coaſt ſtretcheth Northward as is to bee ſeene. Theſe Indians of the Coaſt brought me certaine Targets made of Cow-hydes very well dreſſed, which were ſo large, that they couered them from the head to the very foote, with a hole in the toppe of the ſame to looke out before: they are ſo ſtrong, that a Croſſebow (as I ſuppoſe) will not pierce them.

Vacupa a towne 40 leagues from the Bay of California.

From Vacupa to Ceuola are 32. dayes iourney.

Great pearles and much gold in the Iſles of California, which are 34. in number.

Chap.2.

He hath new information of the ſeuen Cities by certaine Indians called *Pintados*, and of three other kingdomes called *Marata*, *Acus*, and *Totonteac*, being Countreys very rich in Turqueſes and Hides of cattel. Following his voyage through thoſe countries, he taketh poſſeſſion thereof for the Emperors Maieſtie, and of the Indians is much honoured and ſerued with victuals.

The ſame day came three Indians of thoſe which I called Pintados, becauſe I ſaw their faces, breaſts and armes painted. Theſe dwel farther vp into the countrey towards the Eaſt, and ſome of them border vpon the ſeuen cities, which ſayd they came to ſee mee, becauſe they had heard of me: and among other things, they gaue me information of the ſeuen cities, and of the other Prouinces, which the Indian that Stephan ſent me had tolde mee of, almoſt in the very ſame maner that Stephan had ſent mee worde; and ſo I ſent backe the people of the ſea-coaſt: and two Indians of the Iſlandes ſayde they would goe with mee ſeuen or eight dayes.

So with theſe and with the three Pintados aboue mentioned, I departed from Vacupa vpon Eaſter tueſday, the ſame way that Stephan went, from whom I receiued new meſſengers with a Croſſe of the bigneſſe of the firſt which he ſent me: which haſtened mee forward, and aſſured me that the land which I ſought for, was the greateſt and beſt countrey in all thoſe partes. The ſayd meſſengers told mee particularly without fayling in any one poynt, all that which the firſt meſſenger had tolde mee, and much more, and gaue mee more plaine information thereof. So I trauelled that day being Eaſter tueſday, and two dayes more, the very ſame way that Stephan had gone: at the end of which 3 dayes they tolde mee, that from that place a man might trauell in thirtie dayes to the citie of Ceuola, which is the firſt of the ſeuen. Neither did one onely tell me thus much, but very many; who tolde me very particularly of the greatneſſe of the houſes, and of the faſhion of them, as the firſt meſſengers had informed me. Alſo they told me, that beſides theſe ſeuen Cities, there are 3. other kingdomes which are called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. I enquired of them wherefore they trauelled ſo farre from their houſes? They ſaid that they went for Turqueſes, and Hides of kine, and other things; and that of all theſe there was great abundance in this Countrey. Likewiſe I enquired how, and by what meanes they obteined theſe things? They tolde me, by their ſeruice, and by the ſweat of their browes, and that they went vnto the firſt citie of the Prouince which is called Ceuola, and that they ſerued them in tilling their ground, and in other buſineſſes, and that they giue them Hydes of oxen, which they haue in thoſe places, and turqueſes for their ſeruice, and that the people of this city weare very fine and excellent turqueſes hanging at their eares and at their noſtrils. They ſay alſo, that of theſe turqueſes they make fine workes vpon the principall gates of the houſes of this citie. They tolde mee, that the apparell which the inhabitants of Ceuola weare, is a gowne of cotten downe to the foote, with a button at the necke, and a long ſtring hanging downe at the ſame, and that the ſleeues of theſe gownes are as broad beneath as aboue. They ſay, they gyrd themſelues with gyrdles of turqueſes, and that ouer theſe coates ſome weare good apparel, others hides of kine very well dreſſed, which they take to bee the beſt apparell of that countrey, whereof they haue there great quantitie. Likewiſe the women goe apparelled, and couered downe to the foote. Theſe Indians gaue me very good intertainment, and curiouſly enquired the day of my departure from Vacupa, that at my returne they might prouide me of foode and lodging. They brought certaine ſicke folkes before mee, that I might heale them, and ſought to touch my apparell, and gaue mee certaine Cow-hydes ſo well trimmed and dreſſed, that by them a man might coniecture that they were wrought by ciuile people, and all of them affirmed, that they came from Ceuola.

Another village. The next day I followed my iourney, and carrying with mee the Pintados, I came to another Village where I was well receiued by the people of the ſame: who likewiſe ſought to touch my garments, and gaue mee as particular knowledge of the Lande aforeſayde, as I had receiued of thoſe which mette mee before: and alſo tolde mee, that from that place certaine people were gone with Stephan Dorantez foure or fiue dayes iourney. And here I found a great croſſe, which Stephan had left me for a ſigne, that the newes of the good Countrey increaſed, and left worde, that with all haſte they ſhould ſende mee away, and that hee would ſtay for mee at the ende of the firſt Deſert that he mette with. Heere I ſet vp two Croſſes, and tooke poſſeſſion according to mine inſtruction, becauſe that the Countrey ſeemed better vnto mee then that which I had paſſed, and that I thought it meete to make an acte of poſſeſſion as farre as that place.

In this maner I trauailed fiue dayes, alwayes finding inhabited places with great hoſpitalitie and intertainments, and many Turqueſes, and Oxe-hides, and the like report concerning the countrey. Heere I vnderſtood, that after two dayes iourney I ſhould finde a deſert where there is no foode; but that there were certaine gone before to build mee lodgings, and to carrie foode for mee: whereupon I haſtened my way, hoping to finde Stephan at the ende thereof, becauſe in that place hee had left worde that hee would ſtay for mee. Before I came to the deſert, I mette with a very pleaſant Towne, by reaſon of great ſtore of waters conueighed thither to water the ſame. Heere I mette with many people both men and women clothed in Cotton, and ſome couered with Oxe-hydes, which generally they take for better apparell then that of cotton. All the people of this Village goe in Caconados, that is to ſay, with Turqueſes hanging at their noſtrilles and eares: which Turqueſes they call Cacona. Amongſt others, the Lord of this Village came vnto me, and two of his brethren very well apparelled in Cotton, who alſo were in Caconados, each of them hauing his collar of Turqueſes about his necke: and they preſented vnto mee many wilde beaſtes, as Conies, Quailes, Maiz, nuttes of Pine trees, and all in great abundance, and offered mee many Turqueſes, and dreſſed Oxe-hydes, and very fayre veſſels to drinke in, and other things; whereof I would receiue no whit. And hauing my garment of gray cloth, which in Spaine is called çaragoça, the Lord of this Village, and the other Indians touched my gowne with their handes, and tolde mee, that of ſuch Cloth there was great ſtore in Totonteac, and that the people of that Countrey wore the ſame. Whereat I laughed, and ſayde that it was nothing elſe but ſuch apparell of Cotton as they wore. And they replyed: We would haue thee thinke that we vnderſtand, that that apparell which thou weareſt, and that which we weare are of diuers ſortes. Underſtand thou, that in Ceuola all the houſes are full of that apparell which we weare, but in Totonteac there are certaine litle beaſts, from whom they take that thing wherewith ſuch apparell as thou weareſt, is made. I prayed them to informe mee more playnely of this matter. And they tolde mee that the ſayde beaſtes were about the bigneſſe of the two braches or ſpaniels which Stephan caryed with him, and they ſay that there is great ſtore of that cattell in Totonteac.

A pleaſant village.

Store of woollen cloth and ſheepe in Totonteac.

Chap. 3.

He entreth into a deſert, and the Indians ſuffer him to want nothing neceſſary. Following his Voyage, he commeth into a fertile v[illegible], and hath certaine knowledge giuen him (as he had before) of the ſtate of *Ceuola*, and of *Totonteac*; and that the coaſt of the ſea in 35. degrees trendeth much to the Weſtward: and alſo of the kingdomes of *Marata* and *Acus*.

THe next day I entred into the Deſert, and where I was to dine, I found bowers made, and victuals in abundance by a riuers ſide; and at night I found bowers and victuals in like ſort, and after that maner I found for 4. dayes trauell: all which time the wilderneſſe continueth.

A deſert of foure dayes iourney.

At the ende of theſe foure dayes, I entred into a valley very well inhabited with people. At the firſt Village there mette me many men and women with victuals, and all of them had Turqueſes hanging at their noſtrils and eares, and ſome had collars of turqueſes like thoſe which the Lord of the Village before I came to the Deſert, and his two brethren wore; ſauing that they ware them but ſingle about their neckes, and theſe people weare them three or foure times double, and goe in good apparell, and ſkinnes of Oxen: and the women weare of the ſayd Turqueſes at their noſtrils and eares, and very good waſt-coats and other garments. Heere there was as great knowledge of Ceuola, as in Nueua Eſpanna of Temiſtitan, and in Peru of Cuzco: and they tolde vs particularly the maner of their houſes, lodgings, ſtreetes and market-places, as men that had bene oftentimes there, and as thoſe which were furniſhed from thence with things neceſſary for the ſeruice of their houſholde, as thoſe alſo had done, which I already had paſſed. I tolde them it was impoſſible that the houſes ſhould be made in ſuch ſort as they informed mee, and they for my better vnderſtanding tooke earth or aſhes, and powred water thereupon, and ſhewed me how they layd ſtones vpon it, and how the buylding grewe vp, as they continued laying ſtones thereon, vntill it mounted aloft. I aſked them whether the men of that Countrey had wings to mount vp vnto thoſe loftes: whereat they laughed, and ſhewed mee a Ladder in as good ſort as I my ſelfe was able to deſcribe it. Then they tooke a Staffe and helde it ouer their heads, and ſaid that the lofts were ſo high one aboue another. Likewiſe heere I had information

A very populous valley.

Collars of turqueſes two or three times double.

formation of the woollen cloth of Totonteac, where they ſay are houſes like thoſe of Ceuola, and better and more in number, and that it is a great Prouince, and hath no gouernour.

This graduation is miſtaken by 6. or 7. degrees at the leaſt.

Here I vnderſtood that the coaſt of the ſea trended much toward the Weſt: for vnto the entrance of this firſt deſert which I paſſed, the coaſt ſtill ſtretched Northward: and becauſe the trending of the coaſt is a thing of great importance, I was deſirous to knowe and ſee it: and I ſaw plainely, that in 35. degrees the coaſt ſtretcheth to the Weſt, whereat I reioyced no leſſe, then of the good newes within land, and ſo I returned backe to proceede on my iourney.

Ahacus.

Through the foreſayd valley I trauailed fiue dayes iourney, which is inhabited with goodly people, and ſo aboundeth with victuals, that it ſufficeth to feede aboue three thouſand horſemen: it is all well watered and like a garden: the burroughs and townes are halfe and a quarter of a league long, and in all theſe villages, I found very ample report of Ceuola, whereof they made ſuch particular relation vnto me, as people which goe yeerely thither to earne their liuing. Here I found a man borne in Ceuola, who told me that he came thither, hauing eſcaped from the gouernour or Lieutenant of the towne; for the Lord of theſe ſeuen Cities liueth and abideth in one of thoſe townes called Ahacus, and in the reſt he appoynteth lieu-tenants vnder him. This townesman of Ceuola is a white man of a good complexion, ſomewhat well in yeeres, and of farre greater capacitie then the inhabitants of this valley, or then thoſe which I had left behind me. Hee ſayde that hee would goe with mee, that I might begge his pardon: and of him I learned many particulars: he tolde me that Ceuola was a great Citie, inhabited with great ſtore of people, and hauing many Streetes and Market-places: and that in ſome partes of this Citie there are certaine very great houſes of fiue ſtories high, wherein the chiefe of the Citie aſſemble themſelues at certaine dayes of the yeere. He ſayeth that the houſes are of Lyme and Stone, according as others had tolde mee before, and that the gates, and ſmall pillars of the principall houſes are of Turqueſes, and all the veſſels wherein they are ſerued, and the other ornaments of their houſes were of golde: and that the other ſixe Cities are built like vnto this, whereof ſome are bigger: and that Ahacus is the chiefeſt of them. Hee ſayth that toward the Southeaſt there is a kingdome called Marata, and that there were woont to be many, and thoſe great Cities, which were all built of houſes of Stone, with diuers lofts; and that theſe haue and doe wage warre with the Lord of the ſeuen cities, through which warre this kingdome of Marata is for the moſt part waſted, although it yet continueth and mainteineth warre againſt the other.

Marata lieth toward the Southeaſt.

Totonteac lyeth Weſt.

Likewiſe he ſaith, that the kingdome called Totanteac lyeth toward the Weſt, which he ſaith is a very mightie Prouince, repleniſhed with infinite ſtore of people and riches: and that in the ſayde Kingdome they weare woollen cloth like that which I weare, and other finer ſorts of woollen cloth made of the fleeces of thoſe beaſtes which they deſcribed before vnto me; and that they are a very ciuile people. Moreouer hee tolde me, that there is another great Prouince and kingdome called Acus; for there is Acus, and Ahacus with an aſpiration, which is the principall of the ſeuen cities: and Acus without an aſpiration is a kingdome and Prouince of it ſelfe. He told me alſo, that the apparel which they weare in Ceuola is after the ſame maner as they before had certified me, and that all the inhabitants of the Citie lie vpon beddes rayſed a good height from the ground, with quilts and canopies ouer them, which couer the ſayde Beds: and hee tolde mee that he would goe with me to Ceuola and farther alſo, if I would take him with me. The like relation was giuen vnto me in this towne by many others, but not ſo particularly. I trauelled three dayes iourney through this valley: the inhabitants whereof made mee exceeding great cheere and intertainement. In this valley I ſaw aboue a thouſand Oxe-hides moſt excellently trimmed and dreſſed. And here alſo I ſaw farre greater ſtore of Turqueſes and chaines made thereof, then in all places which I had paſſed; and they ſay, that all commeth from the city of Ceuola, whereof they haue great knowledge, as alſo of the kingdome of Marata, and of the kingdomes of Acus and Totonteac.

Chap.4.

Of a very great beaſt with one horne vpon his fore-head; and of the courteſies which the Indians ſhewed Frier *Marcus* of *Niça*, in his Voyage. Alſo how cruelly *Stephan Dorantez* and his companions were vſed vpon their arriuall at *Ceuola*, by the Lorde thereof.

A mightie beaſt with one horne.

HEre they ſhewed me an hide halfe as bigge againe as the hide of a great oxe, and tolde me that it was the ſkin of a beaſt which had but one horne vpon his forehead, & that this horne bendeth toward his breaſt, and that out of the ſame goeth a point right forward, wherein he hath ſo great ſtrength, that it will breake any thing how ſtrong ſo euer it be, if he runne againſt it, and that there are great ſtore of theſe beaſts in that Countrey. The colour of the hide is of the colour of a great Goat-ſkin, and the haire is a finger thicke. Here I had meſſengers from Stephan which brought me word, that by this time he was come to the fartheſt part of the deſert, and that he was very ioyfull, becauſe the farther he went, the more perfect knowledge he had of the greatneſſe of the countrey, and ſent me word, that ſince his departure from me, hee neuer had found the Indians in any lye; for euen vnto that very place he had found al in ſuch maner as they had informed him, & hoped that he ſhould find the like at his arriuall in the valley which he was going vnto, as he had found in the villages before paſſed. I ſet vp croſſes, and vſed thoſe acts and ceremonies, which were to be done according to my inſtructions. The inhabitants requeſted me to ſtay here three or foure daies, becauſe that from this place there were foure dayes iourney vnto the deſert, and from the firſt entrance into the ſame deſert vnto the citie of Ceuola are 15 great dayes iourney more; alſo that they would prouide victuals for me and other neceſſaries for that voyage. Likewiſe they told me, that with Stephan the Negro were gone aboue 300 men to beare him company, and to carry victuals after him, and that in like ſort many of them would go with me to ſerue me, becauſe they hoped to returne home rich. I thanked them, and willed them to ſet things in order with ſpeede, and ſo I reſted there three dayes, wherein I alwayes informed my ſelfe of Ceuola, and of as many other things as I could learne, and called many Indians vnto mee, and examined them ſeuerally, and all of them agreed in one tale, and told me of the great multitude of people, and of the order of the ſtreetes, of the greatneſſe of the houſes, and of the ſtrength of the gates, agreeing altogether with that which the reſt before had told me. After three dayes many aſſembled themſelues to go with me, 30 of the principal of whom I tooke, being very well apparelled, and with chaines of turqueſes, which ſome of them weare fiue or ſixe times double, and other people to cary things neceſſary for them and me, and ſo ſet forward on my voyage.

Fifteene daies iourney from the end of the deſert to Ceuola or Ciuola.

Thus I entred into the ſecond deſert on the 9 of May, and trauelled the firſt day by a very broad and beaten way, & we came to diner vnto a water, where the Indians had made prouiſion for me: and at night we came to another water, where I found a houſe which they had fully made vp for me, and another houſe ſtood made where Stephan lodged when he paſſed that way, and many old cottages and many ſignes of fire which the people had made that trauelled to Ceuola by this way. In this ſort I trauelled 12 dayes iourney being alway well prouided of victuals, of wild beaſts, Hares, and Partridges of the ſame colour and taſt with thoſe of Spaine although they are not ſo big, for they be ſomewhat leſſe.

The ſecond deſert entred the 9. of May.

Twelue dayes iourney.

Here met vs an Indian the ſonne of one of the chiefe men that accompanied mee, which had gone before with Stephan, who came in a great fright, hauing his face and body all couered with ſweat, and ſhewing exceeding ſadneſſe in his countenance; and he told mee that a dayes iourney before Stephan came to Ceuola he ſent his great Mace made of a gourd by his meſſengers, as he was alwayes woont to ſend them before him, that hee might knowe in what ſort hee came vnto them, which gourd had a ſtring of belles vpon it, and two feathers one white and another red, in token that he demanded ſafe conduct, and that he came peaceably. And when they came to Ceuola before the Magiſtrate, which the Lord of the citie had placed there for his Lieutenant, they deliuered him the ſayde great gourd, who tooke the ſame in his hands, and after he had ſpyed the belles, in a great rage and fury hee caſt it to the ground, and willed the meſſengers to get them packing with ſpeed, for he knew well ynough what people they were, and that they ſhould will them in no caſe to enter into the citie, for if they did hee would put them all to death. The meſſengers returned and tolde Stephan how things had paſſed, who anſwered them, that it made no great matter, and would needes proceed on his voyage till he came to the citie of Ceuola: where he found men that would not let him enter into the towne, but ſhut him into a great houſe which ſtoode without the citie, and ſtraightway tooke all things from him which hee caried to truck and barter with them, and certaine turqueſes, and other things which he had receiued of the Indians by the way, and they kept him there all that night without giuing him meate or drinke, and the next day in the morning this Indian was a thirſt, and went out of the houſe to drinke at a riuer that was neere at hand, and within a little while after he ſaw Stephan running away, and the people followed him, and ſlew certaine of the Indians which went in his company. And when this Indian ſaw theſe things, he hid himſelfe on the banks of the riuer, and afterward croſſed the high way of the deſert. The Indians that went with me hearing theſe newes began incontinently to lament, and I thought theſe heauie and bad newes would coſt mee my life, neither did I feare ſo much the loſſe of mine owne life, as that I ſhould not bee able to returne to giue information of the greatneſſe of that Countrey, where our Lord God might be glorified: and ſtreightway I cut the cords of my budgets which I carried with me ful of merchandiſe for traffique, which I would not doe till then, nor giue any thing to any man, and began to diuide all that I carried with mee among the principall men, willing them not to be afraid, but to goe forward with me, and ſo they did. And going on our way, within a dayes iourney of Ceuola wee met two other Indians of thoſe which went with Stephan, which were bloody and wounded in many places: and aſſoone as they came to vs, they which were with mee began to make great lamentation. Theſe wounded Indians I aſked for Stephan, and they agreeing in all poynts with the firſt Indian ſayd, that after they had put him into the foreſayd great houſe without giuing him meat or drinke all that day and all that night, they tooke from Stephan all the things which hee carried with him. The next day when the Sunne was a lance high, Stephan went out of the houſe, and ſome of the chiefe men with him, and ſuddenly came ſtore of people from the citie, whom aſſoone as hee ſawe he began to run away and we likewiſe, and foorthwith they ſhot at vs and wounded vs, and certaine dead men fell vpon vs, and ſo we lay till night and durſt not ſtirre, and we heard great rumours in the citie, and ſaw many men and women keeping watch and ward vpon the walles thereof, and after this we could not ſee Stephan any more, and wee thinke they haue ſhot him to death, as they haue done all the reſt which went with him, ſo that none are eſcaped but we onely.

Chap. 5.

The ſituation and greatneſſe of the Citie of *Ceuola*, and how frier *Marcus* tooke poſſeſſion thereof and of other prouinces, calling the ſame *The new kingdome of S. Francis*, and how after his departure from thence being preſerued by God in ſo dangerous a voyage, he arriued at *Compoſtella* in *Nueua Galicia*.

Hauing conſidered the former report of the Indians, and the euill meanes which I had to proſecute my voyage as I deſired, I thought it not good wilfully to looſe my life as Stephan did; and ſo I told them, that God would puniſh thoſe of Ceuola, and that the Viceroy when he ſhould vnderſtand what had happened, would ſend many Chriſtians to chaſtiſe them: but they would not beleeue me, for they ſayde that no man was able to withſtand the power of Ceuola. And herewithall I left them, and went aſide two or three ſtones caſt, and when I returned I found an Indian of mine which I had brought from Mexico called Marcus, who wept and ſayde vnto me: Father, theſe men haue conſulted to kill vs, for they ſay, that through your and Stephans meanes their fathers are ſlaine, and that neither man nor woman of them ſhall remaine vnſlaine. Then againe I deuided among them certaine other things which I had, to appeaſe them, whereupon they were ſomewhat pacified, albeit they ſtill ſhewed great griefe for the people which were ſlaine. I requeſted ſome of them to goe to Ceuola, to ſee if any other Indian were eſcaped, with intent that they might learne ſome newes of Stephan; which I could not obtaine at their handes. When I ſaw this, I ſayd vnto them, that I purpoſed to ſee the citie of Ceuola, whatſoeuer came of it. They ſayde that none of them would goe with me. At the laſt when they ſawe mee reſolute, two of the chiefe of them ſayde they would goe with me; with whome and with mine Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within ſight of Ceuola, which is ſituate on a plaine at the foote of a round hill, and maketh ſhew to bee a faire citie, and is better ſeated then any that I haue ſeene in theſe partes. The houſes are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of ſtone with diuers ſtories, and flatte roofes, as farre as I could diſcerne from a mountaine, whither I aſcended to viewe the citie. The people are ſomewhat white, they weare apparell, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they haue Emralds and other iewels, although they eſteeme none ſo much as turqueſes, wherewith they adorne the walles of the porches of their houſes, and their apparell and veſſels, and they vſe them in ſtead of money through all the Countrey. Their apparell is of cotton and of oxe hides, and this is their moſt commendable and honourable apparell. They vſe veſſels of gold and ſiluer, for they haue no other mettall, whereof there is greater vſe and more abundance then in Peru, and they buy the ſame for turqueſes in the prouince of the Pintados, where there are ſayd to be mines of great abundance. Of other kingdomes I could not obtaine ſo particular inſtruction. Diuers times I was tempted to goe thither, becauſe I knewe I could but hazard my life, and that I had offered vnto God the firſt day that I began my iourney: in the ende I began to bee afraid, conſidering in what danger I ſhould put my ſelfe, and that if I ſhould dye, the knowledge of this Countrey ſhould be loſt, which in my iudgement is the greateſt and the beſt that hitherto hath beene diſcouered: and when I tolde the chiefe men, what a goodly citie Ceuola ſeemed vnto mee, they

Moſt rich mines of gold and ſiluer in the prouince of the Pintados.

anſwered me that it was the leaſt of the ſeuen cities, and that Totonteac is the greateſt and beſt of them all, becauſe it hath ſo many houſes and people, that there is no ende of them. Hauing ſeene the diſpoſition and ſituation of the place, I thought good to name that Countrey El Nueuo reyno de ſan Franciſco: in which place I made a great heape of ſtones by the helpe of the Indians, and on the toppe thereof I ſet vp a ſmall ſlender croſſe becauſe I wanted meanes to make a greater, and ſayd that I ſet vp that croſſe and heape in the name of the moſt honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy and Captaine generall of Nueua Eſpanna, for the Emperour our Lord, in token of poſſeſſion, according to mine inſtruction. Which poſſeſſion I ſayd that I tooke in that place of all the ſeuen cities, & of the kingdomes of Totonteac, of Acus, and of Marata. Thus I returned with much more feare then victuals, and went vntill I found the people which I had left behind mee, with all the ſpeede that I could make, whome I ouertooke in two dayes trauell, and went in their company till I had paſſed the deſert, where I was not made ſo much of as before: for both men and women made great lamentation for the people which were ſlaine at Ceuola, and with feare I haſtened from the people of this valley, and trauelled tenne leagues the firſt day, and ſo I went daily eight or ten leagues, without ſtaying vntill I had paſſed the ſecond deſert. And though I were in feare, yet I determined to go to the great plaine, whereof I ſaid before, that I had information, being ſituate at the foote of the mountaines, and in that place I vnderſtoode, that this plaine is inhabited for many dayes iourney toward the Eaſt, but I durſt not enter into it, conſidering, that if hereafter wee ſhoulde inhabite this other Countrey of the ſeuen cities, and the kingdomes before mentioned, that then I might better diſcouer the ſame, without putting my ſelfe in hazard, and leaue it for this time, that I might giue relation of the things which I had now ſeene. At the entrance of this plaine I ſawe but ſeuen Townes onely of a reaſonable bigneſſe, which were a farre off in a lowe valley beeing very greene and a moſt fruitfull ſoyle, out of which ranne many Riuers. I was informed that there was much golde in this valley, and that the inhabitants worke it into veſſels and thinne plates, wherewith they ſtrike and take off their ſweat, and that they are people that will not ſuffer thoſe of the other ſide of the plaine to traffique with them, and they could not tell me the cauſe thereof. Here I ſet vp two croſſes, and tooke poſſeſſion of the plaine and valley in like ſort and order, as I did at other places before mentioned. And from thence I returned on my voyage with as much haſte as I coulde make, vntill I came to the citie of Saint Michael in the prouince of Culiacan, thinking there to haue found Francis Vazquez de Coronado gouernour of Nueua Galicia, and finding him not there, I proceeded on my iourney till I came to the Citie of Compoſtella, where I found him. I write not here many other paticularities, becauſe they are impertinent to this matter: I onely report that which I haue ſeene, and which was told me concerning the Countreys through which I trauelled, and of thoſe which I had information of.

Totonteac the greateſt and moſt populous prouince.

He returneth.

A deſert.

A valley.

A ſecond deſert.

Compoſtella in 21. degrees of latitude.

The relation of *Francis Vazquez de Coronado*, Captaine generall of the people which were ſent in the name of the Emperours maieſtie to the Countrey of *Cibola* newly diſcouered, which he ſent to *Don Antonio de Mendoça* Viceroy of *Mexico*, of ſuch things as happened in his voyage from the 22. of Aprill in the yeere 1540. which departed from *Culiacan* forward, and of ſuch things as hee found in the Countrey which he paſſed.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vazquez departeth with his armie from *Culiacan*, and after diuers troubles in his voyage, arriueth at the valley of the people called *Los Caracones*, which he findeth barren of Maiz: for obtaining whereof hee ſendeth to the valley called *The valley of the Lord*: he is informed of the greatneſſe of the valley of the people called *Caracones*, and of the nature of thoſe people, and of certaine Iſlands lying along that coaſt.

THe 22. of the moneth of Aprill laſt paſt I departed from the prouince of Culiacan with part of the army, and in ſuch order as I mentioned vnto your Lordſhip, and according to the ſucceſſe I aſſured my ſelfe, by all likelihood that I ſhall not bring all mine armie together in this enterpriſe: becauſe the troubles haue bene ſo great and the want of victuals, that I thinke all this yeere wil not be ſufficient to performe this enterpriſe, & if it ſhould bee performed in ſo ſhort a time, it would be to the great loſſe of our people. For as I wrote vnto your Lordſhip, I was foure-

This was but 200. leagues from Mexico.

ſcore dayes in trauailing to Culiacan, in all which time I and thoſe Gentlemen my companions which were horſemen, carried on our backs and on our horſes, a little victuall, ſo that from thenceforward wee carried none other needfull apparell with vs, that was aboue a pound weight: and all this notwithſtanding, and though wee put our ſelues to ſuch a ſmall proportion of victuals which wee carried, for all the order that poſſibly wee could take, wee were driuen to our ſhifts. And no maruayle, becauſe the way is rough and long: and with the carriage of our Harquebuſes downe the mountaines and hilles, and in the paſſage of Riuers, the greater part of our corne was ſpoyled. And becauſe I ſend your Lordſhip our voyage drawen in a Mappe, I will ſpeake no more thereof in this my letter.

Frier Marcus of Niza.

Thirtie leagues before wee arriued at the place which the father prouinciall tolde vs ſo well of in his relation, I ſent Melchior Diaz before with fifteene horſes, giuing him order to make but one dayes iourney of two, becauſe hee might examine all things, againſt mine arriuall: who trauailed foure dayes iourney through exceeding rough Mountaines where hee found neither victuals, nor people, nor information of any things, ſauing that hee found two or three poore little villages, containing 20, or 30. cottages a piece, and by the inhabitants thereof hee vnderſtoode that from thence forward there were nothing but exceeding rough mountaines which ran very farre, vtterly diſinhabited and voyd of people. And becauſe it was labour loſt, I would not write vnto your Lordſhip thereof.

It grieued the whole company, that a thing ſo highly commended, and whereof the father had made ſo great bragges, ſhould be found ſo contrary, and it made them ſuſpect that all the reſt would fall out in like ſort. Which when I perceiued I ſought to encourage them the beſt I coulde, telling them that your Lordſhippe alwayes was of opinion, that this voyage was a thing caſt away, and that wee ſhould fixe our cogitation vpon thoſe ſeuen Cities, and other prouinces, whereof wee had knowledge: that there ſhould bee the ende of our enterpriſe: and with this reſolution and purpoſe wee all marched cheerefully through a very badde way which was not paſſable but one by one, or elſe wee muſt force out with Pioners the path which wee founde, wherewith the Souldiours were not a little offended, finding all that the Frier had ſayde to bee quite contrary: for among other things which the father ſayde and affirmed, this was one, that the way was plaine and good, and that there was but one ſmall hill of halfe a league in length. And yet in trueth there are mountaines which although the way were well mended could not bee paſſed without great danger of breaking the horſes neckes: and the way was ſuch, that of the cattell which your Lordſhip ſent vs for the prouiſion of our armie wee loſt a great part in the voyage through the roughneſſe of the rockes. The lambes and ſheepe loſt their hoofes in the way: and of thoſe which I brought from Culiacan, I left the greater part at the Riuer of Lachimi, becauſe they could not keepe company with vs, and becauſe they might come ſoftly after vs, foure men on horſebacke remained with them which are nowe come vnto vs, and haue brought vs not paſt foure and twentie lambes, and foure ſheepe, for all the reſt were dead with trauailing through that rough paſſage, although they trauailed but two leagues a day, and reſted themſelues euery day.

The riuer of Lachimi.

The valley of the people called Caracones.

At length I arriued at the valley of the people called Caracones, the 26. day of the moneth of May: and from Culiacan vntill I came thither, I could not helpe my ſelfe, ſaue onely with a great quantitie of bread of Maiz: for ſeeing the Maiz in the fieldes were not yet ripe, I was conſtrained to leaue them all behind me. In this valley of the Caracones wee found more ſtore of people then in any other part of the Countrey which wee had paſſed, and great ſtore of tillage. But I vnderſtood that there was ſtore thereof in another valley called The Lords valley, which I woulde not diſturbe with force, but ſent thither Melchior Diaz with wares of exchange to procure ſome, and to giue the ſayde Maiz to the Indians our friendes which wee brought with vs, and to ſome others that had loſt their cattell in the way, and were not able to carry their victuals ſo farre which they brought from Culiacan. It pleaſed God that wee gate ſome ſmall quantitie of Maiz with this traffique, whereby certaine Indians were releiued and ſome Spanyards.

Valle del Sennor.

And by that time that wee were come to this valley of the Caracones, ſome tenne or twelue of our horſes were dead through wearineſſe: for being ouercharged with great burdens, and hauing but little meate, they could not endure the trauaile. Likewiſe ſome of our Negros and ſome of our Indians dyed here; which was no ſmall want vnto vs for the performance of our enterpriſe. They tolde me that this valley of the Coracones is fiue dayes iourney from the Weſterne Sea. I ſent for the Indians of the Sea coaſt to vnderſtand their eſtate, and while I ſtayed for them the horſes reſted: and I ſtayed there foure dayes, in which ſpace the Indians of

The valley de los Caracones diſtant fiue dayes iourney from the Weſterne ſea.

the Sea coaſt came vnto mee: which told mee, that two dayes ſayling from their coaſt of the Sea, there were ſeuen or eight Iſlands right ouer againſt them, well inhabited with people, but badly furniſhed with victuals, and were a rude people: And they told mee, that they had ſeene a Shippe paſſe by not farre from the ſhore; which I wote not what to thinke whither it were one of thoſe that went to diſcouer the Countrey, or elſe a Ship of the Portugals.

Seuen or eight Iſles, which are the Iſles of California.

A ſhip ſeene on the ſea coaſt.

Chap. 2.

They come to *Chichilticale*: after they had reſted themſelues two dayes there, they enter into a Countrey very barren of victuals, and hard to trauaile for thirtie leagues, beyond which they found a Countrey very pleaſant, and a riuer called *Rio del Lino*, they fight with the Indians being aſſaulted by them, and with victorie vanquiſhing their citie, they relieued themſelues of their pinching hunger.

I Departed from the Caracones, and alwayes kept by the Sea coaſt as neere as I could iudge, and in very deed I ſtill found my ſelfe the farther off: in ſuch ſort that when I arriued at Chichilticale I found my ſelfe tenne dayes iourney from the Sea: and the father prouinciall ſayd that it was onely but fiue leagues diſtance, and that hee had ſeene the ſame. Wee all conceiued great griefe and were not a little confounded, when we ſaw that wee found euery thing contrary to the information which he had giuen your Lordſhip.

Chichilticale ten dayes iourney from the ſea.

The Indians of Chichilticale ſay, that if at any time they goe to the Sea for fiſh, and other things that they carry, they goe trauerſing, and are tenne dayes iourney in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians giue me ſhould be true. The ſea returneth toward the Weſt right ouer againſt the Coracones the ſpace of tenne or twelue leagues. Where I found that your Lordſhips ſhips were ſeene, which went to diſcouer the hauen of Chichilticale, which father Marcus of Niça ſayd to bee in fiue and thirtie degrees. God knoweth what griefe of mind I haue ſuſtained: becauſe I am in doubt that ſome miſhappe is fallen vnto them: and if they follow the coaſt, as they ſayde they would, as long as their victuals laſt which they carry with them, whereof I left them ſtore in Culiacan, and if they be not fallen into ſome misfortune, I hope well in God that by this they haue made ſome good diſcouerie, and that in this reſpect their long ſtaying out may be pardoned.

This Chichilticale is indeede but in 28. deg.

I reſted my ſelfe two dayes in Chichilticale, and to haue done well I ſhould haue ſtayed longer, in reſpect that here wee found our horſes ſo tyred: but becauſe wee wanted victuals, wee had no leaſure to reſt any longer: I entred the confines of the deſert Countrey on Saint Iohns eeue, and to refreſh our former trauailes, the firſt dayes we founde no graſſe, but worſer way of mountaines and badde paſſages, then wee had paſſed alreadie: and the horſes being tired, were greatly moleſted therewith: ſo that in this laſt deſert wee loſt more horſes then wee had loſt before: and ſome of my Indians which were our friendes dyed, and one Spanyard whoſe name was Spinoſa; and two Negroes, which dyed with eating certaine herbes for lacke of victuals. From this place I ſent before mee one dayes iourney the maſter of the fielde Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with fifteene horſes to diſcouer the Countrey, and prepare our way: wherein hee did like himſelfe, and according to the confidence which your Lordſhip repoſed in him. And well I wote he fayled not to do his part: for as I haue enformed your Lordſhip, it is moſt wicked way, at leaſt thirtie leagues and more, becauſe they are inacceſſible mountaines.

The 23. of Iune.

Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas.

But after wee had paſſed theſe thirtie leagues, wee found freſh riuers, and graſſe like that of Caſtile, and ſpecially of that ſort which we call Scaramoio, many Nutte trees and Mulberie trees, but the Nutte trees differ from thoſe of Spayne in the leafe: and there was Flaxe, but chiefly neere the bankes of a certayne riuer which therefore wee called El Rio del Lino, that is to ſay, the riuer of Flaxe: wee found no Indians at all for a dayes trauaile, but afterward foure Indians came out vnto vs in peaceable maner, ſaying that they were ſent euen to that deſert place to ſignifie vnto vs that wee were welcome, and that the next day all the people would come out to meete vs on the way with victuals: and the maſter of the fielde gaue them a croſſe, willing them to ſignifie to thoſe of their citie that they ſhould not feare, and they ſhould rather let the people ſtay in their houſes, becauſe I came onely in the name of his maieſtie to defend and ayd them.

A godly and fruitfull countrey found.

Rio del Lino.

And this done, Fernando Aluarado returned to aduertiſe mee, that certaine Indians were come vnto them in peaceable maner, and that two of them ſtayed for my comming with the maſter of the fielde. Whereupon I went vnto them and gaue them beades and certaine ſhort clokes, willing them to returne vnto their citie, and bid them to ſtay quiet in their houſes, and feare nothing. And this done I ſent the maſter of the field to ſearch whether there were any bad paſſage which the Indians might keepe againſt vs, and that hee ſhould take and defend it vntill the next day that I ſhoulde come thither. So hee went, and found in the way a very bad paſſage, where wee might haue ſuſtayned very great harme: wherefore there hee ſeated himſelfe with his company that were with him: and that very night the Indians came to take that paſſage to defend it, and finding it taken, they aſſaulted our men there, and as they tell mee, they aſſaulted them like valiant men; although in the ende they retired and fledde away; for the maſter of the fielde was watchfull, and was in order with his company: the Indians in token of retreate ſounded on a certaine ſmall trumpet, and did no hurt among the Spanyards. The very ſame night the maſter of the fielde certified mee hereof. Whereupon the next day in the beſt order that I could I departed in ſo great want of victuall, that I thought that if wee ſhould ſtay one day longer without foode, wee ſhould all periſh for hunger, eſpecially the Indians, for among vs all we had not two buſhels of corne: wherefore it behooued mee to pricke forward without delay. The Indians here and there made fires, and were anſwered againe afarre off as orderly as wee for our liues could haue done, to giue their fellowes vnderſtanding, how wee marched and where we arriued.

A wiſe forecaſt.

The treaſon of the Indians.

Great forecaſt and diligence of the Campe-maſter.

Aſſoone as I came within ſight of this citie of Granada, I ſent Don Garcias Lopez Campe-maſter, frier Daniel, and frier Luys, and Fernando Vermizzo ſomewhat before with certaine horſemen to ſeeke the Indians and to aduertiſe them that our comming was not to hurt them, but to defend them in the name of the Emperour our Lord, according as his maieſtie had giuen vs in charge: which meſſage was deliuered to the inhabitants of that countrey by an interpreter. But they like arrogant people made ſmall account thereof; becauſe we ſeemed very few in their eyes, and that they might deſtroy vs without any difficultie: and they ſtrooke frier Luys with an arrow on the gowne, which by the grace of God did him no harme.

They arriue at the citie of of Cibola.

The arrogancie of the people of Cibola.

In the meane ſpace I arriued with all the reſt of the horſemen, and footemen, and found in the fieldes a great ſort of the Indians which beganne to ſhoote at vs with their arrowes: and becauſe I would obey your will and the commaund of the Marques, I woulde not let my people charge them, forbidding my company, which intreated mee that they might ſet vpon them, in any wiſe to prouoke them, ſaying that that which the enemies did was nothing, and that it was not meete to ſet vpon ſo fewe people. On the other ſide the Indians perceiuing that wee ſtirred not, tooke great ſtomacke and courage vnto them: inſomuch that they came hard to our horſes heeles to ſhoote at vs with their arrowes. Whereupon ſeeing that it was now time to ſtay no longer, and that the friers alſo were of the ſame opinion, I ſet vpon them without any danger: for ſuddenly they fled part to the citie which was neere and well fortified, and other into the field, which way they could ſhift: and ſome of the Indians were ſlaine, and more had beene if I would haue ſuffered them to haue bene purſued.

Commandement to uſe gentleneſſe to the Sauages.

But conſidering that hereof wee might reape but ſmall profite, becauſe the Indians that were without, were fewe, and thoſe which were retired into the citie, with them which ſtayed within at the firſt were many, where the victuals were whereof wee had ſo great neede, I aſſembled my people, and deuided them as I thought beſt to aſſault the citie, and I compaſſed it about: and becauſe the famine which wee ſuſtained ſuffered no delay, my ſelfe with certaine of theſe gentlemen and ſouldiers put our ſelues on foote, and commaunded that the croſſebowes and harquebuſiers ſhoulde giue the aſſault, and ſhoulde beate the enemies from the walles, that they might not hurt vs, and I aſſaulted the walles on one ſide, where they tolde me there was a ſcaling ladder ſet vp, and that there was one gate: but the croſſebowmen ſuddenly brake the ſtrings of their bowes, and the harquebuſiers did nothing at all: for they came thither ſo weake and feeble, that ſcarcely they coulde ſtand on their feete: and by this meanes the people that were aloft on the wals to defend the towne were no way hindered from doing vs all the miſchiefe they could: ſo that twiſe they ſtroke mee to the ground with infinite number of great ſtones, which they caſt downe; and if I had not beene defended with an excellent good headpiece which I ware, I thinke it had gone hardly with mee: neuertheleſſe my companie tooke mee vp with two ſmall wounds in the face, and an arrowe ſticking in my foote, and many blowes with ſtones on my armes and legges, and thus I went out of the battell very weake. I thinke that if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas the ſecond time that they ſtrooke mee to the ground had not ſuccoured mee with ſtriding ouer mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger then I was. But it pleaſed God that the Indians yeelded themſelues vnto vs, and that this citie was taken: and ſuch ſtore of Maiz was found therein, as our

There were 800 men within the towne. Gomara, Hiſt. gen. cap. 213.

They defend the wals with ſtones like thoſe of Hochelaga.

neceſſiti

neceſſitie required. The Maſter of the fielde, and Don Pedro de Touar, and Fernando de Aluarado, and Paul de Melgoſa Captaines of the footemen eſcaped with certaine knocks with ſtones: though none of them were wounded with arrowes, yet Agoniez Quarez was wounded in one arme with the ſhot of an arrowe, and one Torres a townesman of Panuco was ſhot into the face with another, and two footemen more had two ſmall woundes with arrowes. And becauſe my armour was gilded and glittering, they all layd load on mee, and therefore I was more wounded then the reſt, not that I did more then they, or put my ſelfe forwarder then the reſt, for all theſe Gentlemen and ſouldiers carried themſelues as manfully as was looked for at their hands. I am nowe well recouered I thanke God, although ſomewhat bruiſed with ſtones. Likewiſe in the ſkirmiſh which wee had in the fieldes, two or three other ſouldiers were hurt, and three horſes ſlaine, one of Don Lopez, the other of Viliega and the third of Don Alonſo Manrique, and ſeuen or eight other horſes were wounded; but both the men and horſes are whole and ſound.

Chap. 3.

Of the ſituation and ſtate of the ſeuen cities called the Kingdome of *Cibola*, and of the cuſtomes and qualities of thoſe people, and of the beaſts which are found there.

IT remaineth now to certifie your Honour of the ſeuen cities, and of the kingdomes and prouinces whereof the Father prouinciall made report vnto your Lordſhip. And to bee briefe, I can aſſure your honour, he ſayd the trueth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, ſauing onely the names of the cities, and great houſes of ſtone: for although they bee not wrought with Turqueſes, nor with lyme, nor brickes, yet are they very excellent good houſes of three or foure or fiue lofts high, wherein are good lodgings and faire chambers with lathers in ſtead of ſtaires, and certaine cellers vnder the ground very good and paued, which are made for winter, they are in maner like ſtoues: and the lathers which they haue for their houſes are all in a maner mooueable and portable, which are taken away and ſet downe when they pleaſe, and they are made of two pieces of wood with their ſteppes, as ours be. The ſeuen cities are ſeuen ſmall townes, all made with theſe kinde of houſes that I ſpeake of: and they ſtand all within foure leagues together, and they are all called the kingdome of Cibola, and euery one of them haue their particular name: and none of them is called Cibola, but altogether they are called Cibola. And this towne which I call a citie, I haue named Granada, as well becauſe it is ſomewhat like vnto it, as alſo in remembrance of your lordſhip. In this towne where I nowe remaine, there may bee ſome two hundred houſes, all compaſſed with walles, and I thinke that with the reſt of the houſes which are not ſo walled, they may be together fiue hundred. There is another towne neere this, which is one of the ſeuen, & it is ſomwhat bigger then this, and another of the ſame bigneſſe that this is of, and the other foure are ſomewhat leſſe: and I ſend them all painted vnto your lordſhip with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is, was found here with other parchments. The people of this towne ſeeme vnto me of a reaſonable ſtature, and wittie, yet they ſeeme not to bee ſuch as they ſhould bee, of that iudgement and wit to builde theſe houſes in ſuch ſort as they are. For the moſt part they goe all naked, except their priuie partes which are couered: and they haue painted mantles like thoſe which I ſend vnto your lordſhip. They haue no cotton wooll growing, becauſe the countrey is colde, yet they weare mantels thereof as your honour may ſee by the ſhewe thereof: and true it is that there was found in their houſes certaine yarne made of cotton wooll. They weare their haire on their heads like thoſe of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and conditioned: And they haue Turqueſes I thinke good quantitie, which with the reſt of the goods which they had, except their corne, they had conueyed away before I came thither: for I found no women there, nor no youth vnder fifteene yeeres olde, nor no olde folkes aboue ſixtie, ſauing two or three olde folkes, who ſtayed behinde to gouerne all the reſt of the youth and men of warre. There were found in a certaine paper two poynts of Emralds, and certaine ſmall ſtones broken which are in colour ſomewhat like Granates very bad, and other ſtones of Chriſtall, which I gaue one of my ſeruants to lay vp to ſend them to your lordſhip, and hee hath loſt them as hee telleth me. Wee found heere Guinie cockes, but fewe. The Indians tell mee in all theſe ſeuen cities, that they eate them not, but that they keepe them onely for their feathers. I beleeue them not, for they are excellent good, and greater then thoſe of Mexico. The ſeaſon which is in this countrey, and the temperature of the ayre is like that of Mexico: for ſometime it is hotte, and ſometime it raineth: but hitherto I neuer ſawe it raine, but once there fell a little ſhowre with winde, as they are woont to fall in Spaine.

Excellent houſes foure or fiue loftes high.

Cibola is a prouince conteining ſeuen townes.

Fiue hundred houſes in Granada.

A painter neceſſarie in a new diſcouery.

Painted mantles.

Store of Turqueſes.

Emralds. Granates. Chriſtall.

Excellent and very great Guinie cocks.

The ſnow and cold are woont to be great, for ſo ſay the inhabitants of the Countrey: and it is very likely ſo to bee, both in reſpect of the maner of the Countrey, and by the faſhion of their houſes, and their furres and other things which this people haue to defend them from colde. There is no kind of fruit nor trees of fruite. The Countrey is all plaine, and is on no ſide mountainous: albeit there are ſome hillie and bad paſſages. There are ſmall ſtore of Foules: the cauſe whereof is the colde, and becauſe the mountaines are not neere. Here is no great ſtore of wood, becauſe they haue wood for their fuell ſufficient foure leagues off from a wood of ſmall Cedars. There is moſt excellent graſſe within a quarter of a league hence, for our horſes as well to feede them in paſture, as to mowe and make hay, whereof wee ſtoode in great neede, becauſe our horſes came hither ſo weake and feeble. The victuals which the people of this countrey haue, is Maiz, whereof they haue great ſtore, and alſo ſmall white Peaſe: and Veniſon, which by all likelyhood they feede vpon, (though they ſay no) for wee found many ſkinnes of Deere, of Hares, and Conies. They eate the beſt cakes that euer I ſawe, and euery body generally eateth of them. They haue the fineſt order and way to grinde that wee euer ſawe in any place. And one Indian woman of this countrey will grinde as much as foure women of Mexico. They haue moſt excellent ſalte in kernell, which they fetch from a certaine lake a dayes iourney from hence. They haue no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Weſterne Sea, neither can I tell your lordſhip to which wee bee neereſt: But in reaſon they ſhould ſeeme to bee neereſt to the Weſterne Sea: and at the leaſt I thinke I am an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence: and the Northerne Sea ſhould bee much further off. Your lordſhip may ſee howe broad the land is here. Here are many ſorts of beaſts, as Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkeſpicks, and certaine Sheep as bigge as an horſe, with very great hornes and little tailes, I haue ſeene their hornes ſo bigge, that it is a wonder to beholde their greatneſſe. Here are alſo wilde goates whoſe heads likewiſe I haue ſeene, and the pawes of Beares, and the ſkins of wilde Bores. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stagges: and all men are of opinion that there are ſome bigger then that beaſt which your lordſhip beſtowed vpon me, which once belonged to Iohn Melaz. They trauell eight dayes iourney vnto certaine plaines lying toward the North Sea. In this countrey there are certaine ſkinnes well dreſſed, and they dreſſe them and paint them where they kill their Oxen, for ſo they ſay themſelues.

Gomara hiſt. gen. Cap. 213. ſaith that the colde is by reaſon of the high mountaines.

A wood of Cedars. Excellent graſſe.

Deere, hares, and conies.

Very good ſalte. The Weſterne ſea within 150. leagues from Cibola. Beares, Tigers, Lions, Porkeſpicks, mightie ſheep, wilde goates. Wilde Bores. Deere. Ounces. Stagges. They trauaile 8. dayes iourney toward the North ſea. Oxe hides dreſſed and painted very cunningly.

Chap. 4.

Of the ſtate and qualities of the kingdomes of *Totonteac*, *Marata*, and *Acus*, quite contrary to the relation of Frier *Marcus*. The conference which they haue with the Indians of the citie of *Granada* which they had taken, which had fiftie yeres paſt foreſeene the comming of the Chriſtians into their countrey. The relation which they haue of other ſeuen cities, whereof *Tucano* is the principall, and how he ſent to diſcouer them. A preſent of diuers things had in theſe countreys ſent vnto the Viceroy *Mendoça* by *Vaſques de Coronado.*

The kingdome of Totonteac ſo much extolled by the Father prouinciall, which ſayde that there were ſuch wonderfull things there, and ſuch great matters, and that they made cloth there, the Indians ſay is an hotte lake, about which are fiue or ſixe houſes; and that there were certaine other, but that they are ruinated by warre. The kingdome of Marata is not to be founde, neither haue the Indians any knowledge thereof. The kingdome of Acus is one onely ſmall citie, where they gather cotton which is called Acucu. And I ſay that this is a towne. For Acus with an aſpiration nor without, is no word of the countrey. And becauſe I geſſe that they would deriue Acucu of Acus, I ſay that it is this towne whereinto the kingdom of Acus is conuerted. Beyond this towne they ſay there are other ſmall townes which are neere to a riuer which I haue ſeene and haue had report of by the relation of the Indians. I would to God I had better newes to write vnto your lordſhip: neuertheleſſe I muſt ſay the trueth: And as I wrote to your lordſhip from Culiacan, I am nowe to aduertiſe your honour as wel of the good as of the bad. Yet this I would haue you bee aſſured, that if all the riches and the treaſures of the world were heere, I could haue done no more in the ſeruice of his Maieſtie and of your lordſhippe, then I haue done in comming hither whither you haue ſent mee, my ſelfe and my companions carrying our victuals vpon our ſhoulders and vpon our horſes three hundred leagues; and many dayes going on foote trauailing ouer hilles and rough mountaines, with other troubles which I ceaſe to mention, neither purpoſe I to depart vnto the death, if it pleaſe his Maieſtie and your lordſhip that it ſhall be ſo.

Totonteac is an hotte lake. Tadouac ſeemeth becauſe it is a lake, and endeth in ac to haue ſome affinitie herewith. Other townes neere a riuer.

Three dayes after this citie was taken, certaine Indians of theſe people came to offer mee peace, and brought mee certaine Turqueſes and badde mantles, and I receiued them in his Maieſties name with all the good ſpeaches that I could deuiſe, certifying them of the purpoſe of my comming into this countrey, which is in the name of his Maieſtie, and by the commaundement of your Lordſhip, that they and all the reſt of the people of this prouince ſhould become Chriſtians, and ſhould knowe the true God for their Lorde, and receiue his Maieſtie for their King, and earthly Soueraigne: And herewithall they returned to their houſes, and ſuddenly the next day they ſet in order all their goods and ſubſtance, their women and children, and fled to the hilles, leauing their townes as it were abandoned, wherein remained very fewe of them. When I ſawe this, within eight or tenne dayes after being recouered of my woundes, I went to the citie, which I ſayde to bee greater then this where I am, and found there ſome fewe of them, to whom I ſayde that they ſhould not bee afrayd, and that they ſhould call their gouernour vnto mee: howbeit, forasmuch as I can learne or gather, none of them hath any gouernour: for I ſawe not there any chiefe houſe, whereby any preeminence of one ouer another might bee gathered. After this an olde man came, which ſayd that hee was their lord, with a piece of a mantle made of many pieces, with whom I reaſoned that ſmall while that hee ſtayed with mee, and hee ſayd that within three dayes after, hee and the reſt of the chiefe of that towne would come and viſite mee, and giue order what courſe ſhould bee taken with them. Which they did: for they brought mee certaine mantles and ſome Turqueſes. I aduiſed them to come downe from their holdes, and to returne with their wiues and children to their houſes, and to become Chriſtians, and that they would acknowledge the Emperours maieſtie for their King and lorde. And euen to this preſent they keepe in thoſe ſtrong holdes their women and children, and all the goods which they haue. I commaunded them that they ſhould paint mee out a cloth of all the beaſtes which they knowe in their countrey: And ſuch badde painters as they are, forthwith they painted mee two clothes, one of their beaſtes, another of their birdes and fiſhes. They ſay that they will bring their children, that our religious men may inſtruct them, and that they deſire to knowe our lawe: And they aſſure vs, that aboue fiftie yeeres paſt it was prophecied among them, that a certaine people like vs ſhould come, and from that part that wee came from, and that they ſhould ſubdue all that countrey.

Turqueſes. Mantles.

The Indians flee to the hils with their wiues, children and goods.

A citie greater then Granada.

Two tables painted by the Indians, one of beaſts, another of birdes and fiſhes.

An old prophecie that thoſe parts ſhould be ſubdued by Chriſtians.

That which theſe Indians worſhip as farre as hitherto wee can learne, is the water: for they ſay it cauſeth their corne to growe, and maintaineth their life; and that they know none other reaſon, but that their anceſters did ſo. I haue ſought by all meanes poſſible to learne of the inhabitants of theſe townes, whether they haue any knowledge of other people, countreys and cities: And they tell mee of ſeuen cities which are farre diſtant from this place, which are like vnto theſe, though they haue not houſes like vnto theſe, but they are of earth, and ſmall: and that among them much cotton is gathered. The chiefe of theſe townes whereof they haue knowledge, they ſay is called Tucano: and they gaue mee no perfect knowledge of the reſt. And I thinke they doe not tell me the trueth, imagining that of neceſſitie I muſt ſpeedily depart from them, and returne home. But herein they ſhall ſoone finde themſelues deceiued. I ſent Don Pedro de Touar with his companie of footemen and with certaine other horſemen to ſee this towne: And I would not haue diſpatched this packet vnto your lordſhip, vntill I had knowen what this towne was, if I had thought that within twelue or fifteene dayes I might haue had newes from him: for hee will ſtay in this iourney thirtie dayes at leaſt. And hauing examined that the knowledge hereof is of ſmall importance, and that the colde and the waters approch: I thought it my duety to doe according as your lordſhip gaue mee charge in your inſtructions, which is, that immediatly vpon mine arriuall here, I ſhould ſignifie ſo much vnto your lordſhip, and ſo I doe, ſending withall the bare relation of that which I haue ſeene. I haue determined to ſend round about the countrey from hence to haue knowledge of all things, and rather to ſuffer all extremitie, then to leaue this enterpriſe to ſerue his maieſtie, if I may find any thing wherein I may performe it, and not to omit any diligence therein, vntill your lordſhip ſend mee order what I ſhall doe. Wee haue great want of paſture: and your lordſhip alſo ſhal vnderſtand, that amongſt thoſe which are here, there is not one pound of raiſins, nor ſuger, nor oyle, nor any wine, ſaue only one pinte which is ſaued to ſay Maſſe: for all is ſpent & ſpilt by the way. Now your lordſhip may prouide vs what you thinke needefull. And if your honour meane to ſend vs cattell, your lordſhip muſt vnderſtand that they will bee a ſommer in comming vnto vs: for they will not be able to come vnto vs any ſooner. I would haue ſent your lordſhippe with this diſpatch many muſters of things which are in this countrey: but the way is ſo long and rough, that it is hard for me to doe ſo: neuertheleſſe I ſend you twelue ſmall mantles, ſuch as the people of the countrey are woont to weare, and a certaine

They worſhip the water.

Seuen cities farre from Granada.

Tucano.

The Spaniards victualling in diſcoueries.

A garment excellently imbrodered with needle worke.

An oxehide. Certaine Turqueſes.

The death of Stephan the Negro.

Acuco.

Gold and ſiluer found in Cibola.

garment alſo, which ſeemeth vnto me to bee well made: I kept the ſame, becauſe it ſeemed to mee to bee excellent well wrought, becauſe I beleeue that no man euer ſawe any needle worke in theſe Indies, except it were ſince the Spaniards inhabited the ſame. I ſend your Lordſhippe alſo two clothes painted with the beaſts of this countrey, although as I haue ſayde, the picture bee very rudely done, becauſe the painter ſpent but one day in drawing of the ſame. I haue ſeene other pictures on the walles of the houſes of this citie with farre better proportion, and better made. I ſend your honour one Oxe-hide, certaine Turqueſes, and two earerings of the ſame, and fifteene combes of the Indians, and certain tablets ſet with theſe Turqueſes, and two ſmall baskets made of wicker, whereof the Indians haue great ſtore. I ſend your lordſhip alſo two rolles which the women in theſe parts are woont to weare on their heads when they fetch water from their welles, as wee vſe to doe in Spaine. And one of theſe Indian women with one of theſe rolles on her head, will carie a pitcher of water without touching the ſame with her hande vp a lather. I ſend you alſo a muſter of the weapons wherewith theſe people are woont to fight, a buckler, a mace, a bowe, and certaine arrowes, among which are two with points of bones, the like whereof, as theſe conquerours ſay, haue neuer beene ſeene. I can ſay nothing vnto your lordſhippe touching the apparell of their women. For the Indians keepe them ſo carefully from vs, that hitherto I haue not ſeene any of them, ſauing onely two olde women, and theſe had two long robes downe to the foote open before, and girded to them, and they are buttoned with certaine cordons of cotton. I requeſted the Indians to giue me one of theſe robes, which they ware, to ſend your honour the ſame, ſeeing they would not ſhewe mee their women. And they brought mee two mantles which aree theſe, which I ſend you as it were painted: they haue two pendents like the women of Spaine, which hang ſomewhat ouer their ſhoulders. The death of the Negro is moſt certaine: for here are many of the things found which hee carried with him: And the Indians tell me that they killed him here, becauſe the Indians of Chichilticale tolde them that hee was a wicked villaine, and not like vnto the Chriſtians: becauſe the Chriſtians kill no women: and hee killed women; and alſo he touched their women, which the Indians loue more then themſelues; therefore they determined to kill him: But they did it not after ſuch ſort as was reported, for they killed none of the reſt of thoſe that came with him: neither ſlewe they the young lad which was with him of the prouince of Petatlan, but they tooke him and kept him in ſafe cuſtodie vntill nowe. And when I ſought to haue him, they excuſed themſelues two or three dayes to giue him mee, telling mee that hee was dead, and ſometimes that the Indians of Acucu had carried him away. But in concluſion, when I tolde them that I ſhould bee very angry if they did not giue him mee, they gaue him vnto me. Hee is an interpreter, for though hee cannot well ſpeake their language, yet hee vnderſtandeth the ſame very well. In this place there is found ſome quantitie of golde and ſiluer, which thoſe which are ſkilfull in minerall matters eſteeme to be very good. To this houre I could neuer learne of theſe people from whence they haue it: And I ſee they refuſe to tell mee the trueth in all things, imagining, as I haue ſayde, that in ſhort time I would depart hence, but I hope in God they ſhall no longer excuſe themſelues. I beſeech your lordſhip to certifie his Maieſtie of the ſucceſſe of this voyage. For ſeeing wee haue no more then that which is aforeſayd, and vntill ſuch time as it pleaſe God that wee finde that which wee deſire, I meane not to write my ſelfe. Our Lorde God keepe and preſerue your Excellencie.

From the Prouince of Cibola, and from this citie of Granada the third of Auguſt 1540. Francis Vaſques de Coronado kiſſeth the hands of your Excellencie.

The reſt of this voyage to *Acuco*, *Tiguex*, *Cicuic*, and *Quiuira*, and vnto the Weſterne Ocean, is thus written in the generall hiſtorie of the Weſt *Indies* by *Francis Lopez de Gomara*, *Chap. 214.*

Acuco. The Weſterne ſea diſcouered. Tiguex. Axa and Quiuira.

BEcauſe they would not returne to Mexico without doing ſomething, nor with emptie hands, they agreed to paſſe further into the countrey, which was tolde them to bee better and better. So they came to Acuco, a towne vpon an exceeding ſtrong hill. And from thence Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas with his companie of horſemen went vnto the Sea: and Francis Vaſques went to Tiguex, which ſtandeth on the banke of a great riuer. There they had newes of Axa and Quiuira. There they ſayde was a King whoſe name was Tatarrax, with a long beard, hoarie headed, and rich, which was girded with a Bracamart, which prayed vpon a payre of beades, which worſhipped a Croſſe of golde, and the image of a woman, the Queene of heauen. This newes did greatly reioyce and cheere vp the armie: although ſome thought it to bee falſe, and the report of the Friers. They determined to goe thither, with intention to winter in ſo rich a countrey as that was reported to bee. One night the Indians came away, and in the morning they found thirtie horſes dead, which put the armie in feare. In their iourney they burnt a certaine towne: And in another towne which they aſſaulted, they killed certaine Spaniards, and wounded fiftie horſes, and the inhabitants drewe into their towne Francis de Ouando wounded or dead, to eate and ſacrifice him as they thought, or peraduenture to ſee more perfectly, what maner of men the Spaniards were: for there was not found there any ſigne of ſacrificing men. Our people layde ſiege vnto the towne, but could not take it in more then fiue and fortie dayes ſpace. The townesmen that were beſieged, dranke ſnowe in ſtead of water: and ſeeing themſelues forlorne they made a fire, wherein they caſt their mantles, feathers, Turquesas and precious things, that thoſe ſtrangers might not enioy them. They iſſued out in a ſquadron with their women and children in the middeſt, to make way by force, and to ſaue themſelues, but fewe eſcaped the edge of our ſwordes and the horſes, and a certaine riuer which was neere the towne. Seuen Spaniards were ſlaine in this conflict, and fourescore were wounded, and many horſes: whereby a man may ſee of what force reſolution is in neceſſitie. Many Indians returned to the towne with the women and children, and defended themſelues, vntill our men ſet fire on the towne. In this countrey there are melons, and white and redde cotton, whereof they make farre larger mantels, then in other parts of the Indies. From Tigues they went in foure dayes iourney to Cicuic, which is a ſmall towne, and foure leagues from thence they met with a new kind of oxen wild and fierce, whereof the firſt day they killed fourescore, which ſufficed the armie with fleſh. From Cicuic they went to Quiuira, which after their accompt, is almoſt three hundred leagues diſtant, through mightey plaines, and ſandie heathes ſo ſmooth, and wearisome, and bare of wood, that they made heapes of oxe-dung for want of ſtones and trees, that they might not loſe themſelues at their returne: for three horſes were loſt on that plaine, and one Spaniard, which went from his cōpanie on hunting. All that way yͤ plaines are as full of crookbacked oxen, as the mountaine Serena in Spaine is of ſheepe: but there is no people but ſuch as keepe thoſe cattell. They were a great ſuccour for the hunger and want of bread which our people ſtoode in. One day it rayned in that plaine a great ſhowre of haile, as bigge as Orenges, which cauſed many teares, weakeneſſe, and vowes. At length they came to Quiuira and found Tatarrax, whome they ſought, an hoarie headed man, naked, and with a iewell of copper hanging at his necke, which was all his riches. The Spaniards ſeeing the falſe report of ſo famous riches, returned to Tiguex, without ſeeing either croſſe or ſhewe of Chriſtianitie: and from thence to Mexico. In the ende of March of the yeere 1542. Francis Vaſquez fell from his horſe in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became madde. Which ſome tooke to bee for griefe, and others thought it to be but counterfeited: for they were much offended with him, becauſe hee peopled not the countrey.

A towne burnt.
Another towne aſſaulted.
Mantles.
Turqueſes.
Feathers.
Precious things.
Melons.
Cotton.
Large mantles.
Cicuic foure dayes iourney from Tiguex.
Quiuira.
Heapes of oxe dung made for markes to know the way
The Spaniards returne to Tiguex, and ſo to Mexico 1542.
The Spaniards would haue inhabited the countrey.

Quiuira is in fortie degrees: it is a temperate countrey, and hath very good waters, and much graſſe, plummes, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes, which ripen very well. There is no cotton: and they apparell themſelues with oxe-hides and deeres ſkinnes. They ſawe ſhippes on the ſea coaſt, which bare Alcatrarzes or Pellicanes of golde and ſiluer in their prowes, and were laden with marchandiſes, and they thought them to bee of Cathaya, and China, becauſe they ſhewed our men by ſignes that they had ſayled thirtie dayes.

Ships ſeene on the ſea coaſt of Quiuira, which were 30. dayes in ſayling thither.

Frier Iohn de Padilla ſtayed behinde in Tigues, with another of his companions called Frier Francis, and returned to Quiuira, with ſome dozen Indians of Mechuacan, and with Andrew de Campo a Portugall, the gardiner of Francis de Solis: Hee tooke with him horſes and mules with prouiſion. Hee tooke ſheepe and hennes of Caſtile, and ornaments to ſay Maſſe withall. The people of Quiuira ſlewe the Friers, and the Portugall eſcaped with certaine Indians of Mechuacan. Who albeit at that time he eſcaped death, yet could hee not free himſelfe out of captiuitie: for by and by after they caught him againe. But ten moneths after he was taken captiue, hee fled away with a couple of dogs. As hee trauailed, hee bleſſed the people with a croſſe, whereunto they offered much, and wheresoeuer hee came, they gaue him almes, lodging, and foode. He came to the countrey of the Chichimechas, and arriued at Panuco. When he came to Mexico, hee ware his haire very long, and his beard tyed vp in a lace, and reported ſtrange things of the lands, riuers and mountaines that he had paſſed.

Andrew de Campo trauailed from Quiuira to Panuco.

It grieued Don Antonio de Mendoça very much that the army returned home: for hee had ſpent aboue threescore thouſand peſos of golde in the enterpriſe, and ought a great part thereof ſtill. Many ſought to haue dwelt there; but Francis Vaſquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a faire wife, would not conſent, ſaying, that they could not maintaine nor defend

The cauſe why the Spaniards peopled not in Cibola.

themſelues in ſo poore a countrey, and ſo farre from ſuccour. They trauailed aboue nine hundred leagues in this countrey.

The foreſayd *Francis Lopez de Gomara* in his generall hiſtorie of the Weſt *Indies*, Chap. 215. writeth in maner following of certaine great and ſtrange beaſts neuer ſeene nor heard of in our knowen world of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*: which ſomewhat reſembling our oxen, hauing high bunches on their backes like thoſe on the backes of Camels, are therefore called by him *Vacas corcobadas*, that is to ſay, Crookebacked oxen, being very deformed & terrible in ſhewe, and fierce by nature: which notwithſtanding for foode, apparell, and other neceſſarie vſes, are moſt ſeruiceable and beneficiall to the inhabitants of thoſe countreys. He reporteth alſo in the ſame chapter of certaine ſtrange ſheepe as bigge as horſes, and of dogs which vſe to carie burthens of 50. pound weight pound weight vpon their backes.

These are much like the people that Captain Frobisher brought into England from Meta incognita.

All the way betweene Cicuic and Quiuira is a moſt plaine ſoyle, without trees and ſtones, and hath but fewe and ſmall townes. The men clothe and ſhooe themſelues with lether; and the women which are eſteemed for their long lockes, couer their heads and ſecrets with the ſame. They haue no bread of any kinde of graine, as they ſay: which I account a very great matter. Their chiefeſt foode is fleſh, and that oftentimes they eate rawe, either of cuſtome or for lacke of wood. They eate the fatte as they take it out of the Oxe, and drinke the blood hotte, and die not therewithall, though the antient writers ſay that it killeth, as Empedocles and others affirmed, they drinke it alſo colde diſſolued in water. They ſeeth not the fleſh for lacke of pots, but roſt it, or to ſay more properly, warme it at a fire of Oxe-dung: when they eate, they chawe their meate but little, and rauen vp much, and holding the fleſh with their teeth, they cut it with raſors of ſtone, which ſeemeth to be great beſtialitie: but ſuch is their maner of liuing and faſhion. They goe together in companies, and mooue from one place to another, as the wilde Moores of Barbarie called Alarbes doe, following the ſeaſons, and the paſture after their Oxen.

The deſcription of the oxen of Quiuira.

These Oxen are of the bigneſſe and colour of our Bulles, but their hornes are not ſo great. They haue a great bunch vpon their fore ſhoulders, and more haire on their fore part then on their hinder part: and it is like wooll. They haue as it were an horſe-mane vpon their backe bone, and much haire and very long from the knees downeward. They haue great tuffes of haire hanging downe their foreheads, and it ſeemeth that they haue beardes, becauſe of the great ſtore of haire hanging downe at their chinnes and throates. The males haue very long tailes, and a great knobbe or flocke at the end: ſo that in ſome reſpect they reſemble the Lion, and in ſome other the Camell. They puſh with their hornes, they runne, they ouertake and kill an horſe when they are in their rage and anger. Finally, it is a foule and fierce beaſt of countenance and forme of bodie. The horſes flee from them, either becauſe of their deformed ſhape, or elſe becauſe they had neuer ſeene them. Their maſters haue no other riches nor ſubſtance: of them they eat, they drinke, they apparel, they ſhooe themſelues: and of their hides they make many things, as houſes, ſhooes, apparell and ropes: of their bones they make bodkins: of their ſinewes and haire, threed: of their hornes, mawes, and bladders, veſſels: of their dung, fire; and of their calues-ſkinnes, budgets, wherein they drawe and keepe water. To bee ſhort, they make ſo many things of them as they haue neede of, or as many as ſuffice them in the vſe of this life.

Sheepe as big as horſes.

There are alſo in this countrey other beaſtes as big as horſes, which becauſe they haue hornes and fine wool, they cal them ſheepe, and they ſay that euery horne of theirs weigheth is fiftie pound weight.

Mightie dogs carrying 50. pound weight.

There are alſo great dogs which will fight with a bull, and will carrie fiftie pound weight in ſackes when they goe on hunting, or when they remooue from place to place with their flockes and heards.

EL

EL VIAIE QVE HIZO ANTONIO de ESPEIO en el anno de ochenta y tres: el qual con ſus companneros deſcubrieron vna tierra en que hallaron quinze Prouincias todas llenas de pueblos, y de caſas de quatro y cinco altos, a quien puſieron por nombre El nueuo Mexico, por parecerſe en muchas coſas al viejo. Eſta à la parte del Norte, y ſe cree que por ella, y por poblado, ſe puede venir haſta llegar a la tierra que llaman del Labrador.

Del Nueuo Mexico, y de ſu deſcubrimiento, y lo que del ſe ſabe.

Nueuo Mexico.

Ya dixe en el titulo del libro, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y tres, ſe auian deſcubierto quinze Prouincias, aquien los inuentores llamaron El nueuo Mexico en la tierra firme de Nueua Eſpanna, y prometi de dar noticia del deſcubrimiento, como lo hare con la mayor breuedad que ſea poſſible, porque ſi vuiera de poner diffuſamente todo lo que vieron y ſupieron, fuera meneſter hazer dello nueua hiſtoria. La ſubſtancia dello es, que el anno de mil y quinientos y ochenta y vno, teniendo noticia vn Religioſo de la Orden de ſant Franciſco, que ſe llamaua fray Auguſtin Ruyz, que moraua en el valle de ſant Bartholome, por relation de ciertos Indios Conchos que ſe comunicauan con otros ſus conuezinos llamados Paſſaguates: que hazia la parte del Norte (caminando ſiempre por tierra) auia ciertas poblaciones grandes, y nunca ſabidas de nueſtros Eſpannoles, ni deſcubiertas, con zelo de caridad, y de ſaluacion de las almas, pidio licencia al Conde de Corunna Virey de la dicha Nueua Eſpanna, y a ſus mayores, para yr a ellas, a procurar aprender ſu lengua, y ſabida, bautizarlos, y predicarles el ſanto Euangelio. Alcançada la licentia de los ſobredichos, tomando otros dos companneros de ſu meſma Orden, ſe partio con ocho ſoldados, que de voluntad le quiſieron acompannar, a poner en execucion ſu Chriſtiano y zeloſo intento. Los quales a pocos dias de camino toparon con vna Prouincia, que ſe llamaua de los Tiguas, diſtante de las minas de ſancta Barbola (de donde començaron la jornada) dozientas y cinquenta leguas hazia el Norte, en la qual por cierta ocaſion los naturales le mataron al dicho padre vno de ſus dos companneros. El qual, los ſoldados que yuan cō el, viendo, y ſintiēdo el ſucceſſo, y temiēdo que del ſe podria ſeguir otro mayor danno, acordaron de comū conſentimiento de bolverſe a las minas de donde auian ſalido, con conſideracion de que la gente que yua era muy poca para reſiſtir a los ſucceſſos que ſe podian offrecer en tanta diſtancia de la viuienda de los Eſpannoles, y tan lexos del neceſſario ſocorro. Los dos Religioſos que hauian quedado, no ſolo no vinieron en ſu parecer, mas antes viendo la ocaſion para poner en execucion ſu buen deſſeo, y tanta miēs madura para la meſa de Dios, viendo que no podian perſuadir a los ſoldados a paſſar adelante en el deſcubrimiento, ſe quedaron ellos en la dicha Prouincia con tres muchachos Indios, y vn meſtizo, que auian lleuado conſigo, pareciendoles que aunque quedaſſen ſolos, eſtauan alli ſeguros, por la affabilidad y amor con que los naturales della los tratauan. Llegados los ocho ſoldados adonde deſſeauā, embiaron luego la nueua al dicho Virey delo ſuccedido a la ciudad de Mexico, que diſta de las dichas minas de ſanta Barbora ciento y ſeſenta leguas. Sintieron mucho los religioſos de ſant Franciſco la quedada de ſus hermanos: y timiendo no los mataſſen viendo los ſolos, començaron a mouer los animos de algunos ſoldados, para que en compannia de otro Religioſo de la meſma Orden llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, tornaſſen à la dicha Prouincia, a ſacar de peligro a los dichos dos Religioſos, y proſeguir con la empreſa començada.

Auguſtin Ruyz.

Tiguas.

Fray Bernardino Beltran.

En eſta ſazon eſtaua en las dichas minas por cierta ocaſion vn vezino de la ciudad de Mexico, llamado Antonio de Eſpejo, hombre rico, y de mucho animo y induſtria, y zeloſo del ſeruicio de la maieſtad del Rey Don Philippe nueſtro ſennor, natural de Cordoua. El qual como entendieſſe el deſſeo delos dichos religioſos, y la importancia del negocio, ſe of-recio a la jornada, y a gaſtar en ella parte de ſu hazienda, y a rieſgar ſu vida, ſiendo le para ello concedida licencia de alguna perſona que repreſentaſſe a ſu maieſtad, la qual procurandola los chos religioſos, le fue dada por el Capitan Iuā de Ontiueros Alcalde mayor por ſu mageſtad n los pueblos que llaman las quatro Cienegas, que ſon en la gouernacion de la Nueua Vizcaya,

Antonio de Eſpejo morio en la Hauana 1589.

Nueua Vizcaya.

Vizcaya, ſetenta leguas de las dichas minas de ſanta Barbora, aſſi para que el pudieſſe yr, como para que iuntaſſe la gente y ſoldados pue pudieſſe, para que le acompannnaſſen, y ayudaſſen a conſeguir ſu Chriſtiano intento.

El dicho Antonio de Eſpejo tomo el negocio con tantas veras, que en muy pocos dias iuntò los ſoldados y baſtimentos neceſſarios para hazer la iornada, gaſtando en ello buena parte de ſu hazienda: y partio con todos ellos del valle de ſant Bartholome a los diez de Nouiembre de mil y quinientos y ochenta y dos, lleuando para lo que ſe offrecieſſe ciento y quinze cauallos, y mulas, y muchas armas, municiones, y baſtimentos, y alguna gente de ſeruicio.

Conchos Indios.

Endereço ſu camino hazia el Norte, y a dos jornadas tepo mucha cantidad de Indios de los que llaman Conchos en Rancherias o poblaciones de caſas pagicas. Los quales como lo ſupieſſen, y tuuieſſen dello relacion muy de atras, los ſalieron a recebir con mueſtras de alegria. La comida deſtos, y delos de la Prouincia, que es grande, es de carne de conejos, liebres, y venados que matan, y lo ay todo en grandiſſima cantidad. Tienen mucho maiz, que es el trigo de las Indias, calabaças, y melones, y en abundancia: y ay muchos rios que crian mucha cantidad de peſcado muy bueno, y de diuerſas ſuertes: andan caſi todos deſnudos, y las armas que vſan ſon arco y flecha, y viuen debaxo de gouierno, y ſennorio de Caciques, como los Mexicanos, y no les hallaron Idolos, ni pudieron entender que adoraſſen à nadie, por lo qual facilmente conſintieron en que les puſieſſen los Chriſtianos cruzes, y quedaron muy contentos con ellas, deſpues de auer ſido informados de los nueſtros dela ſignificacion dellas, que ſe hizo por interpretes que lleuauan, por cuyo medio ſupieron de otras poblaciones, para adonde los dichos Conchos los guiaron, acompannandolos mas de veinte y quatro leguas, que todas eſtauan pobladas de gente de ſu nacion, y los ſalian a recebir de paz, por auiſo que embiauan los Caciques de vnos pueblos a otros.

Paſſaguates Indios.

Muchas minas de plata.

Toboſos Indios.

Andadas las veinte y quatro leguas dichas, toparon otra nacion de Indios, llamados Paſſaguates, los quales viuiã al modo que los ya dichos Conchos ſus conuezinos, y hizieron con ellos lo proprio, guiandolos adelante otras quatro jornadas, con los auiſos de los Caciques, de la manera ya dicha: hallaron los nueſtros en eſte camino muchas minas de plata, al parecer de los que lo entendian, de mucho, y muy rico metal. Vna jornada deſtas toparon otra nacion, llamada los Toboſos, los quales en viendo el raſtro de los nueſtros, ſe huyeron a las ſierras, dexando ſus caſas y pueblos deſiertos. Supoſe deſpues que algunos annos antes auian acudido por alli ciertos ſoldados que yuan en buſca de minas, y auian lleuado cautiuos a ciertos naturales, lo qual tenia temeroſos y abiſpados a los demas. El Capitan dio orden como los fueſſen a llamar, aſſegurandolos de que no les ſeria hecho ningun mal, y dioſe tan buena manna que hizo venir a muchos, a quien regalò, y dio dones, acariciandolos, y declarandoles por el interprete, que no yuan a hazer mal a nadie, con lo qual ſe boluieron todos a ſoſſegar, y conſintierõ les puſieſſen Cruzes, y declaraſſen el myſterio dellas, moſtrando recebir dello gran contentamiento, en cuya demoſtracion los fueron acompannando, como lo auian hecho ſus vezinos, haſta que los metieron en tierra poblada de otra nacion differente, que diſtauan de la ſuya coſa de doze leguas: vſan arco, y flecha, y andan deſundos.

Proſiguese del deſcubrimiento del Nueuo Mexico.

Iumanos Indios.

LA nacion haſta donde los dicho Toboſos los guiaron ſe llamaua Iumanos, a quien por otro nombre llaman los Eſpannoles Patarabueyes: tienen vna Prouincia grande, y de muchos pueblos con mucha gente, y las caſas eran con açoteas, y de calicanto, y los pueblos traçados por buen orden: tienen todos los hombres y mugeres los roſtros rayados, y los braços, y piernas: es gente corpulenta, y de mas policia, que los que haſta alli auian viſto, y tenian muchos mantenimientos, y mucha caça de pie y de buelo, y gran cantidad de poſcado, a cauſa de tener grandes rios qne vienen de hazia el Norte, y alguno tan grande como Guadalquiuir, el qual entra en la propria mar del Norte. Tiene muchas lagunas de agua ſalada que ſe quaja cierto tiempo del anno, y ſe haze muy buena ſal. Es gente bellicoſa, y moſtraronlo luego, porque la primera noche que los nueſtros aſſentaron real, les flecharon, y mataron cinco cauallos, hiriendo muy mal otros tantos, y no dexaran ninguno a vida, ſino por las guardas que los defendieron. Hecho eſte mal recado, deſpoblaron el lugar, y ſe ſubieron a vna ſierra que eſtaua cerca, adonde fue luego por la mannana el Capitan con otros cinco ſoldados bien armados con vn interprete llamado Pedro, Indio de ſu meſma nacion, y con buenas razones los quieto y dexo de paz, haziendolos baxar a ſu pueblo y caſas, y perſuadiendolos a que dieſſen auiſo a ſus vezinos

Rio del Norte.

Buena ſal.

de que no eran hombres que hazian mal a nadie, ni les yuan a tomar ſus haziendas: que lo alcanço facilmente con ſu prudencia, y con darles a los Caciques algunas ſartas de quentas de vidrio que lleuaua para eſte effeto, y ſombreros, y otras ninnerias: con eſte, y con el buen tratamiento que les hazian, ſe fueron muchos dellos en compannia de los nueſtros algunos dias, caminando ſiempre por la ribera del rio grande arriba dicho, por toda la qual hauia muchos pueblos de Indios deſta nacion, que duraron por eſpacio de doze jornadas, en todas las quales auiſados los vnos Caciques de los otros ſalian a recebir a los nueſtros ſin arcos, ni flechas, y les trayan muchos mantenimientos, y otros regalos y dadiuas, en eſpecial cueros y camuças muy bien adereçados, y que no les excedian en eſto las de Flandes. Es gente toda veſtida, y hallaron que tenian alguna lumbre de nueſtra ſancta Fee, porque ſennalauan a Dios mirando al cielo, y le llaman en ſu lengua Apalito, y le conocen por ſennor, de cuya larga mano, y miſericordia confieſſan auer recibido la vida, y el ſer natural, y los bienes temporales. Venian muchos dellos, y las mugeres y ninnos, a que el Religioſo, que diximos que yua con el dicho Capitan y ſoldados, los ſantiguaſſe, y echaſſe la benedicion: el qual como les preguntaſſe de quien auian entendido aquel conocimiento de Dios que tenian: reſpondieron, que de tres Chriſtianos, y vn negro, que auian paſſado por alli, y detenidoſe algunos dias en ſu tierra, que ſegun las ſennas que dieron, eran Aluar Nunnes Cabeça de Vaca, y Dorantes, y Caſtillo Maldonado, y vn negro, que todos ellos auian eſcapado de la armada con que entro Panfilo de Narbaez en la Florida, y deſpues de auer ſido muchos dias eſclauos, vinieron a dar a eſtos pueblos, haziendo Dios por medio dellos muchos milagros, y ſanando con el tocamento ſolo de ſus manos muchos enfermos, por lo qual dexaron gran nombre en toda aquella tierra. Toda eſta Prouincia quedo de paz, y muy ſoſſegada, en cuya demonſtracion fueron acompannando y ſiruiendo a los nueſtros algunos dias por la orilla del rio que diximos arriba.

Rio grande.

12 Iornadas.

Apalito.

A pocos dias toparon con vna gran poblacion de Indios, adonde los ſalieron a recebir por nueua que tuuieron de ſus vezinos, y les ſacaron muchas coſas muy curioſas de pluma de differentes colores, y muchas mantas de algodon barretadas de azul y blanco, como las que traen de la China, para reſcatarlas, y trocarlas por otras coſas. Yuan todos, aſſi hombres como mugeres, y ninnos veſtidos de camuças muy buenas y bien adobadas, y nunca pudieron los nueſtros entender que nacion era por falta de interprete que intendieſſe ſu lengua, aunque por ſennas tratauan con ellos, à los quales como les moſtraſſen algunas piedras de metal rico, y les preguntaſſen ſi hauia de aquello en ſu tierra: Reſpondierõ por las meſmas ſennas que cinco dias de camino de alli hazia el Poniente, auia de aquello en muy gran cantidad, y que ellos los guiarian para alla, y ſe lo moſtrarian, como lo cumplieron deſpues, acompannandolos por eſpacio de veynte y dos leguas, todas pobladas de gente de ſu meſma nació, a quien immediatamente ſe ſeguia por el meſmo rio arriba otra de mucha mas gente que la de la paſſada, de quien fueron bien recibidos, y regalados con muchos preſentes, eſpecialmente de peſcado que hauia infinito, a cauſa de vnas lagunas grandes que cerca de alli hauia, que lo crian en la abundancia dicha. Eſtuuieron entre eſtos tres dias, en los quales de dia, y de noche les hizieron muchos bayles a ſu modo, con particular ſignification de alegria: no ſe ſupo como ſe llamaua eſta nacion por falta de interprete, aunque entendieron que ſe extendia mucho, y que era muy grande. Entre eſtos hallaron vn Indio Concho de nacion, que les dixo, y ſennalo, *que quinze iornadas de alli hazia el Poniente hauia vna laguna muy ancha, y cerca della muy grandes pueblos, y caſas de tres y quatro altos, y la gente bien veſtida, y la tierra de muchos baſtimentos*, el qual ſe offrecio de lleuarlos alla, y holgaran los nueſtros dello, y ſolo lo dexaron de poner en effecto, pro proſeguir el intento con que auian començado la jornada, que era yr al Norte a dar ſocorro a los Religioſos arriba dichos.

Otra Prouincia.

Metal rico.

Otra prouincia.
Lagunas grandes.

Laguna muy ancha.

En eſta Prouincia lo que particularmente notaron fue, que hauia muy buen temple, y muy ricas tierras, y mucha caça de pie y buelo, y muchos metales ricos, y otras coſas particulares, y de prouecho.

Muchos Metales ricos.

Deſta Prouincia fueron ſiguiendo ſu derrota por eſpacio de quinze dias, ſin topar en todos ellos ninguna gente por entre grãdes pinales de pinnas y pinnones, como los de Caſtilla: al cabo de los quales auiendo caminado a ſu parecer ochenta leguas, toparon vna pequenna Rancheria, o pueblo de poca gente, y en ſus caſas, que eran pobres, y de paja, gran cantidad de cueros de venados tan bien aderçados como los de Flandes, y mucha ſal blanca, y muy buena. Hizieronles muy buen hoſpedaje dos dias que alli eſtuuieron, deſpues delos quales los acompannaron como doze leguas a vnas poblaciones grandes, caminando ſiempre por el rio del Norte ya dicho, haſta llegar a la tierra que llaman el Nueuo Mexico,

Sal blanca.
Rio Turbioſo del Norte.
Nueuo Mexico.

Eſtaua toda la ribera del dicho rio llena de grandiſſimas alamedas de alamos blancos, y en partes tomauan quatro leguas de ancho, y anſi meſmo de muchos nogales, y parrales como los de Caſtilla. Auiendo caminado dos dias por eſtas alamedas, y noguerales, toparó diez pueblos que eſtauã aſſentados en la ribera del dicho rio por ambas partes, ſin otros que ſe moſtrauan mas deſuiados, en los quales les parecio auia mucha gente, y la que ellos vieron paſſauan en numero de diez mil animas. En eſta Prouincia los regalaró mucho cõ recebimientos, y con lleuarlos a ſus pueblos, donde les dauan mucha comida, y gallinas de la tierra, y otras coſas, y todo con gran voluntad. Aqui hallaron caſas de quatro altos, y bien edificadas, y con galanos apoſentos, y en las mas dellas auia eſtufas para tiempo de inuierno. Andauan veſtidos de algodon, y de cuero de venado, y el traje, aſſi de los hombres, como de las mugeres, es al modo del de los Indios del reyno de Mexico: y lo que les cauſo mas eſtranneza, fue ver que todos ellos, y ellas andauan calçados con çapatos y botas de buen cuero con ſuelas de vaca, coſa que haſta alli nunca la auian viſto. Las mugeres trayan el cabello muy peynado, y compueſto, y ſin coſa ſobre la cabeça. En todos eſtos pueblos auia Caciques que los gouernauan como entre los Indios Mexicanos, con Alguaziles para executar ſus mandamientos, los quales van por el pueblo, diziendo à vozes la voluntad de los Caciques, y que la pongan por obra. En eſta Prouincia hallaron los nueſtros muchos Idolos que adorauan, y en eſpecial que tenian en cada caſa vn templo para el Demonio, donde le lleuauan de ordinario de comer, y otra coſa, que de la manera que entre los Chriſtianos tenemos en los caminos cruzes; aſſi tienen ellos vnas como capillas altas, donde dizẽ, deſcanſa, y ſe recrea el Demonio, quando va de vn pueblo a otro: las quales eſtan muy adornadas y pintadas. En todas las ſementeras, o labranças, que las tienen muy grandes, tienen a vn lado dellas vn portal con quatro pilares, donde comen los trabajadores, y paſſan la ſieſta, porque es la gente muy dada ala labor, y eſtan de ordinario en ella: es tierra de muchos montes y pinales. Las armas que vſan ſon arcos muy fuertes, y flechas con las puntas de pedernal con que paſſan vna cota, y macanas, que ſon vnos palos de media vara de largo, y llanos todos de pedernales agudos, que baſtan a partir por medio vn hombre, y anſi meſmo vnas como adargas de cuero de vaca crudio.

Caſas de quatro altos.
Eſtufas.

Suelas de vaca.

Cuero de vaca.

Proſigueſe del Nueuo Mexico, y de las coſas que en el ſe vieron.

DEſpues de auer eſtado en eſta Prouincia quatro dias, y a poca diſtancia toparon con otra, que ſe llamaua la Prouincia de los Tiguas, en la qual auia diez y ſeys pueblos: en el vno de los quales, llamado por nombre Poala, hallaron que auian muerto los indios à los dichos dos padres fray Franciſco Lopez, y fray Auguſtin, a quien yuan a buſcar, y juntamente a tres muchachos, y vn meſtizo. Quando los deſte pueblo, y ſus conuezinos vieron a los nueſtros, remordiendo les la propria conſciencia, y temiendoſe que yuan a caſtigarlos, y tomar vengança de las muertes de los dichos padres, no los oſaron eſperar, antes dexando ſus caſas deſiertas ſe ſubieron a las ſierras mas cercanas, de donde nunca los pudieron hazer baxar, aunque lo procuraron con alagos y mannas. Hallaron en los pueblos y caſas muchos mantenimientos, y gran infinidad de gallinas de la tierra, y muchas ſuertes de metales, y algunos que parecian muy buenos. No ſe pudo entender claramente que tanta gente fueſſe la deſta Prouincia, por cauſa de auerſe (como ya dixe) ſubido a la ſierra.

Tiguas.
Poala.

Metales muy buenos.

Auiendo hallado muertos a los que buſcauan, entraron en conſulta ſobre ſi ſe bolueriã à la Nueua Vizcaya, de donde hauian ſalido, o paſſarian adelante: en lo qual vuo diuerſos pareceres: pero como alli entendieſſen, que a la parte de Oriente de aquella Prouincia, y muy diſtante de alli hauian grandes pueblos y ricos, hallandoſe alli tan cerca, acordo el dicho Capitan Antonio de Eſpejo de conſentimiento del Religioſo ya dicho, llamado fray Bernardino Beltran, y de la mayor parte de ſus ſoldados, y companneros, de proſeguir con el deſcubrimiento haſta ver en que paraua, para poder dar dello noticia cierta y clara a ſu Mageſtad, como teſtigos de viſta: y aſſi conformes determinaron que quedandoſe alli el Real, fueſſen el Capitan con dos companneros en demanda de ſu deſſeo, que lo puſieron por obra. Y a dos dias de camino toparon con vna Prouincia donde vieron onze pueblos, y en ellos mucha gente, que a ſu parecer paſſaua en numero de quarenta mil animas: era tierra muy fertil y baſtecida, cuyos confines eſtan immediatamente juntos con las tierras de Cibola, donde ay muchas vacas, de cuyos cueros ſe viſten, y de algodon: ſiguiendo en la manera del gouierno el orden que guarden ſus conuezinos: ay ſennales de muchas minas ricas, y aſſi hallauan metales dellas en algunas caſas de los Indios, los quales tienen, y adoran Idolos: recibieronlos de paz, y dieron les de comer. Viſto eſto, y la diſ-

Nueua Vizcaya.
Nota diligentiſſime.

Otra prouincia.

Minas ricas.

poſicion de la tierra, ſe boluieron al real de donde auian ſalido, a dar noticia a ſus companneros de todo lo ſobredicho.

Llegados al Real (como eſta dicho) tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, llamada los Quires, que eſtaua el rio del Norte arriba ſeys leguas de diſtancia, y como ſe partieſſen para alla, y llegaſſen vna legua della, les ſalieron a recebir de paz mucha cantidad de Indios, y a rogar que ſe fueſſen con ellos a ſus pueblos, que como lo hizieſſen, fueron muy bien recebidos y regalados. Vieron ſolamente cinco pueblos en eſta Prouincia, en los quales auia muy gran cantidad de gente, y la que ellos vieron paſſaua de quinze mil animas, y adoran Idolos como ſus vezinos. Hallaron en vno deſtos pueblos vna Vrraca en vna jaula, como ſe vſa en Caſtilla, y tiraſoles, como los que ſe traen de la China, pintados en ellos el ſol y la luna, y muchas eſtrellas. Donde como tomaſſen la altura, ſe hallaron en treynta y ſiete grados y medio debaxo del Norte.

Quires.

Salieron deſta Prouincia, y caminando por el proprio rumbo, y a catorze leguas, hallaron otra Prouincia, llamada los Cunames, donde vieron otros cinco pueblos, y el principal dellos, y mas grande ſe llamaua Cia, que era tan grande que tenia ocho plaças, cuyas caſas eran encaladas, y pintadas de colores, y mejores que las que hauian viſto en las Prouincias atras: parecioles que la gente que vieron paſſauan de veynte mil animas: hizieron preſente a los nueſtros de muchas mantas curioſas, y de coſas de comer muy bien guiſadas, y juzgaron ſer la gente mas curioſa, y de mayor policia, de quantas haſta alli hauian viſto, y de mejor gouierno: monſtraronles ricos metales, y vnas ſierras alli cerca de donde los ſacauan. Aqui tuuieron noticia de otra Prouincia, que ſtaua hazia el Nordueſte, que ſe determinaron de yr a ella.

Cunames Indios.
Cia.

Ricos metales.

Como vuieſſen andado como ſeys leguas, toparon con la dicha Prouincia, que ſe llamaua de los Amejes, en la qual hauia ſiete pueblos muy grandes, y en ellos a ſu entender mas de treynta mil animas. Vno deſtos ſiete pueblos dixeron era muy grande y hermoſo, que le dexaron de yr a ver, aſſi por eſtar detras de vna ſierra, como por temor de algun ruyn ſucceſſo, ſi a caſo ſe diuidian los vnos de los otros. Es gente al modo de la Prouincia ſu vezina, y tan abaſtada como ella, y de tan buen gouierno,

Amejes.

A quinze leguas deſta Prouincia, caminando ſiempre hazia el Poniente, hallaron vn pueblo grande llamado Acoma, era de mas de ſeys mil animas, y eſtaua aſſētado ſobre vno penna alta que tenia mas de cinquenta eſtados en alto, no teniendo otra entrada ſino por vna eſcalera que eſtaua hecha en la propria penna, coſa que admiro mucho a los nueſtros: toda el agua que en el pueblo auia era de ciſternas,

15 Leguas.
Acoma.

Vinieron los principales de paz a ver a los Eſpannoles, y traxeron les muchas mantas, y camuças muy bien adereçadas, y gran cantidad de baſtimentos. Tienen ſus ſembrados dos leguas de alli, y ſacan el agua para regarlos de vn rio pequenno que eſta cerca, en cuya ribera vieron muy grandes roſales como los de aca de Caſtilla. Ay muchas ſierras con ſennales de metales, aunque no ſubieron a verlo, por ſer los Indios dellas muchos, y muy bellicoſos. Eſtuuieron los nueſtros en eſte lugar tres dias, en vno de los quales los naturales les hizieron vn bayle muy ſolenne, ſaliendo a el con galanos veſtidos, y con juegos muy ingenioſos, con que holgaron en ſe eſtremo.

Metales

Veynte y quartro leguas de aqui, hazia el Poniente, dieron con vna Prouincia, que ſe nombra en lengua de los naturales Zunv, y la llaman los Eſpannoles Cibola, ay en ella grã cantidad de Indios, en la qual eſtuuo Franciſco Vazquez Coronado, y dexo muchas Cruzes pueſtas, y otras ſennales de Chriſtianidad que ſiempre ſe eſtauan en pie. Hallaron anſi meſmo tres Indios Chriſtianos que ſe auian quedado de aquella jornada, cuyos nombres eran Andres de Cuyoacan, Gaſpar de Mexico, y Antonio de Guadalajara, los quales tenian caſi oluidada ſu meſma lengua, y ſabian muy bien la de los naturales, aunque a pocas bueltas que les hablaron ſe entendieron facilmente. De quien ſupieron que ſeſenta jornadas de alli auia vna laguna, o lago muy grande, en cuyas riberas eſtauan muchos pueblos grandes y buenos, y que los naturales tenian mucho oro, de lo qual era indicion el traer todos braceletes y orejeras dello: y que como el ſobredicho Franciſco Vazquez Coronado tuuieſſe noticia muy cierta dello, hauia ſalido deſta Prouincia de Cibola para yr alla, y auiendo andado doze jornadas le falto el agua, y ſe determino de boluer, como lo hizo, con determinacion de tornar otra vez mas de propoſito a ello, que deſpues no lo puſo en execuciõ, porque la muerte le atajo los paſſos y penſamientos.

24 leguas.

Zuny o Cibola.

60 Iornadas.
Lago muy grande
mucho oro.

Proſigue del Nueuo Mexico.

A La nueua de la riqueza dicha, quiſo acudir el dicho Capitan Antonio de Eſpejo, y aunque eran de ſu parecer algunos de ſus compannerοs, la mayor parte, y el Religioſo fue

de

Nueua Viſcaya.

28 Leguas. Otra Prouincia

Zaguato o Ahuato pueblo.

de contrario : diziendo, era ya tiempo de boluerſe à la nueua Viſcaya de donde hauian ſalido, a dar cuenta de lo que auian viſto: que lo puſieron por obra dentro de pocos dias la mayor parte, dexando al Capitan con nueue companneros que le quiſieron ſeguir : el qual, deſpues de hauerſe certificado muy por entero de la riqueza arriba dicha, y de mucha abundancia de metales que en ello auia muy buenos, ſalio con los dichos ſus companneros deſta prouincia, y caminando hazia el proprio Poniente, deſpues de hauer andado veinte y ocho leguas, hallaron otra muy grande, en la qual les parecio hauia mas de cinquenta mil animas, cuyos moradores como ſupieſſen ſu llegada, les embiaron vn recado, diziendo, que ſi no querian que los mataſſen, no ſe acercaſſen mas a ſus pueblos : a lo qual reſpondio el dicho Capitan, que ellos no les yuan a hazer mal, como lo verian, y que aſſi les rogauan no ſe puſieſſen en lleuar adelante ſu intento, dando al menſajero algunas coſas de las que lleuaua : el qual ſupo tan bien abonar a los nueſtros, y allanar los pechos alborotados de los Indios, que les dieron lugar de voluntad para que entraſſen, que lo hizieron con ciento y cinquenta Indios amigos de la prouincia de *Cibola* ya dicha, y los tres Indios Mexicanos, de quien queda hecha mencion. Vna legua antes que llegaſſen al primer pueblo, les ſalieron a recebir mas de dos mil Indios cargados de baſtimentos , a quien el dicho Capitan dio algunas coſas de poco precio, que a ellos les parecio ſer de mucho, y las eſtimaron mas que ſi fueran de oro. Llegando mas cerca del pueblo, que ſe llamaua Zaguato, ſalio a recebirlos gran muchedumbre de Indios, y entre ellos los Caciques, haziendo tanta demoſtracion de plazer y regozijo, que echauan mucha harina de maiz por el ſuelo, para que la piſaſſen los cauallos : con eſta fieſta entraron en el, y fueron muy bien hoſpedados, y regalados, que ſe lo pago en parte el Capitan, con dar a todos los mas principales ſombreros, y quentas de vidrio, y otras muchas coſas que lleuaua para ſemejantes offrecimientos.

Metales ricos. La laguna grande arriba dicha.

Deſpacharon luego los dichos Caciques recados a todos los de aquella Prouincia, dandoles noticia de la venida de los hueſpedes, y de como eran hombres muy corteſes, y no les hazian mal : lo qual fue baſtante para hazer los venir a todos cargados de preſentes para los nueſtros, y de que los importunaſſen, fueſſen con ellos a holgarſe a ſus pueblos, que lo hizieron, aunque ſiempre con recado de lo que podia ſucceder. Por lo qual el dicho Capitan vſo de vna cautela, y fue dezir a los Caciques, que por quanto los cauallos eran muy brauos, y les auian dicho que los querian matar, ſeria neceſſario hazer vn fuerte de calicanto donde meter los para euitar el danno que querian hazer en los Indios. Creyeronlo los Caciques tan de veras que dentro de pocas horas juntaron tanta gente que hizieron el dicho fuerte que los nueſtros querian con vna preſteza increyble. Demas deſto, diziendo el Capitan que ſe queria yr, le traxeron vn preſente de 40. mil mantas de algodon pintadas y blancas, y mucha cantidad de pannos de manos con borlas en las puntas, y otras muchas coſas, y entre ellas metales ricos, y que moſtrauan tener mucha plata. Hallaron entre eſtos Indios muy gran noticia de la laguna grande arriba dicha, y conformaron con los otros en lo tocante a las riquezas, y mucha abundantia de oro.

45 Leguas. Riquiſſimos metales,

Rio grandiſſimo. Mar del Norte.

Fiado el Capitan deſta gente, y de ſus buenos animos, acordo a cabo de algunos dias de dexar alli cinco de ſus companneros con los demas Indios amigos, para que ſe boluieſſen a la prouincia de *Zuny* con el bagaje, y de yrſe el con los quatro que quedauan a la ligera en deſcubrimẽto de cierta noticia que tenia de vnas minas muy ricas. Lo qual pueſto por obra ſe partio con las guias que lleuaua, y como vuieſſe caminado hazia el proprio Poniente quarenta y cinco leguas, topo con las dichas minas, y ſaco con ſus proprias manos riquiſſimos metales, y de mucha plata: y las minas, que eran de vna veta muy ancha, eſtauan en vna ſierra adonde ſe podia ſubir con facilidad, a cauſa de hauer para ello camino abierto. Cerca de las auia algunos pueblos de Indios ſerranos que les hizieron amiſtad, y los ſalieron a recebir con Cruzes en las cabeças, y otras ſennales de paz. Aqui cerca toparon dos rios razonables, a cuyas orillas hauia muchas parras de vuas muy buenas, y grandes noguerales, y mucho lino como lo de Caſtilla, y dixeron por ſennas que detras de aquellas ſierras eſtaua vno que tenia mas de ocho leguas de ancho, pero no ſe pudo entender que tan cerca, aunque hizieron demonſtracion que corria hazia la mar del Norte, y que en las riberas del de vna y orta banda ay muchos pueblos tan grandes, que en ſu comparacion aquellos en que eſtauan eran barrios.

Zuni, o Cibola.

Deſpues de hauer tomado toda eſta relació, ſe partio el dicho Capitan para la Prouincia de *Zuny*, adonde hauia mandado yr a los dichos companneros : y como llegaſſe a ella con ſalud, hauiendo ydo por muy buen camino, hallo con ella a ſus cinco companneros, y al dicho padre Fray Bernardino con los ſoldados que ſe auian determinado de boluer, como ya diximos, que aun no ſe auian partido, por ciertas ocaſiones : a los quales los naturales hauian hecho

muy buen tratamiento, y dadoles todo lo neceſſario muy complidamente, haziendo deſpues
lo meſmo con el capitan, y los que con el venian, a quien ſalieron a recebir con demonſtra-
cion de alegria, y dieron muchos baſtimentos para la jornada que hauian de hazer, rogando-
les que boluieſſen con breuedad, y traxeſſen muchos Caſtillas (que aſſi llaman a los Eſpanno-
les) y que a todos les darian de comer. Por lo qual para poderlo hazer con comodidad auian
ſembrado aquel anno mas trigo y ſemillas, que en todos los paſſados.

En eſte tiempo ſe retificaron en ſu primera determinacion el dicho religioſo, y los ſoldados
arriba dichos, y acordaron de boluerſe a la prouincia de donde auian ſalido con el deſignio
que queda dicho, a quien ſe junto Gregorio Hernandez que auia ſido Alferez en la jornada:
los quales partidos, quedando el Capitan con ſolos ocho ſoldados, ſe reſoluio de ſeguir lo co-
mençado y correr por el Rio del Norte arriba, que lo puſo por obra. Y hauiendo caminado
como ſeſenta leguas hazia la prouincia de los Quires ya dicha, doze leguas de alli hazia la
parte del Oriente, hallaron vna prouincia que ſe llamaua los Hubates, donde los Indios los re-
cibieron de paz, y les dieron muchos mantenimientos, y noticia de que cerca de alli hauia vnas
minas muy ricas, que las hallaron, y ſacaron dellas metales reluzientes y buenos, con los qua-
les ſe boluieron al pueblo de donde auian ſalido. Iuzgaron eſta prouincia por de haſta veynte
y cinco mil animas, todos muy bien veſtidos de mantas de algodon pintadas, y camiſas muy
bien adereçadas. Tienen muchos montes de pinales y cedros, y las caſas de los pueblos ſon de
quatro y cinco altos. Aqui tuuieron noticia de otra prouincia que eſtaua vna jornada de alli,
que ſe llamana de los Tamos, en que hauia mas de quarenta mil animas, donde como llegaſ-
ſen no les quiſieron dar de comer los moradores della, ni admitirlos en ſus pueblos: por lo
qual, y por el peligro en que eſtauan, y eſtar algunos ſoldados enfermos, y ſer tan pocos (como
hauemos dicho) ſe determinaron de yrſe ſaliendo para tierra de Chriſtianos, y lo puſieron en
execucion a principio de Iulio del anno de ochenta y tres, ſiendo guiados por vn Indio que ſe
fue con ellos, y los lleuo por camino differente del que a la venida hauian traydo, por vn rio
abaxo, a quien llamaron de las vacas, por auer gran muchedumbre dellas en toda ſu ribera, por
donde caminaron ciento y veynte leguas, topando las ordinariamente: de aqui ſalieron al rio
de los Conchos por donde auian entrado, y del al Valle de Sant Bertholome de donde haui-
an ſalido para dar principio al deſcubrimiento: y ya quando llegaron, hallaron que el dicho
fray Bernardino Beltran, y ſus companneros auian llegado a ſaluamento al dicho pueblo mu-
chos dias hauia, y que de alli ſe auian ydo a la villa de Guadiana. Hizo en eſte pueblo el dicho
Capitan Antonio de Eſpejo informacion muy cierta de todo lo arriba dicho, laqual embio
luego al Conde de Corunna Virey de aquel Reyno, y el a ſu Mageſtad, y a los ſennores, de ſu
Real Conſejo de las Indias, para que ordenaſſen lo que fueſſen ſeruidos, que lo han ya hecho
con mucho cuydado. Nueſtro Sennor ſe ſirua de ayudar eſte negocio, de modo que tantas
almas redemidas con ſu ſangre no ſe condenen, de cuyos buenos ingenios (en que exceden
a los de Mexico y Peru, ſegun ſe entendio de los que los trataron) ſe puede preſumir, abraçaran
con facilidad la ley Euangelica, dexando la idolatria, que agora la mayor parte dellos tiene:
que lo haga Dios como puede para honra y gloria ſuya, y augmento de la ſancta fe Catholica.

Seſenta leguas.
Hubates Indios.

Minas muy ricas.
25000.

Tamos. 40000.

They returne.
Iulio. 1583.

Rio de la[illegible]
Ciento y veynte leguas.
Rio de los Conchos.

Guadiana.

Nota.

A briefe relation of two notable voyages, the firſt made by frier Auguſtin Ruyz a Franciſcan, in the yeere 1581: the ſecond by Antonio de Eſpejo in the yere 1583: who together with his company diſcouered a land wherin they found fifteene prouinces all full of townes, conteining houſes of foure and fiue ſtories high, which they named New Mexico; for that in many reſpects it reſembleth the prouince of Olde Mexico. This land is ſituate to the North of Nueua Eſpanna, and ſtretcheth from 24 to 34 degrees and better: by the which & by other inhabited lands it is thought that men may trauell euen to Terra de Labrador. Taken out of the hiſtory of China written by Frier Iuan Gonzalez de Mendoça, and printed in Madrid 1586.

I haue now declared in the title of this preſent diſcourſe, that in the yeere 1583 there
were diſcouered fifteene prouinces, which the diſcouerers called New Mexico, ſitu-
ate on the firme land of Nueua Eſpanna, and I promiſed to giue notice of the ſayd diſ-
couery, which I will do with as much breuity as is poſſible: for if I ſhould record at
large all particulars which they ſaw and came to the knowledge of, it would require a full hiſtory.
The ſubſtance thereof is as followeth.

In the yere of our Lord 1581 a certaine Franciſcan frier called Auguſtin Ruiz which dwelt in
the valley of S. Bartholomew, being informed by the report of certaine Indians called Conchos,

The firſt voyage made by Frier Auguſtin Ruiz to the prouince de los Tiguas.

which had dealings and conuerſation with other of their neighbours called Paſſaguates; that toward the North, trauelling alwayes by land, there were certaine great townes not hitherto knowen nor diſcouered by our Spanyards: mooued with a zeale of charity, and a deſire to ſaue ſoules, craued licence of the Conde of Corunna as the Viceroy of Nueua Eſpanna, and of his ſuperiours, to go to the ſayd townes, and to endeuour to learne their language, and hauing learned the ſame, to baptize them, and to preach the holy Goſpel vnto them. After he had obteined licence of the parties aforeſayd, taking with him other two companions of his owne order, and eight ſouldiers, who of their owne good will offered to beare him company, he departed to put in execution his Chriſtian and zealous intent. Who after certeine dayes trauell came vnto a countrey called The prouince de los Tiguas diſtant from the mines of Santa Barbara, from whence they began their iourney, 250. leagues towards the North: in which prouince the inhabitants, vpon a certaine occaſion, ſlew one of the ſayd friers two companions. The ſouldiers that went with him ſeeing this miſhap, and perceiuing the ſucceſſe, and likewiſe fearing, that thereof might happen ſome greater danger, determined with a common conſent to returne vnto the mines from whence they departed: conſidering that their company was too ſmall to reſiſt the dangers that might happen, being ſo farre diſtant from the dwellings of the Spanyards, and from all neceſſary ſuccour. But the two friers which remained aliue did not onely refuſe their determination, but rather ſeeing fit occaſion to put their good deſire in execution, and ſo great a harueſt ripe for the Lords table, becauſe they could not perſuade the ſouldiers to proceed any further in that diſcouery, remained behinde in the ſayd prouince with three Indian boyes, and one Meſtiço whom they had carried with them; thinking that although they remained alone, yet ſhould they be there in ſecuritie, by reaſon of the great affability and loue which the people of that place ſhewed vnto them.

The chiefe of theſe 8 ſouldiers was Franciſco Sanchez Xamuzcado which made a map of theſe prouinces, which being intercepted is come to our hands.

The prouince de los Tiguas diſtant 250 legues Northward from the mines of Santa Barbara.

The mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues diſtant from Mexico.

The eight ſouldiers being returned to their wiſhed home, immediatly ſent newes of all that had paſſed to the Viceroy vnto the city of Mexico, which is diſtant from the ſayd mines of Santa Barbara 160 leagues.

The friers of Sant Francis were very much agrieued for the ſtaying of their brethren behinde in the countrey, and fearing leaſt the Sauages would kill them ſeeing them left alone, they began to mooue the minds of certaine ſouldiers to make another voyage to the ſayd prouince in the company of another frier of the foreſayd Order called Frier Bernardin Beltran, to deliuer the aforeſayd two religious men out of danger, and to proſecute their former enterpriſe.

The ſecond voyage.

At the ſame time there was at the foreſayd mines vpon ſome occaſion a citizen of Mexico called Antonio de Eſpejo, a rich man, and of great courage and induſtry, and very zealous in the ſeruice of king Philip his ſouereine, and was borne in Cordoua. Who vnderſtanding the deſire of the foreſayd friers, and the importance of the action, offered himſelfe to go on that voyage, and alſo to ſpend part of his ſubſtance, and to aduenture his life therein; conditionally that licence might be granted him to the ſame purpoſe from ſome perſon ſufficiently authorized by his Maieſtie. Which licence at the ſayd friers procurement was granted vnto him by the gouernour Iuan de Ontiueros the kings Alcalde mayór or chiefe Iuſtice in the towns called Las quatro Cienegas ſituate within the iuriſdiction of Nueua Biſcaya ſeuenty leagues from the ſayd mines of Santa Barbara; authorizing him both to take in hand the ſayd voyage, and alſo to aſſemble ſuch people and ſouldiers as he could, which might accompany and ayde him in the performance of this his Chriſtian intent.

Las quatro Cienegas in the prouince of Nueua Biſcaya 70 leagues frõ the mines of Santa Barbara.

Antonio de Eſpejo his ſetting forth frõ the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582.

The ſayd Antonio de Eſpejo was ſo earneſt in this matter, that in very few dayes he gathered a company of ſouldiers, and made prouiſion of things neceſſary for his voyage, ſpending therein a good part of his ſubſtance. And he departed with his whole company from the valley of S. Bartholomew the tenth of Nouember 1582; taking with him (for whatſoeuer ſhould happen) 115 horſes and mules, with great ſtore of weapons, munition, and victuals, and ſome Indians to ſerue him in his iourney.

Indians called Conchos.

Many riuers.

Directing his courſe toward the North, after two dayes iourney he met with great ſtore of the foreſayd Indians called Conchos, which dwell in villages or hamlets of cottages couered with ſtraw. Who, ſo ſoone as they vnderſtood of his approch, hauing newes thereof long before, came foorth to receiue him with ſhewes of great ioy. The food of this people and of all the reſt of that prouince, which is great, are conies, hares, and deere which they kill, of all which they haue great abundance. Alſo they haue great ſtore of Maiz or Indian wheat, gourds, and melons very good and plentifull: and there are many riuers full of excellent fiſh of diuers ſorts. They goe almoſt naked, and the weapons that they vſe are bowes & arrowes, and liue vnder the gouernment and lordſhip of Caçiques like thoſe of Mexico: they found no idols among them, neither could they vnderſtand that they worſhipped any thing; whereupon they eaſily conſented that the S

nyar

nyards ſhould ſet vp croſſes, and were very well content therewith, after they were informed by our friers of the ſignification thereof, which was done by the interpreters that they caried with them; by whoſe meanes they vnderſtood of other townes, whither the ſayd Conchos did conduct them, and bare them company aboue foure & twenty leagues, all which way was inhabited with people of their owne nation: and at all places where they came they were peaceably receiued by aduice that was ſent by the Caçiques from one towne to another.

Hauing paſſed the foure and twenty leagues aforeſayd, they came vnto another nation of Indians called Paſſaguates, who liue after the maner of the foreſayd Conchos their borderers, and did vnto them as the others had done, conducting them forward other foure dayes iourney, with aduice of the Caçiques, as before. The Spanyards found in this iourney many mines of ſiluer, which according to the iudgement of ſkilfull men, were very plentifull and rich in metall.

Paſſaguates.

Very great and rich ſiluer mines.

A dayes iourney from thence they met with another nation called Toboſos, who ſo ſoone as they beheld the countenance of our people fledde vnto the mountaines, leauing their townes and houſes deſolate. Afterward wee vnderſtood that certeine yeeres paſt there came vnto that place certaine ſouldiers to ſeeke mines, who caried away captiue certaine of the people of the countrey, which cauſed the reſt of them to be ſo ſhy and fearefull. The captaine ſent meſſengers to call them backe againe, aſſuring them that they ſhould not ſuſtaine any harme, and handled the matter ſo diſcreetly, that many of them returned, whom he made much of, and gaue them gifts, vſing them kindly, and declaring vnto them by the interpreter, that their comming was not to hurt any man: whereupon they were all quieted, and were content they ſhould ſet vp croſſes, and declare the myſtery of the ſame, making ſhew that they were highly pleaſed therewith. For proofe whereof they accompanied them on their voyage, as their neighbours had done, vntill they had brought them to a countrey inhabited by another nation, which was diſtant from theirs ſome 12 leagues. They vſe bowes and arrowes and go naked.

Toboſos.

The nation vnto which the ſayd Toboſos conducted them, is called Iumanos, whom the Spanyards by another name call Patarabueyes: their prouince is very great, conteining many townes and great ſtore of people: their houſes are flat-roofed, and built of lime and ſtone, and the ſtreets of their townes are placed in good order. All the men and women haue their faces, armes and legges raced and pounced: they are a people of great ſtature, and of better gouernment, then the reſt which they had ſeene in their former iourneyes; and are well prouided of victuals, and furniſhed with plenty of wilde beaſts, fowles and fiſhes, by reaſon of mighty riuers which come from the North, whereof one is as great as Guadalquiuir, which falleth into the North ſea or bay of Mexico. Here are alſo many lakes of ſalt water, which at a certeine time of the yere war- th hard, and becommeth very good ſalt. They are a warlike people, and ſoone made ſhew thereof: for the firſt night that our people incamped there, with their arrowes they ſlew fiue horſes, nd wounded fiue other very ſore, nor would not haue left one of them aliue, if they had not beene efended by our guard. Hauing done this miſchiefe, they abandoned the towne, and withdrew hemſelues to a mountaine which was hard by, whither our captaine went betimes in the morng, taking with him fiue ſouldiers well armed, and an interpreter called Peter an Indian of their wne nation, and with good perſuaſions appeaſed them, cauſing them to deſcend to their towne nd houſes, and perſuading them to giue aduice vnto their neighbours, that they were men that ould hurt no body, neither came they thither to take away their goods: which he obtained eaſi- y by his wiſedome, and by giuing vnto the Caçiques certeine bracelets of glaſſe beads, with hats nd other trifles, which he caried with him for the ſame purpoſe: ſo by this meanes, and by the ood interteinment which they gaue them, many of them accompanied our Spanyards for cerine dayes, alwayes trauelling along the banke of the great riuer aboueſayd; along the which re were many townes of the Indians of this nation, which continued for the ſpace of twelue yes trauel, all which time the Caçiques hauing receiued aduice from one to another, came forth interteine our people without their bowes and arrowes, and brought them plenty of victuals, th other preſents and gifts, eſpecially hides and chamois-ſkins very well dreſſed, ſo that thoſe Flanders do nothing exceed them. Theſe people are all clothed, and ſeemed to haue ſome light our holy faith; for they made ſignes of God, looking vp towards heauen, and call him in their nguage Apalito, and acknowledge him for their Lord, from whoſe bountifull hand and mercy ey confeſſe that they haue receiued their life and being, and theſe worldly goods. Many of them ith their wiues and children came vnto the frier (which the captaine and ſouldiers brought with em) that hee might croſſe and bleſſe them. Who demanding of them, from whom they had re- ued that knowledge of God, they anſwered, from three Chriſtians, & one Negro which paſſed t way, and remained certaine dayes among them, who by the ſignes which they made, were

Iumanos or Patarabueyes.

Rio turbioſo del Norte.

Rio del Norte.

Apalito.

Pamphilo de Naruaez entred into Florida 1527.

Aluaro Nunnez, Cabeça de Vaca, and Dorantes, and Caſtillo Maldonado, and a Negro; all which eſcaped of the company which Pamphilo de Naruaez landed in Florida; who after they had bene many dayes captiues and ſlaues, eſcaped and came to theſe townes, by whom God ſhewed many miracles, and healed onely by the touching of their hands many ſicke perſons, by reaſon whereof they became very famous in all that countrey. All this prouince remained in great peace and ſecurity; in token whereof, they accompanied and ſerued our men certaine dayes, trauelling along by the great riuer aforeſayd.

Rio del Norte.

Another prouince.

Within few dayes after they came vnto another great prouince of Indians, from whence they came forth to receiue them, vpon the newes which they had heard of their neighbors, and brought them many very curious things made of feathers of diuers colours, and many mantles of cotton ſtraked with blew and white, like thoſe that are brought from China, to barter & trucke them for other things. All of them both men, women and children were clad in chamois ſkinnes very good and wel dreſſed. Our people could neuer vnderſtand what nation they were for lacke of an interpreter: howbeit they dealt with them by ſignes; and hauing ſhewed vnto them certaine ſtones of rich metall, and inquired whether there were any ſuch in their countrey: they anſwered by the ſame ſignes, that fiue dayes iourney Weſtward from thence there was great quantity thereof, and that they would conduct them thither, and ſhew it vnto them; as afterward they performed their promiſe, & bare them company 22 leagues, which was all inhabited by people of the ſame nation.

Very great quantity of ſiluer.

Another prouince.

Next vnto the foreſayd prouince they came vnto another further vp the great riuer aforeſayd, being much more populous then the former, of whom they were well receiued, and welcomed with many preſents, eſpecially of fiſh, whereof they haue exceeding great ſtore, by reaſon of certaine great lakes not far from thence, wherein they are bred in the foreſayd plenty. They ſtayed among theſe people three dayes; all which time both day and night they made before them many dances, according to their faſhion, with ſignification of ſpeciall ioy. They could not learne the name of this nation for want of an interpreter, yet they vnderſtood that it extended very farre, and was very great. Among theſe people they found an Indian of the foreſayd nation of the Conchos, who told them, and ſhewed them by ſignes, that fifteene dayes iourney from thence toward the Weſt there was a very broad lake, and nere vnto it very great townes, and in them houſes of three or foure ſtories high, and that the people were well apparelled, and the countrey full of victuals and prouiſion. This Concho offered himſelfe to conduct our men thither, whereat our company reioyced, but left off the enterpriſe, onely to accompliſh their intent for which they vndertooke the voyage, which was to go Northward to giue ayd vnto the two friers aforeſayd. The chiefe and principall thing that they noted in this prouince was, that it was of very good temperature, and a very rich ſoile, and had great ſtore of wilde beaſts, and wilde-fowle, and abundance of rich metals, and other excellent things, and very profitable.

Great lakes.

A mighty lake.

Rich metals.

From this prouince they folowed their iourney for the ſpace of fifteene dayes without meeting any people all that while, paſſing thorow great woods and groues of pine trees bearing ſuch fruit as thoſe of Caſtile: at the end whereof, hauing trauelled, to their iudgement, foureſcore leagues, they came vnto a ſmall hamlet or village of fewe people, in whoſe poore cottages couered with ſtraw they found many deeres-ſkinnes as well dreſſed as thoſe of Flanders, with great ſtore of excellent white ſalt. They gaue our men good entertainment for the ſpace of two dayes while they remained there, after which they bare them company about twelue leagues, vnto certaine great townes, alwayes trauelling by the riuer called Rio del Norte abouesayd, till ſuch time as they came vnto the countrey called by them New Mexico. Here all along the ſhore of the ſayd riuer grew mighty woods of poplar being in ſome places foure leagues broad, and great ſtore of walnut trees, and vines like thoſe of Caſtillia.

Woods of pine trees.

New Mexico.

Woods of poplar and walnut trees.
Vines.

Hauing trauelled two dayes thorow the ſaid woods of Poplar and Walnut trees, they came to ten townes ſituate on both ſides of the ſayd riuer, beſides others which they might ſee further out of the way, wherein there ſeemed to be great ſtore of people, and thoſe which they ſaw were aboue ten thouſand perſons. In this prouince they receiued them very courteouſly, and brought them to their townes, whereas they gaue them great plenty of victuals and hennes of the countrey, with many other things, and that with great good will. Here they found houſes of foure ſtories high, very well built, with gallant lodgings, and in moſt of them were Stoues for the Winter ſeaſon. Their garments were of Cotton and of deere-ſkinnes, and the attire both of the men and women is after the maner of the Indians of the kingdome of Mexico. But the ſtrangeſt thing of all was to ſee both men and women weare ſhooes and boots with good ſoles of leather, a thing which they neuer ſawe in any other part of the Indies. The women keepe their haire well combed and dreſſed, wearing nothing els vpon their heads. In all theſe townes they

Houſes of 4 ſtories high.

had Caçiques which gouerned their people like the Caçiques of Mexico, with Sergeants to execute their commandements, who goe thorow the townes proclaiming with a loud voice the pleaſure of the Caçiques, commanding the ſame to be put in execution. In this prouince our men found many idols which they worſhipped, and particularly they had in euery houſe an oratory for the diuell, whereinto they ordinarily cary him meat: and another thing they found, that as it is an vſe among the Chriſtians to erect croſſes vpon the high wayes, ſo haue this people certaine high chapels, in which they ſay the diuell vſeth to take his eaſe, and to recreat himſelfe as he trauelleth from one towne to another; which chapels are maruellouſly well trimmed and painted. In all their arable grounds, whereof they haue great plenty, they erect on the one ſide a little cottage or ſhed ſtanding vpon foure ſtuddes, vnder which the labourers do eat, and paſſe away the heat of the day, for they are a people much giuen to labour, and doe continually occupy themſelues therein. This countrey is full of mountaines and forreſts of Pine trees. The weapons that they vſe are ſtrong bowes and arrowes headed with flints, which will pierce thorow a coat of male, and macanas which are clubs of halfe a yard long, ſo beſet with ſharpe flints, that they are ſufficient to cleaue a man aſunder in the midſt: they vſe alſo a kinde of targets made of raw hides.

These high mountaines are a cauſe of the coldnes of the countrey.

Hauing remained foure dayes in this prouince, not farre off they came to another called The prouince of Tiguas conteining ſixteene townes, in one whereof, called Poala, they vnderſtood that the inhabitants had ſlaine the two fathers aforeſayd, to wit, frier Francis Lopez, and frier Auguſtus Ruyz, whom they went to ſeeke, together with the three Indian boyes, and the meſtiço. So ſoone as the people of this towne and their neighbours ſaw our men there, their owne conſciences accuſing them, and fearing that our men came to puniſh them, and to be auenged of the death of the foreſaid fathers, they durſt not abide their comming, but leauing their houſes deſolate they fled to the mountaines next adioyning, frō whence they could neuer cauſe them to deſcend, although our men attempted the ſame by diuers deuiſes and entiſements. They found in the townes and houſes good ſtore of victuals, with infinite number of hennes in the countrey, and many ſorts of metals, whereof ſome ſeemed to be very good. They could not perfectly vnderſtand what numbers of people this prouince might conteine, by reaſon they were fled into the mountaines, as I haue ſayd before.

The prouince of Tiguas. Poala.

Very rich and good metall.

Hauing found thoſe to be ſlaine which they went to ſeeke, they entred into conſultation, whether they ſhould returne to Nueua Biſcaya, from whence they came, or ſhould proceed further in their iourney; whereabout there were diuers opinions: howbeit, vnderſtanding there, that toward the Orient or Eaſt parts of that prouince, and very far diſtant from thence, there were great and rich townes: and finding themſelues ſo far on the way, the ſayd captaine Antonio de Eſpeio with the conſent of the foreſayd frier called Frier Bernardine Beltran, and the greater part of his ſouldiers and companions determined to proceed on the diſcouery, till ſuch time as they did ſee to what end it would come; to the end they might giue certeine and perfect knowledge thereof to his Maieſty, as eye-witneſſes of the ſame. And ſo with one accord they determined, that while the army lay ſtill there, the captaine and two more of his company ſhould proſecute their deſire, which they did accordingly. And within two dayes iourney they came vnto another prouince, where they found eleuen townes, and much people in them, which in their iudgement were aboue forty thouſand perſons. The countrey was very fertile and plentifull, whoſe confines bordered vpon the territories of Cibola, where there are great ſtore of kine, with whoſe hides and with cotton they apparell themſelues, imitating in the forme of their gouernment their next neighbours. In this place are ſignes of very rich mines, ſome quantity of the metals whereof they found in the houſes of the Indians; which Indians haue and doe worſhip idols. They receiued our men peaceably, and gaue them victuals. Hauing ſeene thus much, and the diſpoſition of the countrey, they returned to the campe, from whence they departed, to informe their companions of the things aboue mentioned.

This lyeth toward Virginia.

Another prouince.

Being returned to the campe they had intelligence of another prouince called Los Quires, which ſtood ſixe leagues higher vp the riuer called Rio del Norte. And in their iourney thitherward, being arriued within a league of the place, there came forth very many Indians to receiue them in peace, requeſting them to beare them company to their townes: which they did, and were maruellous well interteined and cheriſhed. In this prouince they found fiue townes only, wherein were great ſtore of people, and thoſe which they ſaw were aboue 14000 ſoules, who worſhip idols as their neighbours do. In one of theſe townes they found a pie in a cage after the maner of Caſtile, and certaine ſhadowes or canopies like vnto thoſe which are brought from China, wherein were painted the Sunne, the Moone, and many Starres. Where hauing taken the height of the pole-ſtarre, they found themſelues to be in 37 degrees and ½ of Northerly latitude.

Quires bordering vpon Rio del Norte.

Seuen & thirty degrees and a halfe.

Cunames, or Punames.

Cia a great city.

They departed out of this prouince, and keeping ſtill the ſame NORTHERLY courſe, foureteene leagues from thence they found another prouince called The Cunames, where they ſaw other fiue townes, the greateſt whereof was called Cia, being ſo large, that it conteined eight market-places, the houſes whereof being plaiſtered and painted with diuers colours, were better then any which they had ſeene in the prouinces before mentioned: the people which they heere ſaw, they eſteemed to be aboue twenty thouſand perſons. They preſented to our men many curious mantles, and victuals excellently well dreſſed; ſo that our men deemed this nation to be more curious, and of greater ciuility, and better gouernment, then any other that hitherto they had ſeene. They ſhewed them rich metals, and the mountaines alſo not farre off whereout they digged them. Heere our people heard of another prouince ſtanding toward the Northweſt, whereunto they purpoſed to goe.

Rich metals.

Ameies, or Emeges.

Hauing trauelled about ſixe leagues, they came to the ſayd prouince, the people whereof were called Ameies, wherin were ſeuen very great townes, conteining, to their iudgement, about thirty thouſand ſoules. They reported that one of the ſeuen townes was very great and faire, which our men would not go to ſee, both becauſe it ſtood behinde a mountaine, and alſo for feare of ſome mishappe, if in caſe they ſhould be ſeparated one from another. This people are like vnto their neighbours of the former prouince, being as well prouided of all neceſſaries as they, and of as good gouernment.

Acoma or Acoman a towne conteining aboue 6000 perſons.

About fifteene leagues from this prouince, trauelling alwayes toward the Weſt, they found a great towne called Acoma, conteining aboue ſixe thouſand perſons, and ſituate vpon an high rocke which was aboue fifty paces hie, hauing no other entrance but by a ladder or paire of ſtaires hewen into the ſame rocke, whereat our people maruelled not a litle: all the water of this towne was kept in ciſternes. The chiefe men of this towne came peaceably to viſit the Spanyards, bringing them many mantles, and chamois-ſkinnes excellently dreſſed, and great plenty of victuals. Their corne-fields are two leagues from thence, and they fetch water out of a ſmall riuer nere thereunto, to water the ſame, on the brinks whereof they ſaw many great banks of Roſes like thoſe of Caſtile. Here are many mountaines that beare ſhewes of mettals, but they went not to ſee them, becauſe the Indians dwelling vpon them are many in number, and very warlike. Our men remained in this place three dayes, vpon one of the which the inhabitants made before them a very ſolemne dance, comming foorth in the ſame with gallant apparell, vſing very witty ſports, wherewith our men were exceedingly delighted.

Signes of metals.

Zuny or Sunne.

Vaſquez de Coronado was here 1540 & 1541.

Twenty foure leagues from hence toward the Weſt, they came to a certaine prouince called by the inhabitants themſelues Zuny, & by the Spanyards Cibola, containing great numbers of Indians; in which prouince Franciſco Vazquez de Coronado had bene, and had erected many croſſes and other tokens of Chriſtianity, which remained as yet ſtanding. Heere alſo they found three Indian Chriſtians which had remained there euer ſince the ſaid iourny, whoſe names were Andrew de Culiacan, Gaſpar de Mexico, and Antonio de Guadalajara, who had almoſt forgotten their owne language, but could ſpeake that countrey ſpeech very well; howbeit after ſome ſmall conference with our men, they eaſily vnderſtood one another. By theſe three Indians they were informed, that threeſcore dayes iourney from this place there was a very mighty lake, vpon the bankes whereof ſtood many great and good townes, and that the inhabitants of the ſame had plenty of golde, an euident argument wherof was their wearing of golden bracelets & earrings: and alſo that after the ſayd Francis Vaſquez de Coronado had perfect intelligence thereof, hee departed out of this prouince of Cibola to goe thither, and that hauing proceeded twelue dayes iourney, he began to want water; and thereupon determined to returne, as he did indeed, with intention to make a ſecond voyage thither at his better opportunity; which afterward he performed not, being preuented of his determined iourney by death.

A mighty lake 60 daies iourney from Cibola.

Plenty of golde.

Upon the newes of theſe riches the ſayd Captaine Antony de Eſpeio was deſirous to go thither; and though ſome of his companions were of his opinion, yet the greater part and the frier were of the contrary, ſaying that it was now high time to returne home vnto New Biſcay from whence they came, to giue account of that which they had ſeene: which the ſayd greater part within few dayes put in execution, leauing the captaine with nine companions onely that willingly followed him: who after hee had fully certified himſelfe of the riches aboueſayd, and of the great quantity of excellent mettals that were about that lake, departed out of this prouince of Cibola with his companions; and trauelling directly toward the Weſt, after hee had paſſed 28 leagues, he fond another very great prouince, which by eſtimation conteined aboue 50000 ſoules: the inhabitants whereof aſſoone as they vnderſtood of their approch, ſent them word, vpon paine of death to come no neerer to their townes: whereto the captaine anſwered, that their comming

Another mightie prouince Weſtward of Cibola 28 leagues, called Mohoce.

was in no wiſe to hurt them, as they ſhould well perceiue, and therefore requeſted them not to moleſt him in his intended voyage, and withall gaue to the meſſenger a reward of ſuch things as they brought with them: who thereupon made ſo good report of our people, and ſo appeaſed the troubled minds of the Indians, that they granted them free acceſſe vnto their townes, and ſo they went thither with 15. Indians their friends of the prouince of Cibola aforeſaid, and the three Mexican Indians before mentioned. When they were come within a league of the firſt towne, there came forth to meete them aboue 2000. Indians laden with victuals, whom the Captaine rewarded with ſome things of ſmall value, which they made great accompt of, and eſteemed more precious then gold. As they approched neere vnto the towne which was named Zaguato, a great multitude of Indians came forth to meete them, and among them their Caçiques, with ſo great demonſtration of ioy and gladnes, that they caſt much meale of Maiz vpon the ground for the horſes to tread vpon: with this triumph they entred the towne, where they were very wel lodged and much made of, which the Captaine did in part requite, giuing to the chiefeſt among them hats, and beads of glaſſe, with many ſuch trifles, which he caried with him for the like purpoſe. The ſaid Caçiques preſently gaue notice to the whole prouince of the arriual of theſe new gueſts, whom they reported to bee a courteous people, and ſuch as offered them no harme: which was occaſion ſufficient to make them all come laden with preſents vnto our people, and to intreat them to goe and make merry with them in their townes; which they yeelded vnto, though alwayes with great foreſight what might follow. Whereupon the Captaine vſed a certaine policie, making the Caçiques beleeue, that foraſmuch as his horſes were very fierce (for they had told the Indians that they would kill them) therefore it was neceſſary to make a Fort of lime and ſtone to incloſe them, for the auoyding of ſuch inconueniences as otherwiſe might happen vnto the Indians by them. This tale was ſo ſtedfaſtly beleeued by the Caçiques, that in fiue houres they aſſembled ſuch ſtore of people together, that with incredible celeritie they built the ſaid Fort which our men required.

Zaguato, or Ahuato a towne.

A wittie policie to be vſed by the Engliſh in like caſes.

Moreouer, when the Captaine ſaide that he would depart, they brought vnto him a preſent of 40000. mantles of cotton, both white and of other colours, and great ſtore of hand-towels, with taſſels at the corners, with diuers other things, and among the reſt rich metals, which ſeemed to holde much ſiluer. Among theſe Indians they learned very much concerning The great Lake aforeſaide, whoſe report agreed wholly with the relation of the former, as touching the riches and great abundance of gold about that lake.

Rich metals.

Great abundance of gold.

The Captaine repoſing great confidence in this people & in their good diſpoſition toward him determined after certaine dayes, to leaue there fiue of his companions with the reſt of his Indian friends, that they might returne with his cariages to the prouince of Zuni, while himſelfe with the foure other which remained ſhould ride in poſt to diſcouer certaine very rich Mines, whereof he had perfect information. And putting this his purpoſe in execution he departed with his guides, and hauing trauelled due-weſt 45. leagues he came vnto the ſaid Mines, and tooke out of the ſame with his owne hands exceeding rich metals holding great quantitie of ſiluer: and the mines which were of a very broad veine were in a mountaine whereon they might eaſily aſcend, by reaſon of an open way that led vp to the ſame. Neere vnto theſe mines were certaine townes of Indians dwelling vpon the mountaines, who ſhewed them friendſhip, & came forth to receiue them with croſſes on their heads, and other tokens of peace. Hereabout they found two riuers of a reaſonable bigneſſe, vpon the banks whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, and great groues of walnut-trees, and much flaxe like that of Caſtile: and they ſhewed our men by ſignes, that behinde thoſe mountaines there was a riuer aboue 8. leagues broad, but they could not learne how neere it was; howbeit the Indians made demonſtration that it ran towards the North ſea, and that vpon both ſides thereof ſtood many townes of ſo great bigneſſe, that in compariſon thereof thoſe wherein they dwelt were but ſmall hamlets.

Exceeding rich Mines of ſiluer.

A mighty Riuer of eight leagues broad running toward the North ſea. Perhaps this Riuer may fall into the Cheſepiouk bay, or into the great lake of Tadoac.

After he had receiued all this information, the ſaid Captaine returned toward the prouince of Zuni, whither he had ſent his ſaid companions: and being arriued there in ſafety, hauing trauailed vpon a very good way, he found in the ſame place his 5. companions, & the ſaid father Frier Bernardin Beltran, with the ſouldiers which were determined to returne, as is aforeſaid, but vpō certaine occaſions were not as yet departed: whom the inhabitants had moſt friendly intreated, & furniſhed with all things neceſſary in abundance, as afterward likewiſe they vſed the Captaine, and thoſe that came with him, comming foorth to meete them with ſhew of great ioy, and giuing them great ſtore of victuals to ſerue them in their iourney homewards, and requeſting them to returne againe with ſpeed, and to bring many Caſtilians with them (for ſo they call the Spaniards) to whom they promiſed food ſufficient. For the better performance whereof they ſowed that yeere more graine and other fruits, then they had done at any time before.

Zuni.

60. leagues.

Hubates.

Very rich Mines.

Houſes of 4. and fiue ſtories high.

Tamos.

Their returne.

Rio de las vacas.

120. leagues.

Guadiana.

At this preſent the Frier and ſouldiers aforeſaid reſolued themſelues in their former determination, & agreed to returne vnto the prouince from whence they came with intention before mentioned, to ſeek the two Friers that were ſlaine, to whom alſo Gregorio Hernandez who had bene ſtandard-bearer in the iourney, ioyned himſelfe. Who being departed, the Captaine accompanied onely with 8. ſouldiers, determined to proſecute his former attempt, & to paſſe vp higher the ſaide riuer called Rio del Norte, which he did accordingly. And hauing traueiled about 60. leagues toward the prouince of the Quires aforeſaid, 12 leagues frō thence toward the Orient or Eaſt they found a prouince of Indians called Hubates, who receiued them peaceably, and gaue them great ſtore of victuals, informing them alſo of very rich Mines which they found, whereout they got gliſtering & good metal, and therewith returned to the towne from whence they came. This prouince contained by their eſtimation 25000. perſons all very well apparelled in coloured mantles of cotton, and Chamois-ſkins very well dreſſed. They haue many mountaines full of Pines and Cedars, and the houſes of their townes are of 4. and 5. ſtories high. Here they had notice of another prouince diſtant about one dayes iourney frō thence inhabited by certaine Indians called Tamos, and containing aboue 40000. ſoules: whither being come the inhabitants would neither giue them any victuals, nor admit them into their townes: for which cauſe, and in regard of the danger wherein they were, and becauſe ſome of the ſouldiers were not well at eaſe, and for that they were ſo fewe (as we haue ſaid) they determined to depart thence, and to returne toward the land of the Chriſtians, which they put in execution in the beginning of Iuly 1583, being guided by an Indian that went with them, who led them another way then they went forth by, downe a riuer, which they called Rio de las vacas; that is to ſay, The riuer of oxen, in reſpect of the great multitudes of oxen or kine that fed vpon the bankes thereof, by the which they traueiled for the ſpace of 120. leagues, ſtill meeting with ſtore of the ſaid cattell. From hence they went forward to the riuer of Conchos by which they entred, and thence to the valley of S. Bartholomew, from whence they firſt entered into their diſcouerie. Vpon their cōming thither they found that the ſaid Frier Bernardin Beltran and his company were ſafely arriued at the ſaid towne many dayes before, & were gone from thence to the towne of Guadiana. In this towne the foreſaid captaine Antony de Eſpeio made moſt certaine relation of all that is aforeſaid, which relation preſently hee ſent vnto the Conde of Corunna Vizroy of Nueua Eſpanna, who ſent the ſame to his Maieſtie, & to the Lords of his royal counſel of the Indies, to the end they might take ſuch order as they thought beſt, which they haue already performed with great care and circumſpection.

Almightey God vouchſafe his aſſiſtance in this buſines, that ſuch numbers of ſoules redeemed by his blood may not vtterly periſh, of whoſe good capacitie, wherein they exceed thoſe of Mexico and Peru (as we be giuen to vnderſtand by thoſe that haue delt with them) we may boldly preſume that they will eaſily embrace the Goſpel, and abandon ſuch idolatrie as now the moſt of them doe liue in: which Almightie God graunt for his honour and glory, and for the increaſe of the holy Catholique faith.

A letter of *Bartholomew Cano* from *Mexico* the 30. of May 1590. to *Francis Hernandes* of *Siuil*, concerning the ſpeedy building of two ſtrong Forts in *S. Iohn de Vllua*, and in *Vera Cruz*, as alſo touching a notable new and rich diſcouery of *Cibola* or *New Mexico* 400. leagues Northweſt of *Mexico*.

The marches of Villa Manrique Viceroy of Noua Hiſpania.

IT may pleaſe you Sir, to be aduertiſed that I haue receiued your letters, whereby I vnderſtand that our ſhip with the treaſure is ſafely ariued, God be praiſed therefore. The frigate arriued here in ſafetie which brought the letters of Aduiſe from the King to the Viceroy. She arriued in S. Iohn de Vllua the 29. of May, & departed from S. Lucar in Spaine the 6. of April. By which his Maieſtie writeth vnto the Viceroy, what time the Fleete ſhall depart from hence, and what courſe they ſhall take, not as they had wont for to do; by reaſon that there are great ſtore of men of war abroad at the ſea, which meane to encounter with the Fleete. I pray God ſende them well to Spaine: for here wee were troubled very ſore with men of warre on this coaſt. His Maieſtie hath ſent expreſſe cōmandement vnto the Marques of Villa Manrique his coſen, Viceroy of Noua Hiſpania, that immediatly vpon ſight of his letters he ſhal cōmand to be builded in S. Iohn de Vllua, & in Vera Cruz two ſtrong Forts for the defence of theſe countries, of his Maieſties charges: And that there ſhalbe gariſons in both the Forts for the defence of the ſhips which ride there, and for the ſtrength of the countrey.

There are departed out of Mexico and other townes hereabout by the commaundement of the Viceroy 500. ſouldiers Spaniards, vnder the cōduct of Rodorigo del Rio the gouernour of Nue-

ua Biſcaia which are gone to win a great City called Cibola, which is 400. leagues beyond Mexi-
co to the Northweſt, and ſtandeth vp in the maine land. It is by report a very great citie, as bigge
as Mexico, and a very rich countrey both of golde Mines and ſiluer Mines: and the King of the
countrey is a mighty King, and he will not become ſubiect to his Maieſtie. There were certaine
Spaniards ſent to that king from the Viceroy in an ambaſſage; It is thought that they are ſlaine,
for we can here no newes of them.

500. Spaniards ſent to conquer the great citie of Cibola which is 400. leagues from Mexico Northweſtward.

The other newes that I can certifie you of at this inſtant is, that there is a Iudge of the city of
Guadalajara called don Nunno de villa Inſcenſia lately maried. Alſo the kings Atturney of Gua-
dalajara maried his daughter of 8. yeres old with a boy of 12. yeres old. But the Viceroy ſaith that
he hath a warrant from his Maieſtie, that if any Iudge whatſoeuer dwelling in that kingdome of
Guadalajara ſhould mary any ſonne in that iuriſdiction, that then the ſaid Viceroy is to depriue
him of his office. And therfore he went about to depriue the Iudge & the kings Attourney of their
offices. Whereupon the people of that prouince would not thereunto conſent, nor ſuffer them to be
diſmiſſed of their offices, nor to be arreſted, nor caried priſoners to Mexico. When the viceroy had
intelligence thereof, & that the Countrey did reſiſt his commandement, and would not ſuffer them
to be apprehended, he ſent certaine Captaines with ſouldiers to goe and apprehend the Iudge, the
kings Attourney, and as many as did take their parts. So the citizens of Guadalajara withſtood
the viceroies forces, & put themſelues in defence; and are vp in armes againſt the viceroy: yet they
do not rebel againſt the king, but ſay: God ſaue king Philip, and wil ſubmit themſelues to his Ma-
ieſtie, but not to the viceroy. So that all the kingdome of Guadalajara is vp in armes, and are all
in a mutinie againſt vs of Mexico. I beſeech Almighty God to remedy it, and that it may be qua-
lified in time: or elſe all Noua Spania will be vtterly ſpoiled. I write this thing, becauſe it is pub-
liquely knowen in all places. And thus I reſt, from Mexico the 30. of May 1590.

Bartholomew Cano.

A dangerous rebellion in Guadalajara a prouince of Noua Hiſpania.

THE FIRST AND SECOND DISCOuery of the gulfe of *California*, and of the Sea-coaſt on the Northweſt or back ſide of *America*, lying to the Weſt of *New Mexico*, *Cibola* and *Quiuira*, together with *Sir Francis Drakes* landing and taking poſſeſſion vpon *Noua Albion* in the behalfe of the Crowne of *England*, and the notable voyage of *Francis Gaule*; Wherein amongſt many other memorable matters is ſet downe the huge bredth of the Ocean ſea from *China* and *Iapan* to the Northweſt parts of *America*, in the 38. and 40. degrees.

A relation of the diſcouery, which in the Name of God the Fleete of the right noble *Fernando Cortez* Marques of the *Vally*, made with three ſhips; The one called *Santa Agneda* of 120. tunnes, the other the *Trinitie* of 35. tunnes, and the thirde *S. Thomas* of the burthen of 20. tunnes. Of which Fleete was Captaine the right worſhipfull knight *Francis de Vlloa* borne in the Citie of *Merida*. Taken out of the third volume of the voyages gathered by *M. Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſio*.

Chap. 1.

Francis Vloa a captaine of *Cortez* departeth with a Fleet from the port of *Acapulco*, and goeth to diſcouer vnknowen lands, he paſſeth by the coaſt of *Sacatula* and *Motin*, and by tempeſt runneth to the riuer of *Guajanal*, frō whence he croſſeth ouer to the hauen of *Santa Cruz*, along the coaſt whereof he diſcouereth 3. ſmal Ilands, and within two dayes and an halfe returning to the maine land he diſcouereth the riuer called *Rio de ſan Pedro y ſan Pablo*, and not far diſtant from thence two other riuers as big or greater then that of *Guadalquiuir* which runneth by *Siuil*, together with their head-ſprings.

WE imbarked our ſelues in the hauen of Acapulco on the 8. of Iuly in the yeere of
our Lord 1539, calling vpon almighty God to guide vs with his holy hand vnto
ſuch places where he might be ſerued, and his holy faith aduanced. And we ſailed
from the ſaid port by the coaſt of Sacatula and Motin, which is ſweete and plea-
ſant through the abundance of trees that grow thereon, and riuers which paſſe
through thoſe countreis, for the which wee often thanked God the creatour of
them. So ſailing along we came to the hauen of S. Iago in the prouince of Colima: but before we
arriued there, the maine maſt of our ſhip called Santa Agueda was broken by a ſtorme of winde
that

Acapulco in 17. degrees of latitude.

The coaſt of Sacatula and Motin.

S. Iago de Colima.

The Iſles of Xaliſco.

Guajaual.

Santa Cruz in the point of California.

that tooke vs, ſo as the ſhip was forced to ſaile without her maſt vntill we arriued in the ſaid hauen. From the port of Acapulco to this hauen of Colima wee were ſayling the ſpace of 20. dayes. Here wee ſtayed to mende our maſt and to take in certaine victuals, water, and wood, the ſpace of 27. dayes. And wee departed from the ſaide hauen the 23. of Auguſt, and ſayling by the Iſles of Xaliſco the 27. or 28. of the ſaide moneth wee were taken with an extreame tempeſt wherein wee thought we ſhould haue periſhed, and being toſſed and weather-beaten, wee ranne as farre as the riuer of Guajaual in the Prouince of Culiacan. In this ſtorme wee loſt the pinneſſe called Sant Thomas, and becauſe wee had loſt her wee croſſed ouer to the port of Santa Cruz in California: for while wee were ſo beaten in the former tempeſt, the pilot of the Barke ſignified vnto vs, that he perceiued ſhe beganne to leake, and that already ſhe had receiued in much water, inſomuch that ſhe beganne to founder; whereupon, to helpe her neede, and that wee might meete together in a knowen hauen, if by chance the tempeſt ſhould ſeparate vs, as it did indeed, we willed him to repaire to the hauen of Santa Cruz, where we meant to repaire his harmes and our owne. Wherefore being all arriued in this place of Santa Cruz, wee ſtayed there fiue dayes and tooke in water, wherein we heard no newes of our Barke which we had loſt: Wereupon the Captaine reſolued to follow on our voyage; wherefore we ſet ſaile the 12. of September, and as wee ſailed wee ſaw along the coaſt of the ſaide hauen 3. Iſlands, whereof the Captaine made no great accompt, thinking there coulde be no great good found in any of them. These Iſlands ſeemed not to be great; wherefore he commanded the Maſters and pilotes to proceed on their voyage, and not to leeſe time without any profit. So ſailing ouer the gulfe of California, in two dayes and an halfe we came to the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, finding before we entred into the ſame a ſmall Iſland in the mouth of the Riuer, being 4. or 5. miles diſtant from the maine. On both ſides of this Riuer wee beheld goodly and pleaſant great plaines full of many greene and beautifull trees, and farther within the land we beheld certaine exceeding high mountaines full of woods very pleaſant to beholde. From this Riuer wee ſailed ſtill along the coaſt the ſpace of 15. leagues, in which courſe wee found two other Riuers in our iudgement as great or greater then Guadalquiuir the Riuer of Siuilia in Spaine. Al the coaſt by theſe Riuers is plaine as the other which we had paſſed, with many woods: likewiſe within the lande appeared great mountaines couered with woods very beautifull to beholde, and beneath in the plaine appeared certaine lakes of water. From theſe Riuers we ſailed 18. leagues, and found very pleaſant plaines, and certaine great lakes whoſe mouthes opened into the Sea: here our Captaine thought good throughly to diſcouer what thoſe lakes were, and to ſearch whether there were any good hauen for his ſhips to ride in, or to harbour themſelues, if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe; and ſo hee commaunded a boat to be hoiſed out into the Sea, with a Maſter and fiue or ſixe men to view them, and to ſound the depth, and botom of them: who went thither, and found the coaſt very ſholde, and the mouthes of the lakes; whereupon they made no accompt of them, onely becauſe the ſhore was ſo ſhallow, for otherwiſe the land was very pleaſant. Here at euening we ſaw on the ſhore 10. or 12. Indians and fires. The aforeſaide two Riuers are two leagues diſtant the one from the other, little more or leſſe, and are great, as I haue ſaide, and being in the laſt of them we went vp to the ſhip-top, and ſaw many lakes, and one among the reſt exceeding great, and wee ſuppoſed that they had their ſprings out of this great lake, as other Riuers alſo haue from other lakes, for wee ſawe the courſe of them ſeuerally each by themſelues, hauing goodly woods growing all along their bankes. The currents of theſe Riuers might be diſcerned three leagues within the Sea: and at the mouthes of them were many ſmall ſtakes ſet vp for markes: the ſhore here is plaine and ſandie, and the countrey very pleaſant.

Three Iſlands.

Rio de ſan Pedro y ſan Pablo.

Two great riuers.

Certaine great lakes.

Chap. 2.

Sailing along the coaſt from the two aforeſaid great Riuers, they diſcouer three mouthes of lakes and a goodly Countrey, they come vnto *Cabo Roxo*, and take poſſeſſion of thoſe countreys for the Emperours Maieſty. A diſcourſe of the faire hauens that are on thoſe coaſtes, and of very many Iſlands which they ſaw, before they came to the Cape called *Capo de las Plaias.*

The coaſt runneth Northward.

This day wee ſailed along the coaſt the ſpace of 16. leagues, and in the midſt of this voyage there is a Bay very faire of 4. or 5. leagues, hauing certaine bankes or fences in it, in beholding whereof we tooke great pleaſure. The night following we road in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage toward the North, and hauing ſailed 3. or 4. leagues we ſaw 3. mouthes of lakes which entered into the land, where they became like ſtanding pooles. Wee road a league diſtance from theſe mouthes in 6. fadome water, to ſee what they were, and ſent our boat with certaine men, to ſee if there were any entry for our ſhips: for halfe a league from ſhore we had not paſt one or two fadome water. Here our men ſaw 7.or 8.Indians, and found ſundry ſorts of greene herbes ſomewhat differing from thoſe of Nueua Eſpanna. The Countrey is plaine, but farre within land they ſaw great and ſmall hils extending themſelues a great way, and being very faire and pleaſant to behold. The day following we proceeded on our voyage ſayling alwayes in ſight of the plaine coaſt toward the Northweſt, in 10.or 15.fadome water. And hauing ſailed 6. good leagues we found a Bay on the coaſt within the land of about 5.leagues ouer, from whence the coaſt trended Northweſt, and this day we ſailed about 16.leagues. All this coaſt is plaine, and not ſo pleaſant as that which we had paſſed ; here are certaine ſmall hilles, but not ſo high as thoſe which we had found before. Thus we ſailed all night Northweſt, and vntil the next day at noone, at which time we fell with a headland of white ſand, where by the height which we tooke that day we found our ſelues to be in the latitude of 27.degrees and ¾. This cape we called Capo Roxo. All the coaſt is plaine and faire and cleane ſand, and we ſaw within land ſome few trees not very great, with certaine mountaines & woods 3.or 4.leagues diſtant from the ſaid cape: and here likewiſe appeared a mouth of a riuer, which (as far as we could diſcerne) made certaine lakes vp within the land: frō the mouth whereof for the ſpace of a league into the ſea it ſeemed to be very ſholde, becauſe the ſea did breake very much. Here we ſaw within the land 3. or 4. riuers. In this ſort we ſailed on our voiage to the Northward, & becauſe we had not good weather we road that night in a great hauen lying in our way, where on the ſhore wee ſaw certaine plaines, and vp within the land certaine hilles not very high : and continuing our courſe toward the North about 3.leagues from this hauen, we found an Iland of about one league in circuite lying before the mouth of the ſaid hauen. And ſailing forward we found an hauen which hath two mouthes into the Sea, into which we entered by the Northermoſt mouth, which hath 10.or 12.fadome water, & ſo decreaſeth till it come to 5.fadome, where we anckered in a poole which the Sea maketh, which is a ſtrange thing to beholde, for there are ſo many entrances & mouths of ſtreames and hauens, that we were all aſtonied at the ſight thereof; and theſe hauens are ſo excellently framed by nature, as the like are not to be ſeene in the world, wherein we found great ſtore of fiſh. Here wee anckered, and the Captaine went on ſhore, and tooke poſſeſſion, vſing all ſuch ceremonies as thereunto belong. Here alſo wee found certaine weares to catch fiſh made by the Indians, and certaine ſmall cottages, wherein were diuers pieces of earthen pots as finely made as thoſe in Spaine. Here by cōmandement of the Captaine a Croſſe was erected vpon an hill, and it was ſet vp by Francis Preciado. In this place we ſaw the Countrey full of freſh and greene graſſe, howbeit differing from that of New Spaine, and vp within the Countrey wee ſaw many great and very greene mountaines. This Countrey ſeemed very goodly and delightſome to all of vs, in regard of the greeneſſe and beautie thereof, and we iudged it to be very populous within the land. From this hauen we departed and kept our way toward the Northweſt with good weather, and began to finde hard by the ſea-ſhore exceeding high mountaines ſpotted with white, and in them we ſaw many foules which had their neſtes in certaine holes of thoſe rocks, and ſailed 10.leagues vntil night, all which night we were becalmed. The next day we followed our courſe Northweſt with good weather: and from that day forward we began to ſee on the Weſterne ſhore (whereon the foreſaid hauen of S. Cruz ſtandeth) certaine Iſlands or high lands, whereat we reioyced not a little. And ſo ſayling forward we met with an Iſland about two leagues in bigneſſe, and on the Eaſt ſhore hauing ſtill the maine land and Iſlands in ſight, we ſailed 15.leagues vntil the euening, alwayes finding hard by the ſea-coaſt exceeding high mountaines bare of trees, the land appearing ſtill more plainely vnto vs on the Weſterne ſhore. Whereupon wee began to be of diuers opinions, ſome thinking that this coaſt of Santa Cruz was a firme land, and that it ioyned with the continent of Nueua Eſpanna, others thought the contrary, and that they were nothing elſe but Iſlands, which were to the Weſtward. And in this ſort we proceeded forward, hauing the land on both ſides of vs, ſo farre, that we all began to wonder at it. This day we ſailed ſome 15.leagues, and called this Cape Capo de las Plaias.

Capo Roxo.

The coaſt runneth Northward.

Fiſhing weares like thoſe of Virginia.

An Iland.

Some take the land of California to be nothing but Iſlands.

Chap.3.

Of the Streight which they diſcouered on the coaſt of *Capo de las Plaias*, and of the pleaſant Countrey which they found before they came to the rockes called *Los diamantes.* Of the wonderfull whiteneſſe of that Sea, and of the ebbing and flowing thereof; and of the multitude of Iſlands and lands, which extend themſelues Northward from the hauen of *Santa Cruz.*

The day folowing we ſailed vntil night with ſo good weather, that we ran about 20.leagues. All this coaſt along the ſhore is full of little hilles without graſſe or trees: and that night we

A Streight of 12. leagues broad, of exceeding depth.

The Streight here runneth Northward.

Small rockes called Los Diamantes.

anckered in 20. fadome water. The next day we followed our voyage beginning to ſaile before breake of day Northweſtward, and we came into the midſt of a Streight or mouth which was 12 leagues broad from one land to the other, which Streight had two Ilands in the midſt thereof being 4. leagues diſtant the one from the other: and here we diſcerned the countrey to be plaine, and certaine mountaines, & it ſeemed that a certaine gut of water like a brooke ran through the plaine. This ſtreight (as far as we could perceiue) was very deep, for we could finde no botome; and here we ſaw the land ſtretching afarre off from the one ſhore to the other, and on the Weſterne ſhore of the hauen of S. Cruz, the land was more high with very bare mountaines. The day following we paſſed on our way toward the North, and ſailed ſome 15. leagues, and in the midſt of our way we found a circuit or bay of 6. leagues into the land with many coues or creeks, and the next day following continuing our courſe we ſailed ſome 10. leagues, and the coaſt in this dayes iourney was all of high mountaines naked and bare without any tree. It is very deepe hard by the ſhore, and that night we were conſtrained to ſtay by reaſon of the contrary winde. The next morning before breake of day we ſailed ſtill along the coaſt to the Northweſt vntill euening, and came about ſome 15. leagues. All along this ſhore wee ſawe very goodly mountaines within the land, and many plaines and downes with ſome few trees, & the ſea ſhore was all ſandy. In the midſt of this dayes courſe we found certaine ſmall rockes in the ſea 4. leagues diſtant from the maine, where the ſaid land maketh a great point into the ſea, and here we ſtayed the reſt of the night, where we had a very great ſhower of raine. The day following we proceeded on our voyage, and ſailed vntill night by a compaſſe or turning, ſome 8. or 9. leagues, and ſaw within land a few mountaines hauing no trees vpon them, but the Sunne ſhining alwayes very cleare, as farre as wee could deſcry, they were very great, on the Weſterne ſhore of the hauen of Santa Cruz. Here we ſtayed all night because we found very ſhallow water and ſawe the ſea very white, and in a maner like to chalke, ſo that we all beganne to marueile thereat. The day following wee went forward againe along the coaſt Northweſtward, and ſailed eight leagues, and ſaw another land which ſtretched Northweſt, and was full of high mountaines. And ſtill continuing this courſe we ſearched very diligently to ſee if there were any paſſage through betweene both the landes, for right forward wee ſawe no land. And thus ſayling wee alwayes found more ſhallow water, and the Sea thicke, blacke, and very muddie, and came at length into fiue fadome water; and ſeeing this, wee determined to paſſe ouer to the land which wee had ſeene on the other ſide, and here likewiſe wee found as little depth and leſſe, whereupon we rode all night in fiue fadome water, and wee perceiued the Sea to runne with ſo great a rage into the land, that it was a thing much to be marueiled at, and with the like fury it returned backe againe with the ebbe; during which time wee found 11. fadome water, and the flood and ebbe continued from ſixe to ſixe houres.

The day following the Captaine and Pilote went vp to the ſhippes top, and ſawe all the lande full of ſand in a great round compaſſe, and ioyning it ſelfe with the other ſhore, and it was ſo low, that whereas wee were a league from the ſame wee could not well diſcerne it, and it ſeemed that there was an inlet of the mouthes of certaine lakes, whereby the Sea went in and out. There were diuers opinions amongſt vs, and ſome thought that that current entered into thoſe lakes, and alſo that ſome great Riuer there might be the cauſe thereof. And when we could perceiue no paſſage through, nor could diſcerne the countrey to be inhabited, the Captaine accompanied with certaine of vs went to take poſſeſſion thereof. The ſame day with the ebbe of the Sea wee fell downe from the other coaſt from the ſide of Nueua Eſpanna, though alwayes we had in ſight the firme land on the one ſide of vs, and the other Ilands on our left hande, on the ſide of the port of Santa Cruz ſituate on the Weſterne ſhore: for on that ſide there are ſo many Ilands and lands, ſo farre as we could deſcry, that it was greatly to be wondered at: for from the ſaid hauen of Santa Cruz, and from the coaſt of Culiacan we had alwayes in a maner land on both ſides of vs, and that ſo great a countrey, that I ſuppoſe if it ſhould ſo continue further inwarde, there is countrey ynough for many yeeres to conquer. This day wee had the winde contrary, and caſt ancker vntil the flood increaſed, which was in the afternoone, and then wee ſet ſaile likewiſe with contrary winde vntill midnight, and then caſt ancker.

The next day wee departed, ſhaping our courſe along the coaſt Southweſt, vntill midnight with little winde, and wee ſawe within the land high mountaines with ſome openings, and wee made way ſome three leagues, and all the next night wee were becalmed, and the next day we continued our courſe but a little while, for we ſailed not aboue fiue leagues, and all the night were becalmed, and ſawe the lande full of bare and high mountaines, and on our left hande wee deſcried a plaine countrey, and ſaw in the night certaine fires.

Chap. 4.

They land vpon an Iſland to diſcouer the ſame, and there they ſee many fires, which iſſue out of certaine mountaines, and many Seale-fiſhes. Here they take an Indian, and can not vnderſtand his language. Running along they diſcouer another Iſland, and take poſſeſſion therof for the Emperours Maieſtie, and a great hauen in the firme land, which they call *Ancon de Sant Andres*, or *The hauen of S. Andrew.*

The next day following our courſe we ſaw a great hauen with an Iland in the ſea, within a croſſe-bow ſhoote of the firme land, and in this Iſland and on the firme land were ſeene many ſmokes by the iudgement of all the company; wherefore the captaine thought good that wee ſhould goe on land to know the certainty of theſe ſmokes and fires, himſelfe taking ten or twelue of vs with a boate in his company: and going on ſhore in the Iſland, we found that the ſmokes proceeded out of certaine mountaines and breaches of burned earth, whereout aſcended into the aire certaine cinders and aſhes which mounted vp to the middle region of the aire, in ſuch great quantitie, that we could not eſteeme leſſe then twenty lodes of wood to bee burned for the cauſing of euery of thoſe ſmokes, whereat wee were all not a little amazed.

Burning mountaines.

In this Iſland were ſuch abundance of Seales, as it was wonderful. Here we ſtayed that day, and killed a great number of theſe Seals, with whom we had ſome trouble: for they were ſo many, and ayded one another ſo well, that it was ſtrange to behold; for it fell out, that while we were occupied in killing ſome of them with ſtaues, they aſſembled twentie or thirty together, and lifting themſelues vp aſſayled vs with their feete in a ſquadron, and ouerthrew two or three of our company on the ground: whereupon letting goe thoſe which they had in their hands, they and the others eſcaped vs and went into the ſea, howbeit wee killed good ſtore of them, which were ſo fatte as it was wonderfull: and when we opened ſome of them to haue their liuers, we found certaine ſmall blacke ſtones in their bodies, whereat wee much marueiled. The next day wee rode at anker here for lacke of good weather to ſayle withall: whereupon the Captaine determined to goe on ſhore with nine or ten in his company, to ſee whether there were any people there, or any ſigne of people that had bene there, and they found on the maine land ſeuen or eight Indians like to Chichimecas, which were gone a fiſhing, and had a raft of canes; who ſo ſoone as they eſpied vs ranne away and betooke themſelues to flight, but being purſued by vs, in the end we tooke one of them, whoſe language was ſo ſtrange that wee could by no meanes vnderſtand him; his clothing was nothing at all, for he was ſtarke naked. Theſe people caried their water in bottels made of beaſts ſkins, they fiſhed with hookes of bone, and wee found good ſtore of their fiſhes, whereof we tooke three or foure dozen.

Abundance of Seales.

A raft of canes.

Bottles of beaſts ſkins and fiſhhooks of bone.

The Indian which we had taken ſeeing himſelfe in our hands did nothing but weepe, but the Captaine called him, and made much of him, giuing him certaine beades, with a hat and certaine hookes of ours, and then let him goe. And it ſeemed that after hee was returned to his companions, he declared vnto them how we had done him no harme at all, ſhewing them the things which we had giuen him: whereupon they alſo determined to come vnto vs to our boate, but becauſe it was now night, and that our ſhippes were farre from vs, we forced not to ſtay for them, eſpecially becauſe it was a bad place and a dangerous. This countrey hath on the ſea-coaſt high and bare mountaines with certaine graſſe in ſome places like vnto our broomes, or like vnto woods of roſemary.

The next day wee ſayled neere to the coaſt on the ſame ſide, with very ſcarce winde, and in a manner calme, and ranne not aboue fiue leagues, and all the night following we lay becalmed, and we ſaw on the ſhore fiue or ſixe fires. The land is high with very high mountaines without graſſe, hauing certaine caues in them: the next day alſo, and part of the night following we were becalmed: and the morow after we followed our courſe along the ſayd coaſt, and paſſed betweene a great Iſland full of exceeding high mountaines, and the maine land; where we ſaw a very great hauen in the firme land in which wee ankered to ſee what it was, and being come to an anker, the Captaine and ſome of vs went on land the ſame day to ſee if there were any people and freſh water, and wee found certaine ſmall cottages couered with drie graſſe, with certaine little ſtaues layd ouerthwart, and we went a little way into the countrey which was very baren, by certaine ſmall and ſtreight pathes, and found a little pond or pit, but drie and without water; and here the Captaine tooke poſſeſſion for the Marques of the valley in the name of his Maieſtie, and after this we returned to our ſhip, and that night we ſawe foure or fiue fires on the land. The next day the Captaine determined, becauſe hee had ſeene theſe fires, to goe on ſhore, and ſo without

Ancon de S. Andres, or The hauen of S. Andrew in 32 degrees.

Two Indians of exceeding huge ſtature.

two boates we went fifteene or twenty of vs vnto certaine crooked ſtrands two leagues from the place where our ſhips rode, and where we had ſeene the fires, and we found two Indians of exceeding huge ſtature, ſo that they cauſed vs greatly to wonder; they caried their bowes and arrowes in their hands, and as ſoone as they ſaw vs leap on ſhore they ran away, and wee followed them vnto their dwellings and lodgings, which were certaine cottages and bowers couered with boughs, and there we found great and ſmall ſteps of many people, but they had no kind of victuals but onely cuttle-fiſhes which wee found there. The countrey toward the ſea ſide ſeemed but barren, for we ſaw neither trees nor greene graſſe there, yet were there certaine ſmal pathes not well beaten, and along the ſea-coaſt we ſaw many tracts of dogges, hares, and conies, and in certaine ſmall Iſlands neere vnto the maine we ſaw Seale-fiſhes. This hauen is called Ancon de Sant Andres.

Ancon de Sant Andres.

Chap. 5.

They diſcouer a mountainous Iſland very great, and neere vnto it certaine other Iſlands with a goodly greene and pleaſant countrey. They haue ſight of certaine Indians in *Canoas* of canes, whoſe language ſounded like the Flemiſh tongue, with whome they could not haue any traffique.

A great Iſland

THe next day we proceeded on our voyage, ſayling betweene the maine and an Iſland, which we ſuppoſe to be in circuit about a hundreth or eighty leagues, ſayling ſometimes within one, and ſometimes within two leagues of the maine. The ſoile of this Iſland is of certaine mountaines not very ſteepe with caues in them, and as farre as wee could deſcrie by the coaſt, there appeared no ſigne of any plaine countrey. Here from this day forward wee began to bee afraid, conſidering that we were to returne to the port of Santa Cruz; for it was ſuppoſed, that all along this mighty gulfe from the entrance in at Culiacan vntil the returning backe vnto the ſaid hauen, was all firme land, and alſo becauſe wee had the firme land alwayes on our right hand and it goeth round circle-wiſe vnto the ſayd hauen; but many thought and hoped that we ſhould finde ſome mouth or out-let, whereby wee might paſſe through vnto the other coaſt. What our ſucceſſe was we will declare in the relation following.

Ship returns from the bottome of the gulf of California.

The next day being Thurſday wee ſayled with ſcant winde, for it was almoſt calme, and paſſed beyond that great Iſland, hauing firme land alwayes on our right hand, and coaſting (as I ſayd) very neere vnto it. The next day likewiſe we ſayled with little winde, it being in a manner calme, and paſſed neere vnto the ſhore by certaine round baies, and certaine points which the land made, which was pleaſant to behold being ſomewhat greene, and there ſeemed to be ſome creeke there. This Friday at night wee ſayled altogether with a freſh gale, and at breake of day wee were betweene the maine land, and an Iſland on our left hand, which was ſomewhat big, as farre as we could diſcerne. There was a great bay in the firme land, and before it was a point which ſtretched farre into the ſea. The firme land ſeemed to bee much freſher and pleaſanter then thoſe lands which we had paſſed, hauing many bankes and hilles of indifferent height, and beautifull to behold.

Another Iſlãd

The countrey (as farre as wee could diſcerne) was ſo pleaſant and delightfull, that wee all deſired to goe on ſhore, and to ſearch vp into it two or three dayes iourney, to ſee whether it were inhabited or not. Wee ſaw within the land of that bay two fires. The night following being Saturday we ſailed continually with a proſperous and freſh gale, and the wind was ſo great that we drew our bonet to our maine ſayle, and ſayled ſo till the morning.

On Sunday the twelfth of October we found our ſelues altogether incloſed with land, on the right hand with the maine, which compaſſed vs before and behinde, and on the left hand with an Iſland of a league and a halfe; and betweene the maine and the Iſland in the midſt of the ſea there lay a ſmall Iſlet, and alſo betweene the ſayd maine and the Iſland there were two mouthes, through which there appeared a paſſage whereby afterwad we paſſed through. This maine was much more freſh and greene then the other which wee had paſſed, and had certaine plaines and points of mountaines of pleaſant view, and full of greene graſſe. Here all this night we ſaw two or three villages which were very great, and at breake of day we ſaw a Canoa or boate made of canes, which came from the land out of a creeke, and wee ſtood ſtill vntill it came neere vnto vs in the ſhip, and they began to ſpeake in their language which no man vnderſtood, whoſe pronuntiation was like to the Flemings, and being called they returned with great haſte vnto the ſhore, and we were very ſory becauſe our boate had not followed them.

Here happened vnto vs a very ſtrange thing, which was, that as this Indian returned to the ſhore in certaine of theſe creekes where a number of his fellow Indians were, as wee viewed that part, we ſawe fiue Canoas iſſue foorth, which came toward vs: whereupon wee ſtayed to ſee what they would doe. In the meane while our Admirall came vp vnto vs, which was neere the ſhore, for ſhe alſo had ſeene them, and ſo being come together we caſt anker, expecting what thoſe Canoas would doe. In the meane while our Generall commanded vs to make ready our boate, and to furniſh the ſame with oares and men, to trie if we could by any meanes take ſome of them, that we might come to ſome knowledge of them, and that wee might giue them ſome of our trifles, and ſpecially of our hookes and beads to winne their friendſhip. The Indians with their fiue Canoas approched within one or two ſtones caſt of vs, and then began to ſpeake very loude vnto vs in a very ſtrange language, alwayes ſtanding vpon their guard to retire themſelues with ſpeede. When our Captaine ſaw this, and that they would not come neere vs, but rather retired, he commanded ſixe mariners to goe into the boate from the ſterne of the ſhip, and himſelfe alſo went with them with all poſſible haſte toward the Indians. The Indians returned to the ſhore with ſo great celeritie, that they ſeemed to flie in thoſe little Canoas of canes. Neuertheleſſe our men vſed ſuch diligence that one of the Canoas was boorded & taken; but the Indian in the Canoa ſeeing himſelfe now taken leapt into the water, and our men followed with their boat to take him, but ſeeing himſelfe within their reach, he ducked with his head vnder their boate, and ſo deceiued them, and then roſe vp againe, and with their oares and with ſtaues they gaue him certaine blowes, to amaze him, but nothing would ſerue them; for as they were about to lay handes vpon him hee ſtill diued vnder water, and with his hands and feete got neere to the ſhore: and as he roſe vp aboue the water, hee called to his felowes which ſtood on the ſhore to behold, crying Belen with a loud voyce, and ſo they purſued him, and ſtrooke him ſometimes being very neere the ſhore, and he alwayes went calling the reſt of his fellowes to come and helpe him, whereupon within a ſhort while after three other Canoas came foorth to ſuccour him, being full of Indians with bowes and arrowes in their handes, crying with a loude voyce, that wee ſhould come on ſhore: theſe Indians were of great ſtature and ſaluage, fat alſo and well ſet, and of a browne colour. Our Captaine perceiuing this, leaſt they ſhould wound any of our people with their arrowes, returned backe, and commanded vs immediately to ſet ſayle, and ſo foorthwith wee departed.

This day the wind ſkanted, and we returned to anker in the foreſayd place, and our Admirall rode from the firme land toward the Iland, and wee which were in the ſhip called The Trinitie lay neere vnto the maine, and before breake of day wee departed with a freſh gale. And before we diſemboqued out of that chanell we ſaw certaine graſſe very high and greene vpon the maine: whereupon a mariner, and the Pilot went vp into the top, and ſaw the mouth of a riuer which ranne through that greene countrey into the ſea. But becauſe our Admirall was vnder all her ſayles farre from vs, we could not tell them of this riuer, whereof we had ſome neede, and becauſe it was a very good hauen to goe on ſhore to take it, and therefore without watering we followed our courſe. On munday we departed from this hauen which is like vnto a lake, for on all ſides we were compaſſed with land, hauing the continent before, behinde vs, and on our right ſide, and the Iland on our left ſide, and we paſſed foorth at thoſe mouthes beforementioned, which ſhewed an out-let into the open ſea. Thus wee ſayled along ſtill viewing the ſituation of the countrey, reioycing all of vs at the ſight thereof, for it alwayes pleaſed vs more and more, ſtill appearing more greene and pleaſant, and the graſſe which wee found neere vnto the ſhore was freſh and delectable, but not very high, being (to all our iudgements) not paſt a ſpanne long. Likewiſe the hilles which wee ſaw, which were many, and many downes made a very pleaſant proſpect, eſpecially becauſe we iudged, that there were many valleys and vales betweene them.

Port Belen a very good hauen.

Chap. 6.

They diſcouer a very great bay with foure ſmall Iſlands in it, whereas they take poſſeſſion. As they ſayle along and diſcouer diuers Iſlands they come at length to the port of *Santa Cruz*, where not being able to get any knowledge of thoſe Indians, although they lay in waite for them at a place called *The well of Grijalua*, they departed thence. They haue a perilous and long tempeſt, which ceaſed, after they had ſeene a light on their ſhrowdes.

AT our comming out of theſe openings we began to finde a Bay with a very great hauen, enuironed with diuers ſmall hilles hauing vpon them greene woods and pleaſant to behold.

A great hauen

In this bay and ſtreight were two ſmall Ilands neere vnto the ſhore, one of the which was like vnto a table about halfe a league in bignes, and the other was a round hill almoſt as big as the former. Theſe Ilands ſerued vs onely to content our ſight, for we paſſed by them without ſtaying, hauing but a ſlacke winde on Munday morning: all which day we followed our courſe with the foreſayd ſlacke winde, and within a while after it became flat contrary, ſo that we were conſtrained to anker at the ſayd point of the ſayd hauen; and on Teweſday at breake of day we ſet ſayle, but made but little way all the day, becauſe the winde continued contrary, although but very weake. The night following wee were becalmed a little beyond the point of this hauen; but about midnight wee began to haue a freſh gale, and on Wedneſday in the morning wee were ſeuen leagues diſtant from that point. This countrey ſhewed (as it was indeede) more plaine then the reſt, with certaine ſmall woody hilles, and within the other point which was before deſcribed, the ſituation ſeemed to be more pleaſant and delightſome then the reſt which we had paſſed. And at the vttermoſt end of the point were two ſmall Iſlets. The ſayd Wedneſday about nine of the clocke the winde blew a good gale, and we ſayled by euening betweene ſeuen and eight leagues, and came ouer againſt a land not very high, where wee ſaw certaine creekes or breaches not very ragged, into euery of which a riuer ſeemed to fall, becauſe the ſoyle was very greene, and had certaine trees growing on it farre bigger then thoſe which we had found before. Here the Captaine with fiue or ſixe men went on ſhore, and taking poſſeſſion paſſed vp one of thoſe riuers, and found the footing of many Indians vpon the ſand. On the bankes of that riuer they ſaw many fruitfull trees, as cherry-trees and little apple-trees, and other white trees: they found alſo in the wood three or foure beaſts called Adibes, which are a kind of dogs. The ſame night wee ſet ſayle with the winde off the land, which blew ſo freſhly, that it made vs to ſtrike our foreſayle; and on the fifteenth of October at nine of the clocke we came neere vnto a point of certaine high mountaines, on which day being Thurſday we made little way, becauſe the winde ceaſed, but it roſe againe in the night, whereupon by the breake of day on Friday wee came before the ſayd point being fiue or ſeuen leagues off. The land ſeemed to bee very mountainous with certaine ſharpe points not greatly clad with graſſe, but ſomewhat bare. On our left hand wee ſaw two Ilands, the one of a league and a halfe, the other not ſo much, and it ſeemed that we drew neere to the port of Santa Cruz, whereat we were ſory, becauſe we were alwaies in good hope to haue found ſome out-let into the maine Ocean in ſome place of that land, and that the ſame port was the ſame which we, and alſo that by the ſayd coaſt we might returne to the foreſayd hauen of Santa Cruz, and that we had committed a great error, becauſe we had not certainely ſought out the ſecret, whether that were a ſtreit or a riuer, which wee had left behind vs vnſearched at the bottome of this great ſea or gulfe.

A bay with 4 or 5 Ilands.

All Friday and the night following we ſayled with a ſcant winde, and on Saturday at breake of day we were betweene two points of land which make a bay, wherein we ſaw before and behinde foure or fiue great and ſmall Ilands. The land was very mountainous, part whereof was couered with graſſe, and part was voide. Within the land appeared more mountaines and hils, and in this place we were come neere vnto the hauen of Santa Cruz, which is all firme land, except it be diuided in the very nooke by ſome ſtreite or great riuer which parteth it from the maine, which becauſe we had not throughly diſcouered, all of vs that were imployed in this voyage were not a little grieued. And this maine land ſtretcheth ſo farre in length, that I cannot well expreſſe it: for from the hauen of Acapulco, which ſtandeth in ſeuenteene degrees and twenty minutes of latitude, wee had alwayes the coaſt of the firme land on our right hand, vntill we came to the great current of the white & red ſea; and here (as I haue ſaid) we knew not the ſecret of this current, whether it were cauſed by a riuer or by a ſtreit: and ſo ſuppoſing that the coaſt which wee had on our right hand was cloſed vp without paſſage, wee returned backe againe, alwayes deſcending Southward by our degrees, vntill wee returned vnto the ſayd hauen of Santa Cruz, finding ſtill along the coaſt a goodly and pleaſant countrey, and ſtill ſeeing fires made by the Indians, and Canoas made of Canes. We determined to take in freſh water at the hauen of Santa Cruz, to runne along the outward Weſterne coaſt, and to ſee what it was, if it pleaſed God. Here we reſted our ſelues, and eat of the plummes and fruits called Pithaias: and wee entred into the port of Santa Cruz on Sunday the 18 of October and ſtayed there eight daies to take in wood and water reſting our ſelues all that while, that our men might ſtrengthen and refreſh themſelues. Our captaine determined to diuide amongſt vs certain garments of taffata, with clokes and ſaies, and a piece of taffata, and likewiſe ordained, that wee ſhould goe on land to catch a couple of Indians, that they might talke with our interpreter, and that we might come to the knowledge of their language. Whereupon thirteene of vs went out of our ſhip by night, and lo-

This current is in 32 degrees, and the ſea is white and red.

This returne is mentioned cap. 5.

They arriue at the hauen of Santa Cruz.

lay in ambuſh in a place which is called The well of Grijalua, where we ſtayed vntill noone betweene certaine ſecret wayes, and could neuer ſee or deſcrie any one Indian: wherefore wee returned to our ſhips, with two maſtiue-dogs which we caried with vs to catch the Indians with more eaſe: and in our returne we found two Indians hidden in certaine thickets, which were come thither to ſpie what wee did: but becauſe wee and our dogs were weary, and thought not on them, theſe Indians iſſued out of the thickets, and fled away, and wee ranne after them, and our dogges ſaw them not: wherefore by reaſon of the thicknes of the wilde thiſtles, and of the thornes and bryars, and becauſe we were weary, we could neuer ouertake them: they left behinde them certaine ſtaues ſo finely wrought that they were very beautifull to behold, conſidering how cunningly they were made with a handle and a corde to fling them.

The Spaniards vſe maſtiues to take the Indians.

Reade more of theſe ſtaues cap. 10.

The nine and twentieth of October being Wedneſday, we ſet ſayle out of this hauen of Santa Cruz with little winde, and in ſayling downe the chanell our ſhippe called the Trinitie came on ground vpon certaine ſholdes: this was at noone at a low water, and with all the remedy that we could vſe wee could not draw her off, whereupon wee were conſtrained to vnderprop her, and to ſtay the next tide: and when the tide began to increaſe wee vſed all diligence to draw her off, and could not by any meanes, whereat all the company and the Captaine were not a little grieued; for wee thought wee ſhould haue loſt her there, although wee ceaſed not with all our might to labour with both our boates, and with our cable and capſten. In the ende it pleaſed God about midnight at a full ſea with the great force which wee vſed to recouer her, that wee drew her off the ſand, for which we gaue God moſt hearty thankes, and rode at anker all the reſt of the night, wayting for day-light for feare of falling into any further danger or miſhap. When day was come, wee ſet forward with a freſh gale, and proceeded on our voyage, directing our prowe to the maine ſea, to ſee whether it would pleaſe God to let vs diſcouer the ſecret of this point. But whether it pleaſed not his great goodneſſe, or whether it were for our ſinnes, wee ſpent eight dayes from this port, before we could double the poynt, by reaſon of contrary winds, and great raine, and lightning and darkeneſſe euery night: alſo the windes grew ſo raging and tempeſtuous, that they made vs all to quake, and to pray continually vnto God to ayde vs. And hereupon wee made our cables and ankers ready, and the chiefe Pilot commanded vs with all ſpeede to caſt anker, and in this ſorte we paſſed our troubles: and whereas wee rode in no ſecuritie, he cauſed vs foorthwith to weigh our ankers, and to goe whither the wind ſhould driue vs. And in this ſorte wee ſpent thoſe eight dayes, turning backe by night the ſame way that wee had gone by day, and ſometimes making good in the night that which we had loſt in the day, not without great deſire of all the company to haue a winde which might ſet vs forward on our voyage, being afflicted with the miſeries which wee indured by reaſon of the thunders, lightnings, and raine, wherewith we were wet from toppe to toe, by reaſon of the toyle which we had in weighing and caſting of our ankers, as neede required.

And on one of theſe nights, which was very darke and tempeſtuous with winde and raine, becauſe we thought we ſhould haue periſhed, being very neere the ſhore, we prayed vnto God that he would vouchſafe to ayde and ſaue vs, without calling our ſinnes to remembrance. And ſtraightway wee ſaw vpon the ſhrowdes of the Trinity as it were a candle, which of it ſelfe ſhined, and gaue a light, whereat all the company greatly reioyced, in ſuch ſort that wee ceaſed not to giue thankes vnto God. Whereupon we aſſured our ſelues, that of his mercie hee would guide and ſaue vs, and would not ſuffer vs to periſh, as indeede it fell out; for the next day wee had good weather, and all the mariners ſayd, that it was the light of Saint Elmo which appeared on the ſhrowdes, and they ſaluted it with their ſongs and prayers. Theſe ſtormes tooke vs betweene the Iſles of Saint Iago and Saint Philip, and the Iſle called Iſla de perlas lying ouer againſt the point of California ſuppoſed to be firme land.

Chap. 7.

Sayling on their way they diſcouer a pleaſant Countrey, and in their iudgement greatly inhabited, and finde the Sea-coaſt very deepe. They went to diſcouer or viewe the Iſle of perles. And by a current one of their ſhips is ſeparated from the other, and with great ioy after three dayes they had ſight again of her, and following their voyage they diſcouer certaine great, greene, and pleaſant plaines.

WE began to ſayle along the coaſt the ſeuenth or eight of Nouember, the land alwayes ſhewing very greene with graſſe pleaſant to behold, and certaine plaines neere the ſhore,

Nouember.

From hence forward they ſaile on the Weſterne or backſide of California

California.

Iſla de perlas.

and vp within the countrey many pleaſant hils repleniſhed with wood, and certaine valleys, ſo that wee were delighted aboue meaſure, and wondered at the greatnes and goodly hiew of the countrey: & euery night we ſaw fires, which ſhewed that the countrey is greatly inhabited. Thus we proceeded on our voyage vntill the tenth of the ſayd moneth of Nouember, hauing alwayes the coaſt of the maine Ocean on our right hand, and the farther we ſailed, wee alwayes found the countrey more delightſome and pleaſant, as well in beholding the greennes therof, as alſo in that it ſhewed certaine plaines and deepe valleys, through which riuers did fall downe into the land, within certaine mountaines, and hilles full of great woods which were not very high, and appeared within the countrey. Here we were 54 leagues diſtant from California little more or leſſe, alwayes toward the Southweſt, ſeeing in the night three or foure fires, whereby it appeareth that the countrey is inhabited, and full of people, for the greatnes of the countrey argueth no leſſe: and we ſuppoſed that there muſt needs bee great townes inhabited within the land, although in this poynt we were of diuers opinions. The ſea is ſo deepe on all this coaſt that we could ſcarce find ground in 54 fadomes. On the greateſt part of the coaſt there are hilles of very white ſand, and it ſeemeth to be a dangerous coaſt, becauſe of the great and ſwift tides which goe there, for the ſand ſheweth ſo much for the ſpace of ten or twelue leagues, for ſo the Pilots affirmed. This day being Saturday the winde increaſed, and wee had ſight of the Iſle of pearles, which on this ſide of the gulfe appeareth with a deepe valley all couered ouer with trees, and ſheweth much fairer then on the other ſide, and wee entred into the Porte of Santa Cruz. From the ninth of Nouember to the fifteenth we ſayled not aboue tenne leagues, becauſe we had contrary winds, and great ſhowres: and beſides this we had another miſchance which did not a little grieue vs: for wee loſt company of the ſhip called The Trinitie, and could neuer ſee her for the ſpace of three dayes, whereupon wee ſuſpected that ſhee was returned home vnto New Spaine, or that ſhe was ſeuered from our company; wherefore we were grieued out of meaſure to ſee our ſelues ſo left alone, and the Captaine of all others was moſt ſad, though he ceaſed not to encourage vs to proceede on our voyage, ſaying that notwithſtanding all this wee ought not to leaue off this enterpriſe which we had begunne, and that though we were left alone we ſhould deſerue the greater commendation and credite: whereupon wee all anſwered him, that wee would not haue him thinke that any of vs would euer be diſcouraged, but that we would follow him vntill hee ſhould thinke it reaſonable that we ſhould not proceede any further in the enterpriſe, and that we were in danger of periſhing, and that vntill then wee would bee at his commandement: but withall we perſwaded him that after he had ſeene any great difficulty to proceede any further, he ſhould doe well to returne backe to make relation of our ſucceſſe to the R. H. lord the Marques de valle. Hereupon he made an Oration vnto vs, wherein he told vs, that he could not beleeue, much leſſe could imagine, wherefore the ſhippe called the Trinitie ſhould returne into Newe Spaine, nor why ſhe ſhould willingly depart from vs, and goe vnto any other place, and that he thought by all reaſon, that ſome current had caried her out of our ſight, and that through contrary weather and tempeſts ſhe could not fetch vs vp, and that notwithſtanding all that which we had done in the voyage, he had an inſtruction, that if by chance we were ſeparated one from the other, wee were to take this courſe to meete againe together, namely to returne backe eight or tenne leagues to ſeeke one another, beyond certaine head-lands which lay out into the ſea, and that therefore we ſhould doe well to returne to ſeeke her vp. This ſentence pleaſed vs all, and ſo returning to ſeeke her, we eſpied her two leagues diſtant from vs, comming toward vs with a freſh gale of winde, whereat we greatly reioyced.

A current.

Thus being come together we ankered for that day, becauſe the weather ſeemed very contrary, and the Captaine chid them for their negligence in ſayling, becauſe they had in ſuch ſort loſt our company; and they excuſed themſelues, that they could doe no leſſe, becauſe a current had caried them away aboue three leagues, whereby they could neuer reach vnto vs. The next day being the ſixteenth of Nouember wee ſet forward, but ſayled very little, for the North and Northweſt winds were againſt vs. Here we diſcouered certaine plaines, in my iudgement very great and greene, and right before vs we could not diſcerne any mountaines or woods, whereat wee marueiled to ſee ſo great a countrey. And wee met an Indian in a Canoa on the ſhore whereon the ſea did breake, who ſtayed to beholde vs a great while, and oftentimes hee lifted vp himſelfe to view vs the better, & then returned backe along the coaſt: we vſed al diligence to ſee whether he would come out further from the ſhore, to giue him chace, and to trie whether we could catch him, but he very cunningly viewed vs without comming neere vnto vs, and returned to the ſhore with his Canoa. Here we ſaw in the euening but one fire, and wiſt not whether it were done by the cunning of the Indians, becauſe they would not haue vs know that there were people there, or that it was ſo indeede. From the ſaid 16 day of Nouember vntill the 24 of the ſame moneth we could not proceede on our way aboue 12 or 15 leagues: and looking into our Sea-chart, we found our ſelues diſtant from the Laguges of the port of Santa Cruz about 70 leagues. Now on the 24 day being munday very early in the morning we beganne to take very good view of that Countrey, and all along the coaſt we ſaw many faire plaines with certaine furrowes made in the midſt like vnto halfe plaines, the ſaid plaine ſtill appearing vp into the Countrey, with pleaſant champions, becauſe the graſſe which grew there was very beautifull, ſhort, and greene, and good paſture for cattell. Howbeit becauſe we rode ſo farre off, we could not perfectly iudge what kind of graſſe it was, but it ſhewed very ſhort and greene, and without thornes. Theſe plaines on the right hand made a bay into a valley which ſeemed to be a piece of a mountaine: the reſt ſhewed to be al plaines without any thiſtles or weedes, but full of graſſe good for cattel very green and faire, as I haue ſaid.

They are 70 leagues from the port of Santa Cruz.

Chap. 8.

One of their ſhips by tempeſt was ſeparated from the other, and afterward meeting with her conſort ſhe reporteth that the land ſtretcheth to the Weſt by the mouth of the great lake. The Pilots are of diuers iudgements touching the ſtate of this coaſt inhabited by *Chichimecas*. They enter into an hauen to take in freſh water, and are ſuddenly aſſayled by two ſquadrons of Indians. They defend themſelues valiantly, and the Captaine with ſome of his ſouldiers are grieuouſly wounded.

The 26 of this moneth being Wedneſday at night the North wind tooke vs, which ſtill increaſed more and more ſo greatly that it put vs to much trouble, for it continued two dayes, in which the Sea was alwayes boiſterous; and this night againe we loſt the Trinity being beaten with the North winde aforeſaid (and we had ſight of her on munday the 24) wherewith we were all of vs greatly agrieued, both Captaines, Souldiers and Mariners, becauſe we ſaw we were left alone, and our ſhip call Santa Agueda wherein we were, was but badly conditioned, and this grieued vs more then the trouble which we had with the boiſterouſneſſe of the Sea, imagining that if we ſhould leeſe the Trinity, or if any miſhap ſhould fall vnto vs, we ſhould not be able to follow our voyage according to our Captaines and our owne deſire. This ſaid 24 day being munday we ſaw a Countrey with high mountaines toward the Northweſt, and it ſeemed that the land ſtretched on ſtill forward, whereat we exceedingly reioyced, becauſe we iudged that the lande grew alwayes broader and broader, and that wee ſhould meete with ſome ſpeciall good thing. Whereupon we deſired that it would pleaſe God to ſend vs good weather for our voyage, which hitherto we found alwayes contrary, ſo that in 26 dayes we ſayled not aboue 70 leagues, and that with much trouble, ſometimes riding at anker and ſometimes ſayling, and ſeeking the remedies and benefite of the ſhore to auoide perils. In this Countrey which we diſcouered the 26 day we alwayes ſaw (as I haue ſaid) along the ſhore, and within the land, goodly plaines without any tree, in the midſt whereof was a lake or gathering together of the Sea-water, which (to our iudgement) was aboue 12 leagues in compaſſe, and the ſea-coaſt reached to the mountaines before mentioned. And this day we ſaw our ſhip called the Trinitie, which rode 2 leagues diſtant from vs, which ſo ſoone as ſhe ſaw vs, ſet ſaile, and we came together and reioyced greatly. They brought vs great quantity of gray fiſhes, and of another kinde: for at the point of thoſe mountaines they found a fiſhing which was very wonderfull, for they ſuffered themſelues to be taken by hand: and they were ſo great that euery one had much adoe to finde roome to lay his fiſh in. They found alſo on the ſaid point a fountaine of freſh water which deſcended from thoſe hilles, and they told vs that at the ſame place they had found a narrow paſſage, whereby the Sea entered into the ſaid lake. They comforted vs much with the report of theſe things, and in telling vs that the lande trended to the Weſt; for the chiefe Pilot thought, and the other Pilot was of the ſame opinion, that we ſhould finde a good Countrey. This night we ſet ſaile to goe to that point to take in freſh water which we wanted, and to ſee this lake, and to put ſome men on ſhore: and after midnight the winde came vpon vs ſo forcibly at the North that we could not ſtay there: whereupon wee were conſtrained to put further into the Sea, and returned the ſame way backe againe vnto the ſhore with much adoe, and came to an anker a great way ſhort of the place from whence we were driuen; and there we rode vntill Thurſday at noone with this bitter North winde, and on Friday about noone, when we moſt thought it would haue ceaſed, it beganne to increaſe againe, which grieued vs not a little ſeeing the weather ſo contrary, hoping alwayes that it would ceaſe, and that ſome winde would blow from the ſhore, whereby we might recouer the point of land to take in

Land running towards the Northweſt.

Note.

A wonderfull fiſhing place like Newfound land.

freſh water, and to ſearch whether there were any people about that lake. Here we lay from the 26 of the ſaide moneth till the 29, driuing vp and downe the Sea, winding in by little and little vntill we had gotten vnder the ſhelter of thoſe mountaines: which being obtayned wee rode the ſayd 29 of the moneth halfe a league from thoſe wooddy mountaines, which we had ſeene in the Sea. We ſtayed in this place at our eaſe all the Sunday, and Iuan Caſtilio the chiefe Pilot went that day in the bote on ſhore with ſeuen in his company, and they landed neere the Sea, and on a certaine low ground they found foure or fiue Indians Chichimecas of great ſtature, and went toward them, who fled away like Deere that had beene chaſed. After this the Pilot went a little way along the Sea-ſhore, and then returned to his boate, and by that time he was entered thereinto, he ſaw about fifteene Indians of great ſtature alſo, with their bowes and arrowes which called vnto him with a loude and ſtrong voice, making ſignes with their bowes; but the Pilot made no account of their geſture, but rather returned to the ſhippes, and declared what had paſſed betweene him and the Indians. The ſame day the Captaine commaunded that our caske ſhould be made readie againſt the next morning to take in water, for in both the ſhippes there were about fiue and twentie buttes emptie. The firſt of December, and the ſecond day in the morning the Captaine went with both the barkes on ſhore with ſome dozen ſouldiers, and the greateſt part of the Mariners which laboured in filling of water, leauing in the ſhippes as many as were needefull, and as ſoone as wee were come on ſhore at the watering place the Captaine cauſed the buttes to be taken out, to the ende they might be filled with water, and while they returned to fetch the barrels and hogsheads of the ſhippe, the Captaine walked a turne or two vpon the ſhore for the ſpace of one or two croſſebow ſhoots, and afterwarde we went vp to certaine of thoſe mountaines, to view the diſpoſition of the countrey, and in trueth we found it in that place very bad to our iudgement, for it was very ragged, full of woods and caues, and ſo ſtonie, that we had much adoe to goe. Being come vnto the top we found certaine ſmall hilles full of woods, and cliffes that were not ſo craggie, although very troubleſome to climbe vp; and while we looked from theſe little hilles, we could not diſcerne any more mountaines, but rather iudged that from that place forward there were great plaines. The Captaine would not ſuffer vs to goe any further, becauſe in thoſe places we had ſeene certaine Indians which ſeemed to be ſpies, and warning vs thereof he commanded vs to retire vnto the ſhore, where we were to take in water, and to diſpatch our buſineſſe quickly, and appointed vs to make certaine pits, that our buts might more eaſily be filled with water. And ſetting our Guardes or Centinels, we began to fill water. In the meane while the Captaine tooke certaine ſouldiers, and went to the top of an high hill, from whence he deſcryed a great part of the Sea, and a lake which is within the land: for the Sea entereth in the ſpace of a league, and there is a good fiſhing place round about: and the lake was ſo great, that it ſeemed vnto vs to be very neere 30 leagues in compaſſe, for we could not diſcerne the end thereof. Then we came downe with no leſſe trouble then wee had mounted vp vnto the hill, by reaſon of the ſteepeneſſe of the place, and ſome tumbled downe with no ſmall laughter of the reſt. And being come ſomewhat late to our watering place (for it was then paſt noone) we ſet our ſelues to dinner, alwayes appointing ſome of our company in Centinell, vntill we were called to dinner, and when ſome were called two others were appointed in their roomes. And about two of the clocke after dinner, the Captaine and the reſt ſuſpecting no danger of aſſalt of Indians, both becauſe the place ſeemed not to be fit for it, as alſo for that we had ſet our Centinels at the paſſages; two ſquadrons of Indians came vpon vs very ſecretly and couertly, for one came by the great valley through which the water ranne which we tooke, and the other came by a part of that great hill which we had aſcended to ſee the lake, and all of them came ſo couertly, that our Centinels could neither ſee nor heare them; and wee had not perceiued them, if a ſouldier by chance lifting vp his eyes had not ſayde, Arme, Arme, my maiſters, for many Indians come vpon vs. When we heard this the Captaine leapt vp in a great rage, becauſe the guards were changed out of their place: and with his ſword and target, being followed by a ſouldier, whoſe name was Haro, and afterward by the reſt, he and the ſaid ſouldier went toward a little gate of certaine ſtones, whither the reſt of vs were to follow him: for if the Indians had gotten that place from vs, we ſhould haue incurred great danger, and the greateſt part of vs had like to haue beene ſlaine, and none could haue eſcaped but ſuch as by chance could haue leapt into the boates, and the tide went ſo high, that none could be ſaued but ſuch as were moſt excellent ſwimmers. But at length the Captaine beſtirred himſelfe very nimbly, vſing all celeritie that was poſſible. Therefore when he and Haro had wonne the gate, the reſt of the ſouldiers gate vp after them, and the Captaine and Haro turned themſelues to the Indians and made head againſt them, and the Indians aſſailed them with ſuch numbers of ſtones,

A fiſhing place and a lake of 30 leagues compaſſe.

A ſudden aſſalt of the Indians with ſtones, arrowes and ſtaues.

arrowes, & iauelins (which was a very ſtrange thing) that they brake in pieces the target which the Captaine had on his arme, and beſides that wounded him with an arrow in the bending of his knee, and though the wound was not great, yet was it very painefull vnto him. While they thus ſtood to withſtand their aſſalt, they ſtrooke Haro which was on the other ſide ſo forcibly with a ſtone, that they threw him flat vpon the ground: and by and by another ſtone lighted vpon him which ſhiuered his Target, and they hit the Captaine with another arrow, and ſhot him quite through one of his eares. Another arrow came and ſtrooke a ſouldier called Grauiello Marques in the legge, of which he felt great paine and went halting. In the meane ſpace Francis Preciado, and certaine other ſouldiers came vp and ioyned himſelfe with the reſt on the left hand of the Captaine, ſaying vnto him, Sir, withdraw your ſelfe, for you be wounded, but be you not diſmayed, for they are but Indians and cannot hurt vs. In this wiſe we beganne to ruſh in among them vpon the ſide of a rocke alwayes gayning ground of them, which greatly incouraged our minds, and when we beganne to inforce them to retire, we wanne a ſmall woody hill, where we ſheltered our ſelues, whereas before they ſhot vpon vs from aloft, for they were on the higher ground vnder couert in ſafetie, & then by no meanes we could offend them, but by running forcibly vpon them with our targets on our armes, and our ſwords in our hands. On the other ſide, to approch and ſeeke to ouertake them was a vaine thing, ſeeing they were as ſwift as wilde goates. By this time Haro was gotten vp on foot, and hauing clapt a woollen cloth vpon his head, which had bled extremely, he ioyned himſelfe vnto vs, of whom we receiued no ſmall aide. In the meane ſpace the Indians fortified themſelues on the cragge of a rocke, from whence they did not a little moleſt vs, & we likewiſe fortified our ſelues vpon an hillocke, whereby we deſcended into their Fort, and there was a ſmall valley betweene them & vs, which was not very deepe from the vpper part. There we were 6 ſouldiers & two Negroes with the Captaine, & all of vs were of opinion that it was not good to paſſe that place, leaſt ẏ Indians being many might deſtroy vs all, for the reſt of our ſouldiers which were beneath at the foote of the hill, making head againſt the other ſquadron of the Indians, kept them frõ hurting thoſe which tooke in water on the ſtrand and from breaking the buts of water, and being but few, we concluded to ſtay here, and ſo we ſtood ſtill fortifying our ſelues as well as we could, eſpecially conſidering that we had no ſuccour on any ſide; for Berecillo our Maſtiue-dogge which ſhould haue aided vs was grieuouſly wounded with 3 arrowes, ſo that by no meanes we could get him from vs: this maſtiue was wounded in the firſt aſſalt when the Indians came vpon vs, who behaued himſelfe very wel, & greatly aided vs; for he ſet vpon them, and put 8 or 10 of them out of array, & made them run away, leauing many arrowes behind them: but at length (as I haue ſaid) he was ſo wounded, that by no meanes we could get him to goe from vs to ſet any more vpon the Indians, & the other two maſtiues did vs more harme then good: for when they went againſt them, they ſhot at them with their bowes, and we receiued hurt and trouble in defending them. The Captaines legge when he waxed cold was ſo ſwolne, that we lapped it vp in a wollen cloth, and he halted much of it: and while the Indians thus ſtood ſtill, one part of them beganne to dance, ſing, and ſhout, and then they began all to lade themſelues with ſtones, and to put their arrowes into their bowes, and to come downe toward vs verie reſolutely to aſſalt vs, and with great out-cries they beganne to fling ſtones and to ſhoot their arrowes. Then Francis Preciado turned him to the Captaine and ſaid: Sir, theſe Indians know or thinke, that we be affeard of them, & in trueth it is a great fault to giue them this incouragement, it were better for vs reſolutely to ſet vpon them with theſe dogs, & to aſſalt them on this hill, that they may know vs to be no daſtards, for they be but Indians and dare not ſtande vs; and if we can get their Fort vpon the hill, God will giue vs victory in all the reſt. The Captaine anſwered, that he liked well of the motion, and that it was beſt ſo to doe; although for any further purſuit vp the hill, he thought we were to take another courſe. By and by Francis Preciado getting his target on his arme, and his ſword in his hand, ranne vnto the other ſide of the valley, which on that part was not very ſteepe, crying S. Iago, vpon them my maiſters, and after him leapt Haro, Terreça, Spinoſa, and a Croſſebow-man called Montanno, and after them followed the Captaine, though very lame, with a Negro and a ſouldier which accompanied him, incouraging and comforting them, willing them not to feare. Thus we draue them to the place where they had fortified themſelues, and from whence they deſcended, and we tooke another hill ouer againſt them within a dartes caſt of them. And hauing breathed our ſelues a little, the Captaine came vnto vs, and ſaid, Go too my maiſters, vpon them before they ſtrengthen themſelues on this hill, for now we ſee plainely that they be affeard of vs, ſeeing we chaſe them continually from their Forts: & ſuddenly 3 or 4 of vs went toward them well couered with targets, vnto the foote of their Fort where they were aſſembled, and the reſt of our company followed vs: the Indians

The Spaniards vſe maſtiues in their warres againſt the Indians. Reade more hereof cap. 12.

beganne

began to make head againſt vs, and to fling many ſtones vpon vs, and ſhoot many arrowes, and we with our ſwords in our hands ruſhed vpon them in ſuch ſort, that they ſeeing how furiouſly we ſet vpon them, abandoned the fort, and ranne downe the hill as ſwift as Deere, and fled vnto another hill ouer againſt vs, where the other ſquadron of the Indians ſtood, of whom they were reſcued, and they began to talke among themſelues, but in a low voyce, and ioyned together 6 and 6 and 8 & 8 in a company, and made a fire and warmed themſelues, and we ſtood quietly beholding what they did.

Chap. 9.

After the skirmiſh the Captaine being wounded, and the reſt of the ſouldiers ſeeing the Indians depart, returned vnto their ſhips. The next day taking in freſh water at the ſaide place he ſent mariners to ſound the mouth of the lake. Departing thence they came to the port called *Baya de Sant Abad*, and indured a dangerous ſtorme at ſea. And afterward comming neere the ſhore to take freſh water in the ſaid hauen, they ſee certaine peaceable Indians.

By this time it was late and the night approched, and the Indians ſeeing this, within a ſhort while after determined to get them packing, and ech of them or the greateſt part tooke firebrands in their hands, & got them away into craggy places. When the Captaine ſaw this he commanded vs to returne aboord our boats, it being now darke night, thanking vs all for the good ſeruice we had done him. And being not able to ſtand vpon his legge, he leaned with his arme vpon Francis Preciado; and thus we returned to our boats, where with much adoe we got aboord, by reaſon of the great tide and roughneſſe of the ſea, ſo that our boats were filled with euery waue. Thus very weary, wet, & ſome wounded (as is aforeſaid) each man returned vnto his ſhip, where our beds which we found, and our refreſhing, & the cheere we had at ſupper did not greatly comfort vs in regard of our former trauels. We paſſed that night in this ſort, and the next day being Tueſday the Captaine found himſelfe greatly payned with his wounds, & chiefly with that on his leg, becauſe it was greatly ſwolne with his going vpon it. We lacked 12 buts to fill with water, and the barrels in both the ſhips, and the Captaine would haue gone out to cauſe them to be filled, but we would not ſuffer him, and therefore we left off the buſineſſe for that day. But he appointed that the croſſebowes ſhould be made readie, and two ſpeciall good harquebuzes, & the next day being Wedneſday very early he commanded Iuan Caſtilio chiefe Pilot to goe out with both the boates and with all the ſouldiers and mariners that he could make, hauing the day before commanded the Trinitie to goe as neere the ſhore as ſhe might, & to make ready ſome of her ordinance, that if the Indians ſhould ſhew themſelues, they might affright them, & doe them as much hurt as they could. Wherfore on the Wedneſday al we that were ſouldiers, ſauing the wounded perſons, went on ſhore with certaine mariners in the beſt order that we could, and tooke the firſt hill, where we had fortified our ſelues, ſtanding all vpon our guard vntill the water was filled, and vntill we were called, during which time not one Indian ſhewed himſelfe. Thus we went aboord when we thought good our ſelues, at leaſt without any ſuſpition of the Indians, although the tide of the ſea were ſo high ẏ it put vs to great trouble, for oftentimes with great waues it beat into our boats. This was on the Wedneſday the 3 of December. And to auoide loſſe of time the Captaine commanded Iuan Caſtilio the chiefe Pilot to take a boat and certaine mariners as he ſhould thinke good, and to view the mouth of the lake to ſee whether the entrance were deepe enough for to harbour the ſhips. He taking the boat of the Admirall with 8 mariners, and ours of the Trinity, went and ſounded the mouth, & on the ſhalloweſt place of the barre without they found 3 fadome depth, and farther in 4, & vp higher 5, alwayes increaſing vnto 10 or 12 fadomes, when they were come into the two points of the ſaid lake, which was a league broad from one point to the other, and all their ſounding was exceeding good ground. Then they went ouer to the ſoutheaſt point, & there they ſaw a great boat or raft which they indeuoured to take to carrie vnto their ſhips. In ẏ meane while they eſpied certaine cottages, which the Pilot determined to goe and ſee, and being come neere they ſaw 3 other raftes with 3 Indians on them diſtant from the cottages one or two croſſebowes ſhot, and he leapt on land with 4 or 5 mariners in his companie: and while they beheld thoſe cottages, they ſaw many Indians deſcending downe a ſmall hill in warlike manner with their bowes and arrowes, whereupon they determined to retire to their boats, and to returne to their ſhips, and they were not gone from the ſea-ſhore ſcarſe a ſtones caſt, but the Indians were come vpon them to ſhoot at them with their arrowes, and becauſe they were vnarmed, they would not fight with them, hauing gone on ſhore for no other purpoſe, but to ſound the mouth and entrance of that lake. On Thurſday the 4 of December we ſet ſaile with a freſh gale of winde, and ſayled ſome 8 or 10 leagues, and came vnto certaine mouthes or inlets which ſeemed to all of vs

A ſpeciall good hauen.

as though they had beene Ilands, and we entered into one of them, and came into an hauen which we called Baya del Abad all incloſed and compaſſed with land, being one of the faireſt hauens that hath beene ſeene: and about the ſame, eſpecially on both ſides the lande was greene and goodly to behold; we diſcryed certaine riuers on that part which ſeemed greene, & therefore we returned backe, going out at that mouth wherby we came in, alwayes hauing contrary wind: yet the Pilots vſed their beſt indeuour to make way: and we ſaw before vs certaine woody hils, and beyond them certaine plaines; this we ſaw from the Friday the 5 of the ſaid moneth, vntill the Tueſday, which was the ninth. As we drew neere to theſe woods they ſeemed very pleaſant, and there were goodly and large hilles and beyond them towardes the ſea were certaine plaines, and through all the countrey we ſaw theſe woods. From the day before, which was the Conception of our Lady, we ſaw many great ſmokes, whereat we much maruelled, being of diuerſe opinions among our ſelues, whether thoſe ſmokes were made by the inhabitants of the countrey or no. Ouer againſt theſe woods there fell euery night ſuch a dew, that euery morning when we roſe, the decke of the ſhip was ſo wet, that vntill the ſunne was of a good height, we alwaies made the decke durtie with going vpon it. We rode ouer againſt theſe woods from the Tueſday morning when we ſet ſaile, vntill Thurſday about midnight, when a cruell Northweſt winde tooke vs, which, whither we would or no, inforced vs to way our anker; and it was ſo great, that the ſhip Santa Agueda began to returne backe, vntill her cable broke, and the ſhip hulled, and ſuddenly with a great guſt the trinket and the mizen were rent aſunder, the Northweſt winde ſtill growing more and more: within a ſhort while after the maine ſaile was rent with a mighty flaw of winde, ſo that we were inforced, both ſouldiers, captaine, and all of vs, to doe our beſt indeuor to mend our ſailes; and the Trinitie was driuen to do the like, for ſhe going round vpon her anker, when ſhe came a-head of it, her cable broke, ſo that there we loſt two ankers, each ſhip one. We went backe to ſeeke Baya del Abad, for we were within 20 leagues of the ſame, and this day we came within foure leagues of it, and being not able to reach it by reaſon of contrary windes, we rode vnder the lee of certaine mountaines and hilles which were bare, and almoſt voide of graſſe, neere vnto a ſtrand full of ſandie hilles. Neere vnto this road wee found a fiſhing-place vnder a point of land, where hauing let downe our lead to ſee what ground was there, a fiſh caught it in his mouth, and began to draw it, and he which held the ſounding-lead crying and ſhewing his fellowes that it was caught, that they might helpe him, as ſoone as he had got it aboue the water, tooke the fiſh, and looſed the cord of the ſounding-lead, and threw it againe into the ſea, to ſee whether there were any good depth, and it was caught againe, whereupon he began to cry for helpe, and all of vs made a ſhout for ioy; thus drawing the fiſh the rope of the ſounding-lead being very great was crackt, but at length we caught the fiſh which was very faire. Here we ſtayed from Friday when we arriued there, vntill the Munday, when as it ſeemed good to our Captaine, that we ſhould repaire to the watering place, from whence we were ſome ſixe leagues diſtant, to take in 12 buttes of water, which wee had drunke and ſpent, becauſe he knew not whither we ſhould from thenceforth finde any water, or no; and though we ſhould finde water, it was doubtfull whither we ſhould be able to take it by reaſon of the great tide that goeth vpon that coaſt. We drewe neere to that place on Munday at night, when as we ſawe certaine fires of the Indians. And on Tueſday morning our Generall commaunded that the Trinitie ſhould come as neere our ſhip & to the ſhore as it could, that if we had neede, they might helpe vs with their great ordinance: and hauing made 3 or 4 bourds to draw neere the ſhore, there came 4 or 5 Indians to the ſea-ſide; who ſtood and beheld while we put out our boat and anker, marking alſo how our bwoy floated vpon the water; and when our boat returned to the ſhip, two of them leapt into the ſea, and ſwamme vnto the bwoy, and beheld it a great while; then they tooke a cane of an arrow, and tyed to the ſayd bwoy a very faire and ſhining ſea-oyſter of pearles, and then returned to the ſhore, neere to the watering-place.

Baya del Abad is 100 leagues from the point of California.

Many great ſmokes, of which alſo Francis Gualle maketh mention.

A fiſhing place.

Great tides vpō this coaſt.

Chap. 10.

They giue vnto the Indians many trifles which ſtand vpon the ſhore to ſee them, and ſeeke to parley with them by their interpreter, which was a *Chichimeco*, who could not vnderſtand their language. They go to take freſh water. *Francis Preciado* ſpendeth the time with them with many ſignes, and trucking and being afeard of their great multitude, retireth himſelfe wiſely with his companions, returning with ſafety to the ſhips.

When the Captaine and we beheld this, we iudged theſe Indians to be peaceable people; whereupon the Captaine tooke the boat with 4 or 5 mariners carrying with him certain beades to truck, and went to ſpeake with them. In the meane while he commanded the Indian interpreter our Chichimeco, to be called out of the Admirall that he ſhould parley with them. And the Captaine came vnto the boy, and laid certaine things vpon it for exchange, & made ſignes vnto the Sauages to come and take them; and an Indian made ſignes vnto our men with his hands, his armes, and head, that they vnderſtood them not, but ſignified that they ſhould go aſide. Whereupon the Captaine departed a ſmal diſtance from that place with his boat. And they made ſignes againe that he ſhould get him further; whereupon we departing a great way off, the ſaide Indians leapt into the water, came vnto the boy, and tooke thoſe beades, and returned backe againe to land, and then came vnto the other three, and all of them viewing our things, they gaue a bowe and certaine arrowes to an Indian, and ſent him away, running with all haſte on the ſhore, and made ſignes vnto vs that they had ſent word vnto their lord what things we had giuen them, and that he would come thither. Within a while after the ſaid Indian returned, running as he did before, and beganne to make ſignes vnto vs, that his Lord was comming. And while we ſtayed here, we ſaw on the ſhore ten or twelue Indians aſſemble themſelues, which came vnto the other Indians, and by and by we ſaw another company of 12 or 15 more appeare, who aſſembled themſelues all together. And againe they began to make ſignes vnto vs, to come foorth with our boates, and ſhewed vs many Oyſters of pearles on the top of certaine canes, making ſignes that they would giue them vs. When we beheld this, the Captaine commanded vs to make readie our boate, and went aboord it with the ſaid mariners, and rowed to a certaine ſtone in forme of a rocke, which lay in the ſea neere vnto the ſhore. And hither came firſt 2 or 3 Indians, and layd downe one of thoſe Oyſters, and a garland made of Parats feathers, or ſparrowes feathers painted red; they layd downe alſo certaine plumes of white feathers, and others of blew colour. In the meane while we ſawe continually Indians aſſemble to the ſhore by tenne and tenne, and ſo by little and little they came in ſquadrons; and one of them aſſoone as hee ſawe the boat beganne to leape forward and backeward with ſo great nimbleneſſe, that doubtleſſe he ſeemed to all of vs a man of great agilitie, and we tooke no ſmall pleaſure while we beheld him fetching thoſe gambols: but the reſt of the Indians which ſtood at the mouth of the freſh water came toward him, and cryed vnto him, forbidding him to vſe thoſe geſtures, becauſe we were come thither in peaceable ſort, and by this meanes he came with the reſt to the watering place, where by little and little in this manner there aſſembled aboue a hundred of them all in order, with certaine ſtaues with cordes to fling them, and with their bowes and arrowes, and they were all painted. In the meane while our Chichimeco-interpreter borne in the Ile of California, was come vnto vs, and the Captaine againe commanded a mariner to ſtrippe himſelfe, and to ſwimme and laye vpon the ſaid rocke certaine belles, and more beades, and when he had layd them there, the Indians made ſignes that he ſhould goe away; and ſo they came thither and tooke them, and our men drew neere with their boat. The Captaine commanded the Indian our Chichimeco to ſpeake vnto them, but they could not vnderſtand him, ſo that we aſſuredly beleeue, that they vnderſtand not the language of the Ile of California. This day being Tueſday vntill night the Indians ſtayed at this watering place, taking ſome of our beades, and giuing vnto vs their feathers and other things, and when it was very late they departed. The morrow following being Wedneſday very early the Captaine commanded that our buttes ſhould be made ready, that before breake of day, and before the Indians ſhould take the hill, which ſtood ouer the watering place, we might be landed in good order: which was put in execution: for we went on ſhore with as many as could goe, ſauing thoſe that had charge to take in the water, and ſuch as were to ſtay on ſhip-boord, which in all were about fourteene or fifteene perſons, in as good order as we could deuiſe: for we were foure croſſebowes, two harquebuziers, and eight or nine targets, and the moſt part of vs carryed very good ſlings, and euery one eighteene riuer-ſtones, which weapon the Captaine inuented, becauſe the Indians at the firſt had handled vs very ſhrewdly with the multitude of ſtones which they flang at vs: we had nothing to defende vs ſauing our targets, and to ſeeke to winne the fortes from whence they indamaged vs; he therefore thought with theſe ſlings, that we might offend them, and we likewiſe thought well of his opinion, for making tryall of them, we threw very well with them, and much farther then we thought we could haue done: for the ſlings being made of hempe, we flung very farre with them. Nowe being come to the watering place the ſayd Wedneſday by breake of day we tooke the fort of the fountaine, which were certaine cragges or rockes hanging ouer the ſame, betweene which there was an opening or deepe valley through which this water runneth, which is no great quantitie, but a little brooke not paſt a fadome broad. So ſtanding all in order, other foure or fiue Indians came thither, who as ſoone as they ſawe vs to be come on ſhore, and to haue gotten the toppe of the watering place, they retired vnto a ſmall hill on the other ſide, for the valley was betweene them and vs: neither ſtayed they long before they beganne to aſſemble themſelues as they had done the day before by 10 and 10, and 15 and 15, ranging themſelues on this high hill, where they made ſignes vnto vs. And Francis Preciado craued licenſe of the Generall to parley with theſe Indians, and to giue them ſome trifles; wherewith he was contented, charging him not to come too neere them, nor to goe into any place where they might hurt him. Whereupon Francis went vnto a plaine place, vnder the hill where the Indians ſtood, and to put them out of feare he layd downe his ſword and target, hauing onely a dagger hanging downe at his girdle, and in a ſkarfe which he carried at his necke, certaine beades to exchange with them, combs, fiſhinghooks and comfits. And he began to goe vp the hill, and to ſhew them diuerſe of his marchandiſe. The Indians as ſoone as he had layd thoſe things on the ground, and gone ſomewhat aſide, came downe from the hill and tooke them, and carried them vp, for it ſeemed that their Lord was among them, to whom they carried thoſe trifles. Then they came downe againe, and layd to giue vnto him in the ſaid place, an oyſter of pearles, and two feathers like haukes feathers, making ſignes to Preciado that he ſhould come and take them; which he did, and againe layde there a ſtring of belles, and a great fiſhhooke, and certaine beades; and they taking the ſame, layd there againe another oyſter of pearle, and certaine feathers: and he layd downe other beads, two fiſhhookes, and more comfits, and the Indians came to take them vp, and approched much neerer vnto him, then at other times, and ſo neere that a man might haue touched them with a pike, and then they began to talke together: and 7 or 8 more came downe, vnto whom Francis Preciado made ſignes, that they ſhould come downe no lower, and they incontinently layd their bowes and arrowes on the ground, and hauing layd them downe came ſomewhat lower, and there with ſignes, together with them which came firſt, they began to parle with him, and required mariners breeches & apparell of him, and aboue all things a red hat pleaſed them highly, which the ſaid Francis ware on his head, and they prayed him to reach it vnto them, or to lay it in the place; and after this certaine of them made ſignes vnto him to knowe whether he would haue a harlot, ſignifying with their fingers thoſe villanies and diſhoneſt actions, and among the reſt they ſet before him an Indian of great ſtature dyed wholly with black, with certaine ſhels of the mother of pearle at his necke, and on his head, and ſpeaking by ſignes to Francis Preciado touching the foreſaid act of fornication, thruſting their finger through a hole, they ſaid vnto him, that if hee would haue a woman, they would bring him one; and he anſwered, that he liked well of it, and that therfore they ſhould bring him one. In the meane ſpace on the other ſide where the Generall ſtood with his company, another ſquadron of Indians ſhewed themſelues, whereupon the Generall and his company made a ſtirre, and put themſelues in battell array: whereupon Francis Preciado was inforced to come downe from [illegible] ioyne with the Generall & his company: and here the Indians which came laſt began to [illegible] ſignes that we ſhould lay downe ſomething to truck, and that they would giue vs ſome of their ſhels of mother of pearle, which they brought vpon certaine ſmall ſtickes, and herewithall they came very neere vnto vs, wherewith we were not well content. And Francis Preciado ſaid vnto the Captaine, that if it pleaſed him, hee would cauſe all the Indians to come together and to ſtay vpon that high hill; and he anſwered, that it was beſt to draw them all together, for by this time our men had taken in all their water, and ſtayed for the boat: whereupon Francis taking a crowne of beades went toward the valley, through which the water ran toward the Indians, and made ſignes vnto them to call the reſt, and to come all together, becauſe hee would goe to the olde place, to lay things on the ground for exchange, as at the firſt; and they anſwered that he ſhould doe ſo, and that they had called the others, and that they would doe, as he would haue them, and ſo they did, for they cauſed them to come vnto them, which they did, and Francis likewiſe went alone towards them, in which meane ſpace the Generall commanded his people to get into the boat. Francis comming vnto the place beganne to lay downe his marchandiſe of traffique, and afterwards made ſignes vnto them to ſtay there, becauſe hee would goe to the ſhips to bring them other things, and ſo he returned to the place where the Captaine was, and found them all got into the boates, ſauing the Generall and three or foure others, and the Generall made as though he had giuen other trifles to Preciado to carry vnto the Indians, and when he was gone a little from him, he called him backe againe, and all this while the Indians ſtood ſtill, and being come vnto him, wee went faire and ſoftly to our boates, and got into them at our eaſe, without any thronging, and thence we came aboord our ſhip.

Truck & traffique with the Indians for mother of pearle, and other things.

The Indians ſeing vs thus gone aboord came downe to the ſtrand where the brooke of water was, and called vnto vs to come foorth with our boates, and to come on ſhore, and to bring our beades, and that they would giue vs of their mother of pearles: but we being now ſet at dinner made no account of them: whereupon they beganne to ſhoot arrowes at the ſhip, and although they fell neere vs, yet they did not reach vs. In the meane ſeaſon certaine mariners went out in the boat, to wey the anker, whereupon the Indians ſeeing them comming towards them, & bringing them nothing, they beganne in ſcorne to ſhew them their buttockes, making ſignes that they ſhould kiſſe their bums: and theſe ſeemed to be thoſe that came laſt. The Generall ſeeing this, commanded a muſket to be once or twiſe ſhot off, and that they ſhould take their iuſt ayme. They ſeeing theſe ſhot to be made readie, ſome of them roſe and went to ſhoot their arrowes at our mariners, which were gone to weigh the ankers, then the Generall commanded the great ordinance ſpeedily to be ſhot off, whereupon three or foure bullets were diſcharged, and we perceiued that we had ſlaine one of them, for we aſſuredly ſaw him lye dead vpon the ſhore; and I thinke ſome of the reſt were wounded. They hearing this noyſe, and ſeeing him dead ranne away as faſt as euer they could, ſome along the ſhore, and ſome through the vallies, dragging the dead Indian with them, after which time none of them appeared, ſaue ten or twelue, which peeped vp with their heads among thoſe rocks; whereupon another piece of ordinance was diſcharged aloft againſt the place where they were, after which time we neuer ſaw any more of them.

Chap. 11.

At the point of the Trinitie they ſpend three dayes in fiſhing, and in other paſtime: after which ſetting ſayle they diſcouer pleaſant countries, and mountaines voide of graſſe, and an Iland afterward called *Iſla de los Cedros*, or the Ile of Cedars, neere which they ſuffer ſharpe colde and raine, and to ſaue themſelues they returne thither.

Immediatly we ſet ſaile to ioyne with the ſhip Santa Agueda, which was aboue halfe a league in the high ſea from vs, and this was on the Wedneſday the ſeuenteenth of December. Being come together becauſe the windes were contrary, we drew neere to a headland, which were called Punta de la Trinidad, and here wee ſtayed fiſhing, and ſolacing our ſelues two or three dayes, although we had alwayes great ſtore of raine. Afterward we beganne to ſayle very ſlowly, and at night we rode ouer againſt thoſe mountaines where we had left our ankers, and vpon knowledge of the place we receiued great contentment ſeeing we had ſailed ſome fiue and thirtie leagues from the place where we had taken in water: neither was it any maruell that wee ſo reioyced, becauſe that the feare which we had of contrary windes cauſed vs to be ſo well apayd of the way which we had made. The day of the holy Natiuitie of our Lord, which was on the Thurſday the fiue and twentieth of the ſaid moneth, God of his mercy beganne to ſhew vs fauour in giuing vs a freſh winde almoſt in the poope, which carried vs beyond thoſe mountaines, for the ſpace of tenne or twelue leagues, finding the coaſt alwayes plaine: and two leagues within the land, which we coaſted along, and betweene theſe mountaines, there was a great ſpace of plaine ground, which we might eaſily diſcerne with our eyes, although others were of another opinion. We beganne from Chriſtmas day to ſaile ſlowly with certaine ſmall land-windes, and ſayled from morning to night about ſeuen or eight leagues, which wee eſteemed no ſmall matter, alwayes praying to God to continue this his fauour toward vs, and thanking him for his holy Natiuitie, and all the dayes of this feaſt the Frier ſayd maſſe in the Admirall, and the father Frier Raimund preached vnto vs, which gaue vs no ſmall comfort, by incouraging vs in the ſeruice of God.

On Saturday at night being the 27 of the ſaid moneth we ankored neere vnto a point which ſeemed to be plaine land all along the ſhore, and within the countrey were high mountaines with certaine woods, which woods and mountaines ranne ouerthwart the countrey, and continued along with certaine ſmall hilles ſharpe on the toppe, and certaine little vallies are betweene thoſe mountaines. And in truth to me which with diligent eyes beheld the ſame both in length and in the breadth thereof, it could not chuſe but be a good countrey, and to haue great matters in it, as well touching the inhabiting thereof by the Indians, as in golde and ſiluer; for there was great likelihood that there is ſtore thereof. This night we ſaw a fire farre within the lande towards thoſe mountaines, which made vs thinke that the countrey was throughly inhabite The next day being Sunday and Innocents day, the 28 of the ſaid moneth, at breake of day we ſet ſayle, and by nine or ten of the clocke had ſayled three or foure leagues, where we met w a point which ſtretched towarde the Weſt, the pleaſant ſituation whereof delighted vs much. From the eight and twentieth of December we ranne our courſe vntill Thurſday being New yeares day of the yeere 1540, and we ran ſome 40 leagues, paſſing by certaine inlets and bayes and certaine high mountains couered with graſſe in colour like roſemary: but toward the ſea-

Great apparance of gold and ſiluer.

January 1540

Forty leagues

very bare and burned, and toward the top were certaine cragges ſomewhat of a red colour, and beyond theſe appeared certaine white mountaines, and ſo all the countrey ſhewed vnto a point which appeared beyond thoſe burnt white and red mountaines which haue neither any graſſe nor tree vpon them, whereat we maruelled not a little. This Newyeares day we ſawe neere the maine two ſmall Ilands, and reioyced greatly to ſee them; for we ſtood in great feare, that contrary windes would driue vs as farre backe in one day, as we had ſayled in tenne, which if they had taken vs, we could not haue withſtood them. Wee ranne from the firſt of January vntill Munday which were fiue dayes, and the land alwayes ſtretched Northweſt from the mountaines aforeſaid.

Two ſmall Ilets neere the maine.

And on the Sunday we ſaw a farre off a-head of vs a high land ſomewhat ſeuered from the maine ſhore, and all of vs beganne to diſpute whether it were the land which trended toward the Northweſt, for that way the Pilots hoped to diſcouer a better countrey: and the ſaid Munday the fift of Januarie we came to this high land beforeſaid, and it was two Ilands the one a ſmall one and the other a great one: we coaſted theſe two Ilands ſome ſixe leagues, which were greene, and had on the toppe of them many high ſlender trees; and the great Iland was twentie leagues in compaſſe. We coaſted it 6 leagues in length without ſeeing or diſcouering any other things, but we ſaw before vs high land which ſtretched eight or tenne leagues Northward, where we rode on Munday at night. From Thurſday being Newyeares day vntill the next Munday we ſayled about 35 leagues. And in this courſe we felt great cold, which grieued vs much, eſpecially being aſſailed by two or three windie ſhowers, which pinched vs much with colde. We rode ouer againſt this land two or three nights, hauing it neere vnto vs, alwayes keeping watch by equall houres, one while mariners, and another ſouldiers, all the night long with great vigilancie. On Tueſday being Twelfe day we came within two or three leagues of this land, which we had deſcryed the day before, ſeeming to vs very pleaſant for it ſhewed greene with greene trees of an ordinary bigneſſe, and we ſaw many vallies, out of which certaine ſmall miſts aroſe, which continued in them for a long time, whereupon we gathered, that they roſe out of certaine riuers. The ſame morning, to our great comfort we ſaw great ſmokes, though we were aboue foure leagues diſtant from them, and the Captaine made no great reckoning to approch neere vnto them, nor to ſeeke nor ſerch what the matter was, and perchance becauſe he was not then in the Santa Agueda, but was aboord the Trinitie, as his maner was to come and ſtay there two or three dayes, as well to paſſe the time, as to giue order for things that were needefull. In this countrey the winter and raine ſeemed to be like that of Caſtile. We rode al night two or three leagues diſtance from ſhore, and toward euening we ſaw fiue or ſixe fires, whereat we all reioyced, but did not maruell thereat, becauſe the ſituation of that countrey ſhewed to be habitable, being faire, pleaſant, and all greene, and likewiſe becauſe the Iland which we had left behind vs being (as I haue ſaid) twentie leagues in circuit, made ſhewe that it was well peopled. On the Wedneſday we were 3 or 4 leagues at ſea from the land, and began to ſee two fires more, & therfore we aſſured our ſelues that the countrey was very well inhabited; and the farther we ſayled, we alwayes found it more ciuill. And for the ſpace of fifty leagues before we came hither we alwayes found ſwimming on the ſea certaine flotes of weedes of a ſhips length, and of the bredth of two ſhips, being round and full of gourds, and vnder theſe weedes were many fiſhes, and on ſome of them were ſtore of fowles like vnto white ſea-meawes. We ſuppoſed that theſe floting weeds did grow vpon ſome rocke vnder the water. We were now in 30 degrees of Northerly latitude. We ſailed from the 7 of January vntill the 9 ſtill with contrary windes; and on Fryday about noone there roſe a North and Northeaſtern winde, which forced vs to returne vnder the ſhelter of that Iland which we left behind vs, from whence we had ſayled aboue twentie leagues. And that Friday at night ſomewhat late wee had ſayled backe aboue twelue leagues of the ſame, and becauſe it was night wee ſtayed in the ſea, where we and our ſhippes were not a little troubled, ſo that all that night none of vs ſlept a winke, but watched euery one. The next morning betimes being Saturday we proceeded on our voyage, and gate vnder the ſhelter of the ſaid Iland, riding in thirtie fadome water: and on that ſide where we ankored, we found high and cloſed mountaines, with heapes of a certaine earth which was all aſhes and burned, and in other places ſkorched and as blacke as coales, and like the ruſt of yron, and in other places whitiſh, and here and there ſmall blacke hilles, whereat we maruelled exceedingly, conſidering that when we paſſed by, it ſeemed vnto vs an habitable countrey full of trees, and now we ſaw not a ſticke growing on this ſide.

Iſla de los Cedros mentioned in the 13 chap.

The land trendeth here Northweſt 35 leagues.

Floting weeds for 50 leagues.

Thirtie degrees of Northerly latitude.

Twentie leagues beyond the Ile of Cedars.

All of vs ſuppoſed that on the other ſide toward the firme lande the trees grewe which we ſawe, although (as I haue ſayde) wee ſayled foure or fiue leagues diſtant from the ſame.

We ſtayed here vnder the ſhelter of theſe mountaines Saturday, Sunday, and Munday, alwayes hauing the Northren winde ſo ſtrong, that we thinke if it had caught vs in the ſea, wee ſhould haue bene caſt away.

Chap. 12.

They enuiron and land vpon the Iland of Cedars, to diſcouer the ſame, and to ſeeke water and wood. They are aſſailed of the Indians, and many of them wounded with ſtones: but at length getting the vpper hand, they goe to their cottages, and ranging farther vp into the Iland they find diuerſe things which the Indians in their flight had left behind them.

ON Friday the 13 of January the Captaine commanded vs to hoiſe out our boates, and to goe on ſhore, which was done accordingly, and we did row along the ſhore for the ſpace of a good halfe league and entered into a valley: for (as I ſaid) all this country was full of high and bare hils, of ſuch qualitie as I mentioned before: and in this and other ſmall valleys we found ſome water which was brackiſh, and not farre from thence certaine cottages made of ſhrubs like vnto broome; likewiſe we found the footings of Indians both ſmall and great, whereat we much marueiled that in ſo rough and wilde a countrey (as farre as we could diſcerne) there ſhould be people. Here we ſtayed all day, making foure or fiue pits to take in water which we wanted, which though it were bad, and in ſmall quantitie we refuſed not; and ſo the euening being come, we returned to our boates, and ſo came vnto our ſhips which rode a good league from the ſhore. The next day being Wedneſday the fourteenth of the ſaid moneth our Generall commanded vs to ſet ſaile, and we ſailed about the ſaid Iland on the ſame ſide which we coaſted when we came from Nueua Eſpanna: for when we arriued on the coaſt we ſaw fiue or ſixe fires; wherefore he deſired to ſee and learne whether it were inhabited; and at the fartheſt ende of this inlet or bay where we rode there came out before vs a Canoa, wherein were foure Indians which came rowing with certaine ſmall oares, and came very neere vs to ſee what we were: whereupon we told our Generall, that it were beſt to ſend ſome of vs out with our boates to take theſe Indians or ſome one of them to giue them ſomething that they might thinke vs to be good people: but hee would not conſent thereto, becauſe he minded not to ſtay, hauing then a prety gale of winde, whereby he might ſaile about this Iland, hoping that afterward we might finde and take ſome others to ſpeake with them, and giue them what we would to carry on ſhore; and as we ſayled neere the land, we ſaw a great hill full of goodly trees of the bigneſſe of the trees and Cypreſſes of Caſtile. We found in this Iland the footing of wilde beaſts and conies, and ſaw a peece of pinetree-wood, whereof we gathered, that there was ſtore of them in that countrey. Thus ſayling neere vnto the ſhore, we ſawe another Canoa comming toward vs with other foure Indians, but it came not very neere vs, and as we looked forward, we ſawe toward a point which was very neere before vs, three other Canoas, one at the head of the point among certaine flattes, and the other two more into the ſea, that they might deſcry vs without comming ouer neere vs. Likewiſe betweene certaine hilles which were neere the point, there appeared here three and there foure of them, and afterward we ſaw a ſmall troope of ſome twentie of them together, ſo that all of vs reioyced greatly to behold them. On this ſide the land ſhewed greene with pieces of plaine ground which was neere the ſea, and likewiſe all thoſe coaſts of hils ſhewed greene, and were couered with many trees, although they grew not very thicke together. Here at comming we rode neere the ſhore hard vpon the ſaid point, to ſee if we could ſpeake with thoſe Indians, and likewiſe to ſee if we could get freſh water, which now we wanted, and ſtill as ſoone as we were come to an anker, we ſaw the Indians ſhew themſelues on land neere vnto their lodgings, comming likewiſe to deſcry vs in a Canoa, by ſixe and ſeuen at a time, whereat we marueiled, becauſe we neuer thought that one of thoſe Canoas would hold ſo many men. In this wiſe we ſtayed looking ſtill what would be the ſucceſſe, and in the place where we rode we were two ſmall leagues diſtant from the ſhore, where we found theſe Indians in their Canoas: whereupon wee marueiled not a little to ſee ſo great an alteration in ſo ſmall a diſtance of countrey, as well becauſe we ſtill diſcouered pleaſant land with trees (whereas on the other ſide of the Ile there were none) as alſo becauſe it was ſo well peopled with Indians, which had ſo many Canoas made of wood, as we might diſcerne, and not raftes or Balſas, for ſo they call thoſe floats which are made all flat with canes.

A Balſa is a flat raft made of canes.

The next day being Thurſday the fifteenth of the ſaid moneth about breake of day ſcarce 4 fiue Indians ſhewed themſelues at the head of that point, who as ſoone as they had ſpyed vs retired behind the point, and hid themſelues among the buſhes vpon certaine ſmall hilles that were there, from whence they iſſued forth, and couered all the greene hils and mountaines, which were along that coaſt; whereupon we gathered that they had their dwellings there, in regard of the cōmoditie of the water and the defence againſt ill weather, and the benefite of fiſhing. At ſun-riſing we ſaw the Indians appeare in greater companies, going vp vnto the hilles in ſmall troopes, and from thence they ſtood and beheld vs. Immediatly we ſaw fiue or ſixe Canoas come out into the ſea a good diſtance from vs, and thoſe which were in them ſtood often on their tip-toes, to view and deſcry vs the better. On the other ſide we ſtirred not at all for all theſe their geſtures, but ſtood ſtill riding at anker; and the Generall ſeemed not to be very willing to take any of them, but this day in the morning very early commanded the Maſters mate to conueigh him to our other ſhippe called The Trinitie. Things paſſed in this ſort, when about ten of the clocke we ſaw three Canoas lanch farre into the ſea to fiſh very neere vnto vs, whereat we tooke great pleaſure. At 12 of the clocke the Generall returned from the Trinitie and commanded the boat & men to be made readie, as well ſouldiers as mariners, and that we ſhould goe on ſhore to ſee if we could get any wood and water, and catch one of thoſe Indians to vnderſtand their language if it were poſſible: and ſo all the men that were readie went into the Admirals boate, and went toward the Trinitie which by this time with the other ſhip had a ſmall gale of winde, wherewith they entered farther within the point, and we diſcouered the lodgings and houſes of the Indians, & ſaw neere the waters ſide thoſe fiue or ſixe Canoas which at the firſt came out to view vs, drawen on ſhore, and ouer againſt this place the ſhips caſt anker in 30 and 35 fadome water, and we were very neere the land; whereat we maruelled much to find ſo great depth of water ſo neere the ſhore. Being gone abord our botes, we made toward the ſhore ouer againſt a village of the Indians, who as ſoone as they ſaw vs about to come on land, left an hill whereon they ſtood to behold what we did, & came downe to the ſhore, where we were prepared to come on land: but before they came againſt vs they cauſed their women and children to fly into the mountaines with their goods, & then came directly towards vs, threatning vs with certaine great ſtaues which they carried in their handes ſome 3 yardes long and thicker then a mans wreſt: but perceiuing that for all this we ceaſed not to come neere the ſea ſhore to come on land, they began to charge vs with ſtones and to fling cruelly at vs, and they hit 4 or 5 men, among whom they ſmote the Generall with two ſtones. In the meane while the other bote landed a little beneath, whereupon when they ſaw that they were forced to diuide themſelues to keepe the reſt of our company from comming on land, they began to be diſcouraged, and did not aſſaile the Generals boate ſo fiercely, who began to cauſe his people to goe on ſhore with no ſmall trouble; for albeit he was neere the land, yet as ſoone as they leapt out of the boat they ſunke downe, becauſe they could finde no faſt footing; and thus ſwimming or otherwiſe as they could, firſt a ſouldier called Spinoſa got on land, and next to him the General, and then ſome of the reſt, and began to make head againſt the Indians, and they came haſtily with thoſe ſtaues in their hands, for other kinds of weapons we ſaw none, ſauing bowes and arrowes of pine-tree. After a ſhort combate they brake in pieces the targets of the Generall, and of Spinoſa. In the meane while thoſe of the other boat were gotten on land, but not without much difficultie, by reaſon of the multitude of ſtones which continually rained downe vpon them, and they ſtroke Terazzo on the head a very ſhrowd blow, and had it not bene for our targets, many of vs had beene wounded, and in great diſtreſſe, although our enemies were but few in number. In this maner all our company came on ſhore with ſwimming and with great difficultie, and if they had not holpen one another, ſome of them had bene drowned. Thus we landed, and within a while after thoſe of the other bote were come on land, the Indians betooke themſelues to flight, taking their way toward the mountaines, whether they had ſent their women, children and goods: on the other ſide we purſued them, & one of thoſe Indians which came to aſſaile the Generals boat, was ſlaine vpon the ſtrand, & two or three others were wounded, and ſome ſaid more. While we purſued them in this maner our maſtiue dogge Berecillo ouertooke one of them not farre from vs (who becauſe we were ſo wet could not run very faſt) and pulled him downe, hauing bitten him cruelly, and doubtleſſe he had held him till we had come, vnleſſe it had happened that another of his companions had not followed that Indian which the dogge had pulled downe, who with a ſtaffe which he had in his hands gaue the dogge a cruell blow on the backe, and without any ſtaying drew his fellow along like a Deere, and Berecillo was faine to leaue him for paine, neither had he ſcarſe taken the dogge off on him, but the Indian got vp, and fled ſo haſtily towarde the mountaine, that within a ſhort while hee ouertooke his fellowe which had ſaued him from the pawes of the dogge, who (as it appeared) betooke him luſtily to his heeles, and thus they came vnto their fellowes which deſcended not downe to the ſhore being about ſome twentie, and they were in all about fiftie or ſixtie.

A village of the Indians.

A skirmiſh of the Indians fighting with ſtones.

The great vſe of targets againſt arrowes and ſtones.

The vſe of maſtiues in the warre againſt Indians.

After we had breathed our ſelues a while, we viewed their houſes where they ſtood, which were certaine cottages couered with ſhrubs like broome and roſemary, with certaine ſtakes pight in the ground; and the Generall willed vs to march all together without diſperſing of our ſelues, a little way vp thoſe mountaines, to ſee if there were any water and wood, becauſe we ſtood in great neede of them both. And while we marched forward, we ſaw in certaine little vallies the goods which the women had left there behind them in their flight: for the Indians as ſoone as they ſaw vs purſue them ouertooke the women, and for feare charged them to flie away with their children leauing their ſtuffe in this place. We went vnto this booty, and found good ſtore of freſh-fiſh, and dried fiſh, and certaine bags containing aboue 28 pound weight full of dried fiſh ground to powder, and many ſeal-ſkins, the moſt part dreſſed with a faire white graine vpon them, and others very badly dreſſed. There were alſo their inſtruments to fiſh withall, as hookes made of the prickes of certaine ſhrubs and trees. Here we tooke the ſaid ſkins without leauing any one in the place, and then we returned to the ſea, becauſe it was now night, or at leaſt very late, and found our botes waiting for vs.

Seale-ſkins well dreſſed with a white graine.

Chap. 13.

A deſcription of the *Canoas* of the Indians of the Ile of Cedars, and how coaſting the ſame to find freſh water they found ſome, and deſiring to take thereof they went on ſhore, and were diuerſly moleſted with the weapons of the Indians. They chriſten an old Indian, and returne vnto their ſhips.

The Canoas which they had were certaine thicke trunkes of Cedars, ſome of them of the thickneſſe of two men, and three fadome long, being not made hollow at all, but being laid along, and faſtened together, they ſhoue them into the ſea, neither were they plained to any purpoſe, for we found no kind of edge-toole, ſauing that there were certaine ſharp ſtones, which we found vpon certaine rockes that were very keene, wherewith we ſuppoſed that they did cut & flea thoſe ſeales. And neere the ſhore we found certaine water, wherewith we filled certaine bottles made of the ſkins of thoſe ſeales, contayning ech of them aboue a great paile of water. The next day our Generall commanded vs to ſet ſaile, whereupon ſailing with a freſh gale about 2 leagues from the ſhore of this Iland, trending about the ſame to ſee the end thereof, and alſo to approch neere the firme land, to informe our ſelues of the ſtate thereof, becauſe we had ſeene 5 or 6 fires, we compaſſed the ſame about: for by this meanes we performed 2 or 3 good actions, namely, we returned to our right courſe, and ſearched whether any riuer fell out of the coaſt of the firme land, or whether there were any trees there, or whether any ſtore of Indians did ſhew themſelues or no.

In this maner proceeding on our way all the Friday being the 16 of Ianuary at euening, and ſeeking to double the point of the Iland, ſo fierce and contrary a Northren winde encountred vs, that it draue vs backe that night ouer againſt the lodgings and habitations of the Indians, and here we ſtayed all Saturday, what time we loſt the Trinitie againe, but on Sunday-night being the 18 we ſaw her againe, and beganne to proceede on our way to compaſſe that Iland, if it pleaſed God to ſend vs good weather.

On Sunday, Munday, and Tueſday (which was the twentieth of the ſaid moneth of Ianuarie) wee ſailed with ſcarſe and contrary windes, and at length came to the cape of the point of the Iland, which we called Iſla de los Cedros or the Ile of Cedars, becauſe that on the tops of the mountaines therein, there growes a wood of theſe Cedars being very tall, as the nature of them is to be. This day the Trinitie deſcryed a village or towne of the Indians, and found water; for on Sunday night we had newly loſt her, and had no ſight of her vntill Tueſday, whereas we found her riding neere the ſhore, not farre from thoſe cottages of the Indians. And as ſoone as we had deſcryed her, we made toward her, and before we could reach her, we eſpied three Canoas of Indians which came hard aboord the ſaid ſhip called The Trinitie, ſo that they touched almoſt the ſide of the ſhip, and gaue them of their fiſh, and our people on the other ſide gaue them certaine trifles in exchange, and after they had ſpoken with them, the Indians went backe to the ſhore, and at the ſame inſtant we came vp vnto the Admirall and rode by them, and they all ſaluted vs, ſaying that the Indians were neere them, and telling what had paſſed betweene them, whereat the Generall and we receiued great contentment. They told vs moreouer, that they had found freſh water, whereby they increaſed our great ioy, becauſe we ſtood in much neede thereof, for at the other place of the Indians we could get but a little.

Iſla de los Cedros, or The Ile of Cedars in 28 deg. and a quarter.

While we thus rode at ankor, we ſaw a Canoa with 3 Indians put out into the ſea from their cottages, and they went vnto a fiſhing place, among certaine great and high weedes, which grow in this ſea among certaine rockes, the greateſt part of which weedes groweth in 15 or 20 fa-

Theſe mighty deepe and high weedes are deſcribed in the end of this treatiſe.

dome

ſome depth; and with great celeritie they caught ſeuen or eight fiſhes, and returned with them vnto the Trinity, and gaue them vnto them, and they in recompenſe gaue the Indians certaine trifles. After this the Indians ſtayed at the ſterne of the ſhip, viewing the ſame aboue three houres ſpace, and taking the oares of our boat they tryed how they could rowe with them, whereat they tooke great pleaſure; and we which were in the Admirall ſtirred not a whit all this while, to giue them the more aſſurance, that they ſhould not flie away, but ſhould ſee, that we ment to doe them no harme, & that we were good people. As ſoone as we were come to anker, & beheld all that had paſſed betweene the Indians and thoſe of the Trinity, after the Indians were gone to the ſhore in their Canoas made of the bodies of trees, the General commanded the boat which was without to be brought vnto him: and when it was come, he, and Francis Preciado, and two others went into it, and ſo we went aboord the Trinity. The Indians ſeeing people comming out of the other ſhip into the Trinitie, ſent two Canoas vnto the ſterne of the ſhip, and brought vs a bottle of water, and we gaue vnto them certain beads, and continued talking with them a little while; but euening approching the aire grew ſomewhat cold. The Indians returned on ſhore to their lodgings, and the General and we to our ſhip. The next day being Wedneſday in the morning, the General commanded certaine of vs to take the bote and goe aſhore, to ſee if we could find any brooke or well of freſh water in the houſes of the Indians, becauſe he thought it vnpoſſible for them to dwell there without any water to drinke. The father frier Raimund likewiſe went out in our company, becauſe the day before ſeeing the Indians came to the ſterne of the ſhippe and parlying with vs, he thought he might haue ſpoken a little with them, with the like familiarity. In like ſort many mariners and ſouldiers went out in the boat of the Trinity, and going altogether with their weapons toward the ſhore, ſomewhat aboue the lodgings of the Indians, very early in the morning they watched the boats, and perceiued that wee would come on land, whereupon they ſent away their women & children with certaine of them, who caried their goods vp into certaine exceeding ſteepe mountaines and hilles, and 5 or 6 of them came toward vs, which were excellently well made, and of a good ſtature. Two of them had bowes and arrowes, and other two 2 baſtonadoes much thicker then the wriſt of a mans hand, and other two with 2 long ſtaues like iauelins with very ſharpe points, and approched very neere vs being nowe come on ſhore. And beginning by ſignes very fiercely to braue vs, they came ſo neere vs, that almoſt they ſtrooke with one of thoſe ſtaues one of our ſouldiers called Garcia a man of good parentage, but the General commanded him to withdraw himſelfe, and not to hurt any of them. In the meane ſeaſon the General and frier Raimund ſtept foorth, the frier lapping a garment about his arme, becauſe they had taken vp ſtones in their hands, fearing that they would do them ſome miſchiefe. Then began both of them to ſpeake vnto them by ſignes & words, to be quiet, ſignifying, that they ment them no harme, but only were come to take water; and the frier ſhewed them a drinking-cup; but nothing would ſerue to make them leaue that bragging, and flinging of ſtones: and the General continuing ſtill in a mind not to hurt them, commanded his men gently to come neere vnto them, and that by ſignes they ſhould all ſhew them, that they meant in no wiſe to hurt them, but that we were come on land onely to take water. On the other ſide refuſing vtterly to take knowledge of theſe things they ſtill inſulted more and more: whereupon Francis Preciado counſelled the General to giue him leaue to kill one of them, becauſe all the reſt would flee away, wherby at our eaſe we might take water: but he replied that he would not haue it ſo, but willed them to looze the two maſtiues Berecillo and Achillo: wherefore the dogs were let looſe, and as ſoone as they ſaw them, they vaniſhed immediately, betaking them to their heeles, and running vp thoſe cliffes like goates. Alſo others which came from the mountaine to ſuccour them, betooke themſelues to flight. The dogs ouertooke two of them, and bit them a little, and we running after, laid hold on them, and they ſeemed as fierce as wild & vntamed beaſts, for 3 or 4 of vs held either of them, to cheriſh & pacifie them, and to ſeeke to giue them ſome thing: but we auailed not, for they bit vs by the hands, and ſtooped downe to take vp ſtones for to ſtrike vs with them. We led them a while in this maner, & came vnto their lodgings, where the Generall gaue a charge, that no man ſhould touch any thing of theirs, commanding Francis Preciado to ſee that this order were obſerued, in not taking any thing frō them, although in very deed there was little or nothing there, becauſe the women and Indians which were fled had caried al away. Here we found an old man in a caue ſo extreamly aged as it was wonderful, which could neither ſee nor go, becauſe he was ſo lame and crooked. The father frier Raimund ſayd, it were good (ſeeing he was ſo aged) to make him a Chriſtian; whereupon we chriſtened him. The captaine gaue the Indians which we had taken two paire of eare-rings, and certaine counterfeit diamonds, and making much of them, ſuffred them to depart at their pleaſure, and in this ſort faire and ſoftly they returned to the reſt of their fellowes in the mountaine. We tooke the matter of

The great vſe of maſtiues in purſuit of the Indians.

that village which was but a ſmall quantity, and then the Generall commanded vs to returne to our ſhip, becauſe we had eaten nothing as yet, and after our repaſt we ſayled towards a bay which lay beyond that village, where we ſaw a very great valley, and thoſe of the Trinitie ſayd, that they had ſeene there good ſtore of water, and ſufficient for vs; wherefore wee ankered neere vnto that valley. And the Generall went on ſhore with both the boates, and the men that went on land in the morning with the two fathers frier Raimund, and frier Antony: and paſſing vp that valley a croſſebow-ſhot, we found a very ſmall brooke of water, which neuertheles ſupplied our neceſſity for we filled two buts thereof that euening, leauing our veſſels to take it with on ſhore vntill the next morning; and we reioyced not a little that we had found this water, for it was freſh, and the water which we had taken vp before was ſomewhat brackiſh, and did vs great hurt both in our bodies and in our taſte.

Chap. 14.

They take poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Cedars for the Emperours Maieſtie, and departing from thence they are greatly toſſed with a tempeſt of the ſea, and returne to the Iſland, as to a ſafe harbour.

The next day being the two and twentieth of January very early the General commanded vs to go on ſhore, and that we ſhould haue our dinner brought vs, and ſhould take in the reſt of our water, which we did, and filled 17 buts without ſeeing any Indian at al. The next day going out to fill 8 or 9 veſſels which were not yet filled, a great winde at Northweſt tooke vs, whereupon they made ſignes to vs from the ſhips, that with all haſte wee ſhould come on boord againe, for the wind grew ſtill higher, and higher, and the Maſters were affraid that our cables would break, thus we were in the open ſea. Therefore being come aboord againe not without great trouble, we returned backe ouer againſt the village of the Indians,* where we had ſlaine the Indian, and becauſe the wind grew more calme about midnight, the Pilots did not caſt anker, but hulled vnder the ſhelter of this Iſland, which (as I haue ſaid) is called The Iſle of Cedars, and is one of the 3 Iſles of S.Stephan, the greateſt & chiefeſt of them, where the General tooke poſſeſſion. While we hulled here, about midnight, the next Friday being the 23 of the moneth, without our expectation we had a freſh gale of wind from the Southeaſt, which was very fauourable for our voyage, & the longer it continued, the more it increaſed: ſo that betweene that night and the next day being Saturday the 24 of the ſaid moneth we ſailed 18 great leagues. While wee were thus on our way, the wind grew ſo contrary and ſo tempeſtuous, that to our great griefe we were conſtrained to coaſt about with our ſhips, and returned twenty leagues backe againe, taking for our ſuccour the ſecond time, the point of the lodgings of the Indians, where the foreſayd Indian was ſlaine, and here we ſtayed Munday, Tewſday, and Wedneſday, during which time the Northweſt and the North wind blew continually, whereupon we determined not to ſtirre from thence vntill we ſaw good weather, and well ſetled for our voyage: for in this climate theſe winds doe raigne ſo greatly, that we feared they would ſtay vs longer there then we would; and we were ſo weary of ſtaying, that euery day ſeemed a moneth vnto vs. Vnder this ſhelter we rode Thurſday, Friday, and Saturday vntill noone, which was the laſt of January in the yeere 1540. About noone the wind began to blow ſoftly at Southweſt, whereupon the General told the Pilots, that we ſhould doe well to put ouer to the maine land, where with ſome wind off the ſhore we might by the grace of God ſaile ſomewhat farther. Thus we hoiſed our ſailes, and ſailed vntill euening three or foure leagues, for the wind ſcanted, and wee remained becalmed. The night being come there aroſe a contrary winde, and we were inforced of neceſſitie to retire the third time to the ſame ſhelter of the Iſle of Cedars, where we ſtayed from the firſt of February vntil Shroueſunday, in the which meane time we tooke in two buts of water which we had ſpent. During the ſpace of theſe eight dayes we ſought to make ſayle two or three times, but as we went out a little beyond the point of this Iſle, we found the wind ſo boyſtrous and contrary, and the ſea ſo growen, that of force we were conſtrained to returne vnder the ſuccour of the Iſland, and often times wee were in great feare that we ſhould not be able to get in thither againe. During this time that we could not proceed on our iourney, we imployed our ſelues in catching a few fiſhes for the Lent. From Shroueſunday being the 8 of February, on which day we ſet ſayle, we ſayled with a very ſcant wind, or rather a calme, vntill Shrouetewſday, on which we came within kenning of the firme land, from whence we were put backe theſe twenty leagues (for in theſe two dayes and a halfe wee ſayled ſome 20 ſmall leagues) and we lay in ſight of the ſaid point of the firme land. And on the Aſhwedneſday we were becalmed, waiting till God of his mercy would helpe vs with a proſperous wind to proceed on our voyage.

Cap.12.

Iſla de los Cedros is the greateſt of the 3 Iſles of S.Stephan.

Read cap.11. about the end.

February.

On Shroueſunday at night, to make good cheere withall wee had ſo great winde and raine, that there was nothing in our ſhips which was not wet, and a very colde ayre. On Aſhwedneſday at ſun-riſing we ſtrooke ſaile neere a point which we fel ſomewhat ſhort withall in a great bay running into this firme land: and this is the place where we ſaw fiue or ſixe fires, and at the riſing of the ſunne being ſo neere the ſhore that we might well deſcrie and viewe it at our pleaſure we ſawe it to bee very pleaſant, for wee deſcried as farre as wee could diſcerne with our eyes, faire valleys, and ſmall hilles, with greene ſhrubs very pleaſant to behold, although there grew no trees there. The ſituation ſhewed their length and breadth. This day was little winde, it being in a manner calme, to our no ſmall griefe: and the father frier Raimund ſayd vs a drie maſſe, and gaue vs aſhes, preaching vnto vs according to the time and ſtate wherein we were: with which ſermon we were greatly comforted. After noonetide we had contrary wind, which ſtill was our enemie in all our iourney, at the leaſt from the point of the port of *Santa Cruz.* Here we were conſtrained to anker in fiue fadome water, and after wee rode at anker wee began to viewe the countrey, and tooke delight in beholding how goodly and pleaſant it was, and neere vnto the ſea wee iudged that wee ſaw a valley of white ground. At euening ſo great a tempeſt came vpon vs of winde and raine, that it was ſo fearefull and dangerous a thing that a greater cannot bee expreſſed; for it had like to haue driuen vs vpon the ſhore, and the chiefe Pilot caſt out another great anker into the ſea, yet all would not ſerue, for both theſe ankers could not ſtay the ſhip. Whereupon all of vs cryed to God for mercy, attending to ſee how he would diſpoſe of vs; who of his great goodneſſe, while we were in this danger, vouchſafed a little to ſlake the tempeſt, and with great ſpeede the chiefe Pilot commanded the mariners to turne the capſten, and the Generall commanded and prayed all the ſouldiers to helpe to turne the capſten, which they were nothing ſlow to performe: and thus we beganne to weigh our ankers, and in weighing of one which was farre greater then the other, the ſea was ſo boiſterous, that it forced the capſten in ſuch ſorte, that the men which were at it could not rule the ſame, and it ſtrooke a Negro of the Generals ſuch a blowe, that it caſt him downe along vpon the decke, and did the like vnto another mariner and one of the barres ſtrooke our fire-furnace ſo violently, that it caſt it ouer-boord into the ſea. Yet for all theſe troubles wee weighed our ankers, and ſet ſayle, and albeit we had great tempeſts at ſea, yet made wee no account thereof in reſpect of the ioy which we conceiued to ſee our ſelues freed of the perill of being caſt on that ſhore with our ſhips, eſpecially ſeeing it fell out at midnight, at which time no man could haue eſcaped, but by a meere myracle from God.

A great bay in the firme land.

The point of Santa Cruz otherwiſe called Punta de Balenas.

Wee ſayled vp and downe the ſea all Thurſday, and vntill Friday in the morning being the fourteenth day of February, and the waues of the ſea continually came raking ouer our deckes. At length, on Saturday morning at breake of day we could finde no remedy againſt the contrary windes, notwithſtanding the Generall was very obſtinate to haue vs keepe out at ſea, although it were very tempeſtuous, leaſt we ſhould be driuen to put backe againe, but no diligence nor remedie preuailed: for the windes were ſo boyſterous and ſo contrary, that they could not be worſe, and the ſea went ſtill higher, and ſwelled more and more, and that in ſuch ſorte, that we greatly feared wee ſhould all periſh. Whereupon the Pilot thought it our beſt courſe to returne to the Iſle of Cedars, whither wee had repaired three or foure times before by reaſon of the ſelfe ſame contrary windes, for wee tooke this Iſland for our father and mother, although we receiued no other benefite thereby ſaue this onely, namely, to repaire thither in theſe neceſſities, and to furniſh our ſelues with water, and with ſome ſmall quantitie of fiſh.

Being therefore arriued at this Iſland, and riding vnder the ſhelter thereof, the contrary windes did alwayes blow very ſtrongly, and here we tooke water which we drunke, and wood for our fewel, and greatly deſired, that the windes would bee more fauourable for proceeding on our iourney. And though we rode vnder the ſhelter of the Iſle, yet felt wee the great fury of thoſe windes, and the rage of the ſea, and our ſhips neuer ceaſed rolling.

At breake of day the twentieth of February wee found the cable of our Admirall cracked, whereupon, to our great griefe, we were conſtrained to ſet ſayle, to fall downe lower the ſpace of a league, and the Trinitie came and rode in our company.

Chap. 15.

They goe on land in the iſle of Cedars, and take diuers wilde beaſts, and refreſh and ſolace themſelues. They are ſtrangely toſſed with the Northweſt winde, and ſeeking often to depart they are forced, for the auoiding of many miſchiefes, to repaire thither againe for harbour.

The two and twentieth of February being the ſecond Sunday in Lent, the General went on ſhore with the greateſt part of his people and the friers, neere vnto a valley which they ſawe before them. And hearing maſſe on land, certaine ſouldiers and mariners, with certaine dogges which we had in our company went into the ſaid valley, and we met with certaine deere, whereof we tooke a female, which was little, but fat, whoſe haire was liker the haire of a wild goat then of a deere, and we found her not to be a perfect deere, for ſhe had foure dugs like vnto a cowe full of milke, which made vs much to marueile. And after we had flayed off her ſkinne, the fleſh ſeemed more like the fleſh of a goate, then of a deere. We killed likewiſe a gray conie, in ſhape like vnto thoſe of Nueua Eſpanna, and another as blacke as heben-wood. In the cottages at the ſhelter aboue, where we brake our cable, we found many pine-nuts opened, which (in mine opinion) the Indians had gathered together to eate the kernels of them. On Munday the 23 of the ſaid moneth, we rode at anker, taking our pleaſure and paſtime with fiſhing. And the Northweſt winde began to blow, which waxed ſo great a little before midnight, as it was wonderfull: ſo that although we were vnder the ſhelter of the Iſland, and greatly defended from that wind, yet for all that it was ſo furious, and the ſea became ſo raging and boiſterous, that it greatly ſhook our ſhips, and we were in great feare of breaking our cables, whereof (to ſay the trueth) we had very much neede: for hauing ſpent longer time in this voyage then we looked for, wee had broken two, and loſt two of our beſt ankers. This furious winde continued vntill the next day being Tewſday the 24 when as we went on ſhore with the friers, who ſayd vs maſſe, recommending our ſelues to God, beſeeching him to vouchſafe to ſuccour and help vs with ſome good weather that we might proceede on our voyage, to the aduancement of his ſeruice. And ſtill the winds were ſo high and outragious, that the deuill ſeemed to be looſed in the aire. Whereupon the Pilots cauſed all the maſts to be let downe, leaſt they ſhould be ſhaken with the wind, and tooke off all the ſhrowds, and likewiſe cauſed the cabbens in the ſterne to be taken away, that the winds might haue more free paſſage, for the ſafetie of the ſhips; yet for al this they ceaſed not to be in great trouble. On Tewſday the ſecond of March, about midnight or ſomewhat after, riding vnder the Iſland in this diſtreſſe, there came a guſt of Northweſt winde, which made the cable of the Admirall to ſlip, and the Trinitie brake her cable, and had bene caſt away, if God of his mercy had not prouided for vs, together with the diligence which the Pilots vſed, in hoiſing the ſailes of the trinkets and mizzen, wherewith they put to ſea, and rode by another anker vntill day, when the men of both the ſhips went with their boats to ſeeke the anker vntill noone, which at length they found and recouered, not without great paines & diligence which they vſed in dragging for it, for they were till noone in ſeeking the ſame, and had much adoe to recouer it. After this we ſet vp our ſhrowdes, and all things neceſſary to ſaile, for to proceede on our voyage, if it pleaſed God, and not to ſtay alwayes in that place, as loſt and forlorne. Thus on the Wedneſday two or three houres after dinner wee ſet ſaile, with a ſcarce winde at Southeaſt, which was fauourable for our courſe and very ſcant: and our Pilots & all the reſt of vs were in no ſmal feare, that it would not continue long. We began therfore to ſet forward, although we ſeemed to ſee before our eies, that at the end of the Iſland we ſhould meete with contrary winde at North and Northweſt. This day about euening when our ſhips had diſcouered the point of this Iſle of Cedars, wee began to perceiue thoſe contrary windes, and the ſea to goe ſo loftily, that it was terrible to behold. And the farther we went, the more the winds increaſed, ſo that they put vs to great diſtreſſe, ſayling alwayes with the ſheates of our maineſaile and trinket warily in our hands, and with great diligence we looſed the ties of all the ſailes, to ſaue them the better, that the wind might not charge them too vehemently. For all this the mariners thought it beſt to returne backe, and that by no means we ſhould runne farre into the ſea, becauſe we were in extreame danger. Whereupon wee followed their counſel, turning backe almoſt to the place from whence we departed, whereat we were al not a little grieued, becauſe we could not proſecute our voyage, and began to want many things for the furniture of our ſhips. The 8 of March being Munday about noone the Generall commanded vs to ſet ſaile, for a ſmall gale of winde blew from the Weſt, which was the wind whereof we had moſt need, to follow our voyage, whereat wee were all glad for the great deſire which we had to depart out of that place. Therefore we began to ſet ſaile, & to paſſe toward the point of the Iſland, and to ſhape our courſe toward the coaſt of the firme land, to view the ſituation thereof. And as we paſſed the Iland, and were betwixt it and the maine, the Northweſt being a contrary wind began to blow, which increaſed ſo by degrees, that we were conſtrained to let fall the bonets of our ſailes, to ſaue them, ſtriking them very low. And the Trinitie ſeeing this bad weather returned forthwith vnto the place from whence we departed, and the Admiral caſt about all night in the ſea, vntill the morning; and the chiefe Pilot conſidering that by no means we could proceed farther without danger, if we ſhould continue at ſea any longer, reſolued that wee ſhould retire our ſelues againe to that ſhelter, where we rode at anker vntill Thurſday. And on Friday about noone we ſet ſaile againe with a ſcarce winde, & in comming forth vnto the point of the Iland, we met againe with contrary winde at Northweſt: whereupon running all night with the firme land, on Saturday in the morning being S. Lazarus day and the 13 of march, we came in ſight thereof, in viewing of the which we all reioyced, and we ſouldiers would very willingly haue gone on ſhore. This night fel great ſtore of raine like the raine in Caſtilia, and we were all well wet in the morning, & we tooke great pleaſure in beholding the ſituation of that firme land, becauſe it was greene, and becauſe we had diſcouered a pleaſant valley and plaines of good largenes, which ſeemed to bee enuironed with a garland of mountains. At length for feare of miſfortunes, ſeeing the ſea ſo high, we durſt not ſtay here or approch neere the land, & becauſe we had great want of cables and ankers, we were again conſtrained to put to ſea; and being in the ſame, and finding the ſaid contrary windes, the Pilots iudged that we had none other remedie, but againe to retire our ſelues to our wonted ſhelter. And thus we returned, but ſomewhat aboue the old place. On Sunday we rode here to the great grief of all the cõpany, conſidering what troubles we indured, & could not get forward; ſo that this was ſuch a corraſiue, as none could be more intollerable. This day being come to an anker wee had a mighty gale of wind at Northweſt, which was our aduerſary and capital enemie, and when day was ſhut in, it ſtill grew greater and greater, ſo that the ſhips rouled much. And after midnight, toward break of day, the Trinitie brake her two cables, which held the two ankers which ſhe had, and ſeeing her ſelfe thus forlorne, ſhe turned vp and downe in the ſea vntill day, and came & rode neere vs, by one anker which ſhee had left. This day all of vs went to ſeeke theſe loſt ankers, and for all the diligence which wee vſed, wee could find but one of them. We rode at anker all day until night, when the Trinitie againe brake a cable, which certaine rocks had cut aſunder: whervpon the General commanded that ſhe ſhould ride no longer at anker, but that ſhee ſhould turne vp and downe, as ſhe had done before in ſight of vs, which ſhe did al day long, and at night ſhe came to an anker ouer againſt a freſh water ſomewhat lower, and wee went and rode hard by her. On Palme-ſunday we went on ſhore with the fathers, which read the paſſion vnto vs and ſaid maſſe, and we went in proceſſion with branches in our hands. And ſo being comforted, becauſe we had receiued that holy Sacrament, we returned to our ſhips.

The firme land very green and pleaſant with goodly valleys and plaines.

Chap. 16.

Returning to the Iſle of Cedars weather-beaten, and with their ſhips in euil caſe, they conclude, that the ſhip called *Santa Agueda* or *Santa Agatha* ſhould returne vnto *Nueua Eſpanna*. Of the multitude of whales which they found about the point of *California*: with the deſcription of a weede, which groweth among the Iſlands of thoſe ſeas.

HEre we continued vntill the Wedneſday before Eaſter being the foure and twentieth of March, on which day wee conſulted together, that becauſe the ſhips were ill conditioned, and wanted neceſſary furniture to proceede any further, it were beſt for vs to returne backe to New Spaine, as alſo becauſe our clothes were conſumed: but the Generall ſeemed not willing to returne, but to proceed on his voyage: and in fine it was reſolued, that ſeeing both the ſhips could not proceede forward, as well becauſe they had loſt their neceſſary furnitures, as alſo that the Santa Agatha had neede of calking, becauſe ſhe receiued much water, and was the worſt furniſhed of the twaine, that ſhee ſhould returne backe to aduertize the Marques of our ſucceſſe in this voyage, and what hindred our proceeding, and in what caſe wee ſtoode, and howe wee were bereft of our neceſſary furniture. And becauſe the Trinitie was the ſwifter ſhip, and better appointed then the other, it was concluded, that it ſhould be prouided in the beſt maner that might be, & that the General ſhould proceed on his iourney in her with ſuch cõpanie as he ſhould make choiſe of, and that the reſt ſhould returne at their good leiſure. Wherefore vpon this determination we went vnder a point of this Iland, becauſe it was a fit place to carene the ſhip: & in recouering the ſame we ſpent Wedneſday, Thurſday, and Friday till noone, and yet for all that wee could not wel double it, vntil Eaſter day about noone. Here we ankered very neere the ſhore, and in a valley we found very excellent freſh water, wherof we made no ſmal account, & here ſtayed all the Eaſter-holidayes, to ſet our ſelues about the furniſhing vp of the Trinity: and after the worke was taken in hand by the two Maſters which were very ſufficient calkers (one of which was Iuan Caſtiliano chiefe Pilot, and the other Peruccio de Bermes) they finiſhed the ſame ſo well in ſix dayes, as it was wonderfull; for no man could perceiue how any droppe of water could enter into any of the ſeames. Afterward they mended the other ſhip from Saturday till Munday, during which time all thoſe were ſhriuen that had not confeſſed, and receiued the communion, and it was reſolued by charge of the confeſſors, that all thoſe ſeale-ſkins which they had taken from the Indians ſhould bee reſtored againe; and the Generall gaue charge to Francis Preciado to reſtore them all, charging him on his conſcience ſo to doe. Thus they gathered them together, and deliuered them into the hands of the fathers, to bee kept vntill they returned to the place, where they were to reſtore them. After this maner on Munday before noone we tooke our leaues of the Generall Francis Vlloa, and of the people that ſtayed with him, who at our departure ſhed no ſmall number of teares, and we choſe for our captaine in the Santa Agueda maſter Iuan Caſtiliano the chiefe pilot, as well of the ſhip, as of vs all, and ſet ſaile the ſame day being the fift of April, hauing our boat tied at our ſterne, till we came ouer againſt the cottages, whence wee had taken the ſeale-ſkins. From the countrey of the Chriſtians and the port of Colima we were now diſtant ſome three hundreth leagues, which is the firſt port where wee determined to touch at. And hauing ſailed a league from the Trinitie the captaine Iuan Caſtiliano commanded vs to ſalute them with three pieces of great Ordinance, and ſhe anſwered vs with other three, and afterward we anſwered one another with two ſhot apiece.

The Santa Agueda returneth for Newſpaine the 5. of April

The Iſle of Cedars 300 leagues from Colima.

The ſixt of April.

We ſailed on Munday & Tewſday til noon with contrary wind in ſight of the Iſland, and at noone we had a freſh gale in the poupe, which brought vs ouer againſt the cottages of the Indians where we tooke away thoſe ſeal-ſkins; & there certain ſouldiers & mariners with the father frier Antony de Melo leapt on ſhore with the boat, carying the ſkins with them, & flung them into the ſayd cottages out of which they were taken, and ſo returned to their ſhip. This day the weather calmed, wherupon we were driuen to caſt anker, fearing that we ſhould forthwith be diſtreſſed for want of victuals, if we ſhould ſtay there any long time: but God which is the true helper prouided better for vs then we deſerued or imagined; for as we rode here, after midnight the Wedneſday following before ten of the clocke wee had a fauourable gale of winde from the Southeaſt, which put vs into the ſea; whither being driuen, wee had the wind at Northweſt ſo good and conſtant, that in ſixe dayes it brought vs to the cape of the point of the port of Santa Cruz: for which ſo great bleſſing of God we gaue vnto him infinite thankes. And here we began to allow our ſelues a greater proportion of victuals then wee had done before, for wee had eaten very ſparingly in feare leſt our victuals would faile vs. Before we came to this point of the hauen of Santa Cruz by ſixe or ſeuen leagues we ſaw on ſhore between certaine valleys diuers great ſmokes. And hauing paſſed the point of this port, our captaine thought it good to lanch foorth into the maine Ocean: yet although we ran a ſwift courſe, aboue 500 whales came athwart of vs in 2 or 3 ſkulles within one houres ſpace, which were ſo huge, as it was wonderfull, and ſome of them came ſo neere vnto the ſhip, that they ſwam vnder the ſame from one ſide to another, whereupon we were in great feare, leſt they ſhould doe vs ſome hurt, but they could not becauſe the ſhip had a proſperous and good winde, and made much way, whereby it could receiue no harme, although they touched and ſtrooke the ſame.

The 7 of April

They ſail from the Iſle of Cedars to the point of Santa Cruz in California in ſixe dayes

Punta de Balenas

Read more of theſe weeds cap. 13.

Among theſe Iſlands are ſuch abundance of thoſe weedes, that if at any time wee were inforced to ſayle ouer them they hindred the courſe of our ſhips. They growe fourteene or fifteene fadome deepe vnder the water, their tops reaching foure or fiue fadome aboue the water. They are of the colour of yellow ware, & their ſtalke groweth great proportionably. This weede is much more beautifull then it is ſet foorth, and no maruell, for the naturall painter and creator thereof is moſt excellent.

This relation was taken out of that which Francis Preciado brought with him.

Sant Iago de Buena eſperança in 19 degrees.

After this ſhip the Santa Agueda departed from the Generall Vlloa, and returned backe the 5 of April, ſhe arriued in the port of Sant Iago de buena eſperança the 18 of the ſaid moneth, and after ſhe had ſtayed there foure or fiue dayes, ſhe departed for Acapulco: howbeit vntill this preſent ſeuenteenth of May in the yeere 1540, I haue heard no tidings nor newes of her.

Cabo del Enganno in 30 degrees & a halfe

Moreouer after the departure of the Santa Agueda for Nueua Eſpanna, the Generall Francis Vlloa in the ſhip called the Trinitie proceeding on his diſcouery coaſted the land vntill he came to a point called Cabo del Enganno ſtanding in thirty degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude, and then returned backe to Newſpaine, becauſe he found the windes very contrary, and his victuals failed him.

The

The relation of the nauigation and diſcouery which Captaine *Fernando Alarchon* made by the order of the right honourable Lord *Don Antonio de Mendoça* Vizeroy of *New Spaine*, dated in *Colima*, an hauen of *New Spaine*.

Chap. 1.

Fernando Alarchon after he had ſuffered a ſtorme, arriued with his Fleete at the hauen of *Saint Iago*, and from thence at the hauen of *Aguaiaual*: he was in great perill in ſeeking to diſcouer a Bay, and getting out of the ſame he diſcouered a riuer on the coaſt with a great current, entring into the ſame, and coaſting along he diſcried a great many of Indians with their weapons: with ſignes hee hath traffique with them, and fearing ſome great danger returneth to his ſhips.

ON Sunday the ninth of May in the yeere 1540. I ſet ſaile with two ſhips, the one called Saint Peter being Admirall, and the other Saint Catherine, and wee ſet forward meaning to goe to the hauen of Saint Iago of good hope: but before we arriued there wee had a terrible ſtorme, wherewith they which were in the ſhip called Saint Catherine, being more afraid then was neede, caſt ouer boord nine pieces of Ordinance, two ankers and one cable, and many other things as needfull for the enterpriſe wherein we went, as the ſhippe it ſelfe. Aſſoone as we were arriued at the hauen of Saint Iago I repaired my loſſe which I had receiued, prouided my ſelfe of things neceſſary, and tooke aboord my people which looked for my comming, and directed my courſe toward the hauen of Aguaiauall. And being there arriued I vnderſtood that the Generall Francis Vazquez de Coronado was departed with all his people: whereupon taking the ſhip called Saint Gabriel which carried victuals for the armie I led her with mee to put in execution your Lordſhips order. Afterward I followed my courſe along the coaſt without departing from the ſame, to ſee if I could find any token, or any Indian which could giue me knowledge of him: and in ſailing ſo neere the ſhore I diſcouered other very good hauens, for the ſhips whereof Captaine Francis de Vllua was Generall for the Marqueſſe de Valle neither ſawe nor found them. And when we were come to the flats and ſhoalds from whence the foreſaid fleete returned, it ſeemed aſwell to me as to the reſt, that we had the firme land before vs, and that thoſe ſhoalds were ſo perilous and fearefull, that it was a thing to be conſidered whither with our ſkiffes we could enter in among them: and the Pilotes and the reſt of the company would haue had vs done as Captaine Vllua did, and haue returned backe againe. But becauſe your Lordſhip commanded mee, that I ſhould bring you the ſecret of that gulfe, I reſolued, that although I had knowen I ſhould haue loſt the ſhippes, I would not haue ceaſed for any thing to haue ſeene the head thereof: and therefore I commanded Nicolas Zamorano Pilote maior, and Dominico del Caſtello that eche of them ſhould take a boate, and their lead in their hands, and runne in among thoſe ſhoalds, to ſee if they could find out the chanell whereby the ſhippes might enter in: to whom it ſeemed that the ſhips might ſaile vp higher (although with great trauell and danger) and in this ſort I and he began to follow our way which they had taken, and within a ſhort while after wee found our ſelues faſt on the ſands with all our three ſhips, in ſuch ſort that one could not helpe another, neither could the boates ſuccour vs, becauſe the current was ſo great that it was impoſſible for one of vs to come vnto another: whereupon we were in ſuch great ieopardie that the decke of the Admirall was oftentimes vnder water, and if a great ſurge of the ſea had not come & driuen our ſhip right vp, and gaue her leaue as it were to breath a while, we had there bin drowned: and likewiſe the other two ſhippes found themſelues in very great hazard, yet becauſe they were leſſer and drewe leſſe water, their danger was not ſo great as ours. Nowe it pleaſed God vpon the returne of the flood that the ſhippes came on flote, and ſo wee went forward. And although the company would haue returned backe, yet for all this I determined to goe forwarde, and to purſue our attempted voyage: and we paſſed forward with much adoe, turning our ſternes now this way, now that way, to ſeeke to find the chanel. And it pleaſed God that after this ſort we came to the very bottome of the Bay: where wee found a very mightie riuer, which ranne with ſo great fury of a ſtreame, that we could hardly ſaile againſt it. In this ſort I determined as wel as I could to goe vp this riuer, and with two boates, leauing the third with the ſhips, and twenty men, my ſelfe being in one of them with Roderigo Maldonado treaſurer of this fleet, and Gaſpar de Caſtilleia comptroller, and with certaine ſmall pieces of artillerie I began to ſaile vp the riuer, and charged

The hauen of Saint Iago.

The hauen of Aguaiauall.

Theſe ſhoalds are the bottome of mar Bermejo, or the Bay of California.

The bottome of the Bay of California.

They got vp the riuer of Buena guia the 26. of Auguſt.

He carried an interpreter with him.

A very good courſe taken to appeaſe vnknowen ſauages.

all my company, that none of them ſhould ſtirre nor vſe any ſigne, but he whom I appoynted, although wee found Indians. The ſame day, which was Thurſday the ſixe and twentieth of Auguſt, following our voyage with drawing the boats with halſers we went about ſome 6 leagues: and the next day which was Friday by the breake of day thus following our way vpwart, I ſaw certaine Indians which went toward certaine cottages neere vnto the water, who aſſoone as they ſaw vs, ten or twelue of them roſe vp furiouſly, and crying with a loud voyce, other of their companions came running together to the number of 50 which with all haſte carried out of their cottages ſuch things as they had, and layd them vnder certaine ſhrubs and many of them came running toward that part whether wee approched, making great ſignes vnto vs that we ſhould goe backe againe, vſing great threatnings againſt vs, one while running on this ſide and another while on that ſide. I ſeeing them in ſuch a rage, cauſed our boates to lanch from the ſhore into the middes of the riuer, that the Indians might be out of feare, and I rode at anker, and ſet my people in as good order as I could, charging them that no man ſhould ſpeake, nor make any ſigne nor motion, nor ſtirre out of his place, nor ſhould not be offended for any thing that the Indians did, nor ſhould ſhewe no token of warre: And by this meanes the Indians came euery foote neere the riuers ſide to ſee vs: and I gate by little and little toward them where the riuer ſeemed to be deepeſt. In this meane ſpace there were about two hundred and fiftie Indians aſſembled together with bowes and arrowes, and with certaine banners in warrelike ſort in ſuch maner as thoſe of New Spayne doe vſe: and perceiuing that I drewe toward the ſhore, they came with great cryes toward vs with bowes and arrowes put into them, and with their banners diſplayed. And I went vnto the ſterne of my boate with the interpreter which I carried with me, whom I commanded to ſpeake vnto them, and when he ſpake, they neither vnderſtood him, nor he them, although becauſe they ſawe him to be after their faſhion, they ſtayed themſelues: and ſeeing this I drewe neerer the ſhore, and they with great cryes came to keepe mee from the ſhore of the riuer, making ſignes that I ſhould not come any farther, putting ſtakes in my way betweene the water and the land: and the more I lingered, the more people ſtill flocked together. Which when I had conſidered I beganne to make them ſignes of peace, and taking my ſword and target, I caſt them downe in the boate and ſet my feete vpon them, giuing them to vnderſtand with this and other tokens that I deſired not to haue warre with them, and that they ſhould doe the like. Alſo I tooke a banner and caſt it downe, and I cauſed my company that were with mee to ſit downe likewiſe, and taking the wares of exchange which I carried with mee, I called them to giue them ſome of them: yet for all this none of them ſtirred to take any of them, but rather flocked together, and beganne to make a great murmuring among themſelues: and ſuddenly one came out from among them with a ſtaffe wherein certayne ſhelles were ſet, and entred into the water to giue them vnto mee, and I tooke them, and made ſignes vnto him that hee ſhould come neere me, which when he had done, I imbraced him, and gaue him in recompence certaine beades and other things, and he returning with them vnto his fellowes, began to looke vpon them, and to parley together, and within a while after many of them came toward me, to whom I made ſignes to lay downe their banners, and to leaue their weapons: which they did incontinently, then I made ſignes that they ſhould lay them altogether, and ſhould goe aſide from them, which likewiſe they did: and they cauſed thoſe Indians which newly came thither to leaue them, and to lay them together with the reſt. After this I called them vnto me, and to all them which came I gaue ſome ſmal trifle, vſing them gently, and by this time they were ſo many that came thronging about mee, that I thought I could not ſtay any longer in ſafety among them, and I made ſignes vnto them that they ſhould withdraw themſelues, and that they ſhould ſtand al vpon the ſide of an hill which was there betweene a plaine & the riuer, and that they ſhould not preſſe to me aboue ten at a time. And immediatly the moſt ancient among them called vnto them with a loud voyce, willing them to do ſo: and ſome ten or twelue of them came where I was: whereupon ſeeing my ſelfe in ſome ſecuritie, I determined to goe on land the more to put them out of feare: and for my more ſecuritie, I made ſignes vnto them, to ſit downe on the ground which they did: but when they ſaw that ten or twelue of my companions came a ſhore after me, they began to be angry, and I made ſignes vnto them that we would be friends, and that they ſhould not feare, & herewithal they were pacified, and ſate down as they did before, and I went vnto them, & imbraced them, giuing them certain trifles, commanding mine interpreter to ſpeake vnto them, for I greatly deſired to vnderſtand their maner of ſpeech, and the cry which they made at mee. And that I might knowe what maner of foode they had, I made a ſigne vnto them, that wee would gladly eate, and they brought mee certaine cakes of Maiz, and a loafe of Mizquiqui, and they made ſignes vnto mee that they deſired to ſee an harquebuſe ſhotte off, which I cauſed to be diſcharged, and they were all wonderfully afraid, except two or three olde men among them which were not mooued at all, but rather cried out vpon the reſt, becauſe they were afrayd: and through the ſpeach of one of theſe olde men, they began to riſe vp from the ground, and to lay hold on their weapons: whom when I ſought to appeaſe, I would haue giuen him a ſilken girdle of diuers colours, and hee in a great rage bitte his nether lippe cruelly, and gaue mee a thumpe with his elbowe on the the breſt, and turned in a great furie to ſpeake vnto his company. After that I ſaw them aduance their banners, I determined to returne my ſelfe gently to my boates, and with a ſmall gale of wind I ſet ſayle, whereby wee might breake the current which was very great, although my company were not well pleaſed to goe any farther. In the meane ſpace the Indians came following vs along the ſhore of the riuer, making ſignes that I ſhould come on land, and that they would giue mee food to eate, ſome of them ſucking their fingers, and others entred into the water with certaine cakes of Maiz to giue me them in my boate.

Chap. 2.

Of the habite, armour and ſtature of the Indians. A relation of many others with whom he had by ſignes traffique, victuals and many courteſies.

IN this ſort we went vp two leagues, and I arriued neere a cliffe of an hill, whereupon was an arbour made newly, where they made ſignes vnto me, crying that I ſhould go thither, ſhewing me the ſame with their handes, and telling mee that there was meate to eate. But I would not goe thither, ſeeing the place was apt for ſome ambuſh, but followed on my voyage, within a while after iſſued out from thence aboue a thouſand armed men with their bowes and arrowes, and after that many women and children ſhewed themſelues, toward whom I would not goe, but becauſe the Sunne was almoſt ſet, I rode in the middeſt of the riuer. Theſe Indians came decked after ſundry faſhions, ſome came with a painting that couered their face all ouer, ſome had their faces halfe couered, but all beſmouched with cole, and euery one as it liked him beſt. Others carried viſards before them of the ſame colour which had the ſhape of faces. They weare on their heads a piece of a Deeres ſkinne two ſpannes broad ſet after the maner of a helmet, and vpon it certaine ſmall ſticks with ſome ſortes of fethers. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes of hard wood, and two or three ſorts of maces of wood hardened in the fire. This is a mightie people, well feitured, and without any groſſeneſſe. They haue holes bored in their noſtrels whereat certaine pendents hang: and others weare ſhelles, and their eares are full of holes, whereon they hang bones and ſhelles. All of them both great and ſmall weare a girdle about their waſte made of diuerſe colours, and in the middle is faſtened a round bunch of feathers, which hangeth downe behind like a tayle. Likewiſe on the brawne of their armes they weare a ſtreit ſtring, which they wind ſo often about that it becommeth as broad as ones hand. They weare certaine pieces of Deeres bones faſtened to their armes, werewith they ſtrike off the ſweate, and at the other certaine ſmall pipes of canes. They carry alſo certaine little long bagges about an hand broade tyed to their left arme, which ſerue them alſo in ſtead of braſers for their bowes, full of the powder of a certaine herbe, whereof they make a certaine beuerage. They haue their bodies traced with coles, their haire cut before, and behind it hangs downe to their waſt. The women goe naked, and weare a great wreath of fethers behind them, and before painted and glued together, and their haire like the men. There were among theſe Indians three or foure men in womens apparell. Nowe the next day being Saturday very early I went forward on my way vp the riuer, ſetting on ſhore two men for eache boate to drawe them with the rope, and about breaking foorth of the Sunne, wee heard a mightie crie of Indians on both ſides of the riuer with their weapons, but without any banner. I thought good to attend their comming, aſwell to ſee what they woulde haue, as alſo to try whether our interpreter could vnderſtand them. When they came ouer againſt vs they leapt into the riuer on both ſides with their bowes and arrowes, and when they ſpake, our interpreter vnderſtoode them not: whereupon I beganne to make a ſigne vnto them that they ſhould lay away their weapons, as the other had done. Some did as I willed them, and ſome did not, and thoſe which did, I willed to come neere me and gaue them ſome things which we had to trucke withall, which when the others perceiued, that they might likewiſe haue their part, they layd away their weapons likewiſe. I iudging my ſelfe to be in ſecuritie leaped on ſhore with them, and ſtoode in the the middeſt of them, who vnderſtanding that I came not to fight with them, began to giue ſome of thoſe ſhels and beades, and ſome brought me certaine ſkinnes well dreſſed, and others Maiz and a roll of the ſame naughtily grained, ſo that none of them came vnto me that brought mee not ſomething, and before they

Good forecaſt.

Indians beſmouched with cole.

Pipes and bagges of Tabacco.

Shels and beades.

gaue it me going a little way from mee they began to cry out amayne, and made a ſigne with their bodies and armes, and afterward they approched to giue me that which they brought. And now that the Sunne beganne to ſet I put off from the ſhore, and rode in the middeſt of the riuer. The next morning before breake of day on both ſides of the riuer wee heard greater cryes and of more Indians, which leaped into the riuer to ſwimme, and they came to bring mee certaine gourdes full of Maiz, and of thoſe wreathes which I ſpake of before. I ſhewed vnto them Wheate and Beanes, and other ſeedes, to ſee whether they had any of thoſe kindes: but they ſhewed mee that they had no knowledge of them, and wondred at all of them, and by ſignes I came to vnderſtand that the thing which they moſt eſteemed and reuerenced was the Sunne: and I ſignified vnto them that I came from the Sunne. Whereat they marueiled, and then they began to beholde me from the toppe to the toe, and ſhewed me more fauour then they did before: and when I asked them for food, they brought me ſuch abundance that I was inforced twiſe to call for the boates to put it into them, and from that time forward of all the things which they brought me they flang vp into the ayre one part vnto the Sunne, and afterward turned towards me to giue mee the other part: and ſo I was alwayes better ſerued and eſteemed of them as well in drawing of the boats vp the riuer, as alſo in giuing me food to eat: and they ſhewed me ſo great loue, that when I ſtayed they would haue carried vs in their armes vnto their houſes: and in no kind of thing they would breake my commandement: and for my ſuretie, I willed them not to carry any weapons in my ſight: and they were ſo carefull to doe ſo, that if any man came newly thither with them, ſuddenly they would goe and meete him to cauſe him to lay them downe farre from mee: and I ſhewed them that I tooke great pleaſure in their ſo doing: and to ſome of the chiefe of them I gaue certaine little napkins and other trifles; for if I ſhould haue giuen ſomewhat to euery one of them in particular, all the ſmall wares in New Spayne would not haue ſufficed. Sometimes it fell out (ſuch was the great loue and good wil which they ſhewed me) that if any Indians came thither by chance with their weapons, and if any one being warned to leaue them behind him, if by negligence, or becauſe he vnderſtood them not at the firſt warning, he had not layd them away, they would runne vnto him, and take them from him by force, and would breake them in pieces in my preſence. Afterward they tooke the rope ſo louingly, and with ſtriuing one with another for it, that we had no need to pray them to doe it. Wherefore if we had not had this helpe, the current of the riuer being exceeding great, and our men that drew the rope being not well acquainted with that occupation, it would haue beene impoſſible for vs to haue gotten vp the riuer ſo againſt the ſtreame. When I perceiued that they vnderſtood mee in all things, and that I likewiſe vnderſtoode them, I thought good to try by ſome way or other to make a good entrance to find ſome good iſſue to obtaine my deſire: And I cauſed certaine croſſes to be made of certaine ſmall ſticks and paper, and among others when I gaue any thing I gaue them theſe as things of moſt price and kiſſed them, making ſignes vnto them that they ſhould honour them and make great account of them, and that they ſhould weare them at their necks: giuing them to vnderſtand that this ſigne was from heauen, and they tooke them and kiſſed them, and lifted them vp aloft, and ſeemed greatly to reioyce thereat when they did ſo, and ſometime I tooke them into my boate, ſhewing them great good will, and ſometime I gaue them of thoſe trifles which I caried with me. And at length the matter grew to ſuch iſſue, that I had not paper and ſtickes enough to make croſſes. In this maner that day I was very well accompanied, vntill that when night approched I ſought to lanch out into the riuer, and went to ride in the middeſt of the ſtreame, and they came to aske leaue of me to depart, ſaying that they would returne the next day with victuals to viſite me, and ſo by little and little they departed, ſo that there ſtayed not aboue fiftie which made fires ouer againſt vs, and ſtayed there al night calling vs, and before the day was perfectly broken, they leapt into the water and ſwamme vnto vs asking for the rope, and we gaue it them with a good will, thanking God for the good prouiſion which hee gaue vs to go vp the riuer: for the Indians were ſo many, that if they had gone about to let our paſſage, although we had bene many more then wee were, they might haue done it.

A notable policie.

Swarmes of people.

An exceeding great current of the riuer.

Chap. 3.

One of the Indians vnderſtanding the language of the interpreter, asketh many queſtions of the originall of the Spaniards, he telleth him that their Captaine is the child of the Sunne, and that he was ſent of the Sunne vnto them, and they would haue receiued him for their king. They take this Indian into their boat, and of him they haue many informations of that countrey.

IN this maner we ſailed vntil Tueſday at night, going as we were wont, cauſing mine interpreter to ſpeak vnto the people to ſee if peraduenture any of them could vnderſtand him, I perceiued that one anſwered him, whereupon I cauſed the boates to be ſtayed, and called him, which hee vnderſtoode, charging mine interpreter that hee ſhould not ſpeake nor anſwere him any thing elſe, but onely that which I ſaid vnto him: and I ſaw as I ſtood ſtill that that Indian began to ſpeake to the people with great furie: whereupon all of them beganne to drawe together, and mine interpreter vnderſtood, that he which came to the boate ſayd vnto them, that he deſired to knowe what nation we were, and whence wee came, and whither we came out of the water, or out of the earth, or from heauen: And at this ſpeech an infinite number of people came together, which marueiled to ſee mee ſpeake: and this Indian turned on this ſide and on that ſide to ſpeake vnto them in another language which mine interpreter vnderſtood not. Whereas he aſked me what we were, I anſwered that we were Chriſtians, and that we came from farre to ſee them: and anſwering to the queſtion, who had ſent me, I ſaid, I was ſent by the Sunne, pointing vnto him by ſignes as at the firſt, becauſe they ſhould not take mee in a lye. He beganne againe to aſke mee, how the Sunne had ſent me, ſeeing hee went aloft in the ſkie and neuer ſtoode ſtill, and ſeeing theſe many yeeres neither he nor their olde men had euer ſeene ſuch as we were, of whome they euer had any kind of knowledge, and that the Sunne till that houre had neuer ſent any other. I anſwered him that it was true that the Sunne made his courſe aloft in the ſkie; and did neuer ſtand ſtill, yet neuertheleſſe that they might well perceiue that at his going downe and riſing in the morning hee came neere vnto the earth, where his dwelling was, and that they euer ſawe him come out of one place, and that hee had made mee in that land and countrey from whence hee came, like as hee had made many others which hee ſent into other partes, and that nowe hee had ſent me to viſite and view the ſame riuer, and the people that dwelt neere the ſame, that I ſhould ſpeake vnto them, and ſhould ioyne with them in friendſhippe, and ſhould giue them things which they had not, and that I ſhould charge them that they ſhould not make warre one againſt another. Whereunto he anſwered, that I ſhould tell him the cauſe why the Sunne had not ſent mee no ſooner to pacifie the warres which had continued a long time among them, wherein many had beene ſlaine. I tolde him the cauſe hereof was, becauſe at that time I was but a child. Then he aſked the interpreter whether wee tooke him with vs perforce hauing taken him in the war, or whether he came with vs of his own accord. He anſwered him that he was with vs of his owne accord, and was very wel appaid of our company. He returned to enquire, why we brought none ſaue him onely that vnderſtood vs, and wherefore wee vnderſtood not all other men, ſeeing we were the children of the Sunne: he anſwered, that the Sunne alſo had begotten him, and giuen him a language to vnderſtand him, and me, and others: that the Sunne knew well that they dwelt there, but that becauſe he had many other buſineſſes, and becauſe I was but yong hee ſent me no ſooner. And he turning vnto me ſayd ſuddenly: Comeſt thou therefore hither to bee our Lord, and that wee ſhould ſerue thee? I ſuppoſing that I ſhould not pleaſe him if I ſhould haue ſaid yea, anſwered him, not to be their Lord, but rather to be their brother, and to giue them ſuch things as I had. He aſked me, whether the Sunne had begotten me as he had begotten others, and whether I was his kinſman or his ſonne: I anſwered him that I was his ſonne. He proceeded to aſke me whether the reſt that were with me were alſo the children of the Sunne, I anſwered him no, but that they were borne all with me in one countrey, where I was brought vp. Then he cryed out with a loud voyce and ſayd, ſeeing thou doeſt vs ſo much good, and wilt not haue vs to make warre, and art the child of the Sunne, wee will all receiue thee for our Lord, and alwayes ſerue thee, therefore wee pray thee that thou wilt not depart hence nor leaue vs: and ſuddenly hee turned to the people, and beganne to tell them, that I was the child of the Sunne; and that therefore they ſhould all chuſe me for their Lord. Thoſe Indians hearing this, were aſtonied beyond meaſure, and came neerer ſtill more and more to behold me. That Indian alſo aſked mee other queſtions, which to auoyd tediousneſſe I doe not recite: and in this wiſe we paſſed the day, and ſeeing the night approch, I began by all meanes I could deuiſe to get this fellow into our boat with vs: and he refuſing to goe with vs, the interpreter told him that wee would put him on the other ſide of the riuer, and vpon this condition hee entred into our boate; and there I made very much of him, and gaue him the beſt entertaynement I could, putting him alwayes in ſecuritie, and when I iudged him to be out of all ſuſpition, I thought it good to aſke him ſomewhat of that countrey. And among the firſt things that I aſked him this was one, whether hee had euer ſeene any men like vs, or had heard any report of them. Hee anſwered mee no, ſaying that hee had ſometime hearde of olde men, that very farre from that Countrey there were other white men, and with beardes like vs, and that hee knewe nothing elſe. I aſked him alſo whether hee knewe a place called Ceuola, and a Riuer called Totonteac, and hee anſwered mee no. Whereupon perceiuing that hee could not giue mee any

A wiſe deuiſe.

Rumors of bearded and white men.

knowledge of Francis Vazquez nor of his company, I determined to aſke him other things of that countrey, and of their maner of life: and beganne to enquire of him, whether they helde that there was one God, creator of heauen and earth, or that they worſhipped any other Idol. And hee anſwered mee no: but that they eſteemed and reuerenced the Sunne aboue all other things, becauſe it warmed them and made their croppes to growe: and that of all things which they did eate, they caſt a little vp into the ayre vnto him. I aſked him next whether they had any Lorde, and hee ſayde no: but that they knewe well that there was a great Lorde, but they knewe not well which way hee dwelt. And I tolde him that hee was in heauen, and that hee was called Ieſus Chriſt, and I went no farther in diuinitie with him. I aſked him whether they had any warre, and for what occaſion. Hee anſwered that they had warre, and that very great, and vpon exceeding ſmall occaſions: for when they had no cauſe to make warre, they aſſembled together, and ſome of them ſayd, let vs goe to make warre in ſuch a place, and then all of them ſet forward with their weapons. I aſked them who commanded the armie: he anſwered the eldeſt and moſt valiant, and that when they ſayd they ſhould proceede no farther, that ſuddenly they returne from the warre. I prayed him to tell me what they did with thoſe men which they killed in battell: he anſwered me that they tooke out the hearts of ſome of them, and eat them, and others they burned; and he added, that if it had not bene for my comming, they ſhould haue bin now at warre: and becauſe I commanded them that they ſhould not war, and that they ſhould ceaſe from warre, therefore as long as I ſhould not command them to take armes, they would not begin to wage warre againſt others, & they ſaid among themſelues, that ſeeing I was come vnto them, they had giuen ouer their intention of making warre, & that they had a good mind to liue in peace. He complained of certaine people which dwelt behind a mountaine which made great war vpon them, and ſlew many of them: I anſwered him, that from henceforward they ſhould not need to feare any more, becauſe I had cōmanded them to be quiet, & if they would not obey my commandement, I would chaſten them and kill them. He enquired of me how I could kill them ſeeing we were ſo few, and they ſo many in number. And becauſe it was now late, and that I ſaw that by this time he was weary to ſtay any longer with me, I let him goe out of my boat, and therewith I diſmiſſed him very well content.

The Sunne worſhipped as God.

Certaine warlike people behind a mountaine.

Chap. 4.

Of *Naguachato* and other chiefe men of thoſe Indians they receiue great ſtore of victuals, they cauſe them to ſet vp a croſſe in their countreys, and hee teacheth them to worſhip it. They haue newes of many people, of their diuers languages, and cuſtomes in matrimony, how they puniſh adultery, of their opinions concerning the dead, and of the ſickneſſes which they are ſubiect vnto.

The next day betimes in the morning came the chiefe man among them called Naguachato, and wiſhed me to come on land becauſe he had great ſtore of victuals to giue me. And becauſe I ſaw my ſelfe in ſecuritie I did ſo without doubting; and incontinently an olde man came with rols of that Maiz, and certaine litle gourds, and calling me with a loud voyce and vſing many geſtures with his body and armes, came neere vnto me, and cauſing me to turne me vnto that people, and hee himſelfe alſo turning vnto them ſayd vnto them, Sagueyca, and all the people anſwered with a great voyce, Hu, and hee offred to the Sunne a litle of euery thing that he had there, and likewiſe a little more vnto me (although afterward he gaue me all the reſt) and did the like to all that were with mee: calling out mine interpreter, by meanes of him I gaue them thanks, telling them that becauſe my boats were litle I had not brought many things to giue them in exchange, but that I would come againe another time and bring them, and that if they would go with mee in my boates vnto my ſhips which I had beneath at the riuers mouth, I would giue them many things. They anſwered that they would do ſo, being very glad in countenance. Here by the helpe of mine interpreter I ſought to inſtruct them what the ſigne of the croſſe meant, and willed them to bring me a piece of timber, whereof I cauſed a great croſſe to be made, and commanded all thoſe that were with mee that when it was made they ſhould worſhip it, and beſeech the Lord to grant his grace that that ſo great a people might come to the knowledge of his holy Catholike faith: and this done I told them by mine interpreter that I left them that ſigne, in token that I tooke them for my brethren, and that they ſhould keepe it for me carefully vntill I returned, and that euery morning at the Sunne riſing they ſhould kneele before it. And they tooke it incontinently, & without ſuffring it to touch the ground they carried it to ſet it vp in the midest of their houſes, where all of them might beholde it; and I willed them alwayes to worſhippe it becauſe it would preſerue them from euill. They aſked me how deep they ſhould ſet it in the ground, & I ſhewed them.

Great ſtore of people followed the ſame, and they that ſtayed behinde inquired of mee, how they ſhould ioyne their hands, and how they ſhould kneele to worſhip the ſame; and they ſeemed to haue great deſire to learne it. This done, I tooke that chiefe man of the Countrey, and going to our boates with him, I followed my iourney vp the Riuer, and all the company on both ſides of the ſhoare accompanied me with great good will, and ſerued me in drawing of our boates, and in halling vs off the ſands, whereupon we often fel: for in many places we found the riuer ſo ſhoald, that we had no water for our boats. As wee thus went on our way, ſome of the Indians which I had left behind me, came after vs to pray mee that I would throughly inſtruct them, how they ſhould ioyne their hands in the worſhipping of the croſſe: others ſhewed me whether they were well ſet in ſuch & ſuch ſort, ſo that they would not let me be quiet. Neere vnto the other ſide of the riuer was greater ſtore of people, which called vnto me very often, that I would receiue the victuals which they had brought me. And becauſe I perceiued that one enuied the other, becauſe I would not leaue them diſcontented, I did ſo. And here came before me another old man like vnto the former with the like ceremonyes & offrings: and I ſought to learne ſomething of him as I had done of the other. This man ſaid likewiſe to the reſt of the people, This is our lord. Now you ſee how long ago our anceſters told vs, that there were bearded & white people in the world, and we laughed them to ſcorne. I which am old and the reſt which are here, haue neuer ſeene any ſuch people as theſe. And if you wil not beleeue me, behold theſe people which be in this riuer: let vs giue them therefore meate, ſeeing they giue vs of their victuals: let vs willingly ſerue this lord, which wiſheth vs ſo well, and forbiddeth vs to make warre, and imbraceth all of vs: and they haue mouth, handes and eyes as we haue, and ſpeake as we doe. I gaue theſe likewiſe another croſſe as I had done to the others beneath, and ſaid vnto them the ſelfe ſame words; which they liſtened vnto with a better will, & vſed greater diligence to learne that which I ſaid. Afterward as I paſſed farther vp the riuer, I found another people, whom mine interpreter vnderſtood not a whit: wherefore I ſhewed them by ſignes the ſelfeſame ceremonies of worſhipping the croſſe, which I had taught the reſt. And that principal old man which I tooke with me, told me that farther vp the riuer I ſhould find people which would vnderſtand mine interpreter: and being now late, ſome of thoſe men called me to giue me victuals, and did in all poynts as the others had done, dauncing and playing to ſhew me pleaſure. I deſired to know what people liued on the banks of this riuer: and I vnderſtood by this man that it was inhabited by 23 languages, and theſe were bordering vpon the riuer, beſides others not farre off, and that there were beſides theſe 23. languages, other people alſo which hee knewe not, aboue the riuer. I asked him whether euery people were liuing in one towne together: and he anſwered me, No: but that they had many houſes ſtanding ſcattered in the fieldes, and that euery people had their Countrey ſeuerall and diſtinguiſhed, and that in euery habitation there were great ſtore of people. He ſhewed me a towne which was in a mountaine, and told me that there was there great ſtore of people of bad conditions, which made continual warre vpon them: which being without a gouernour, and dwelling in that deſert place, where ſmall ſtore of Maiz groweth, came downe into the playne to buy it in trucke of Deeres ſkinnes, wherewith they were apparelled with long garments, which they did cutte with raſors, and ſewed with needles made of Deeres bones: and that they had great houſes of ſtone. I asked them whether there were any there of that Countrey; and I found one woman which ware a garment like a little Mantle, which clad her from the waſte downe to the ground, of a Deeres ſkin well dreſſed. Then I asked him whether the people which dwelt on the riuers ſide, dwelt alwayes there, or els ſometime went to dwell in ſome other place: he anſwered mee, that in the ſummer ſeaſon they abode there, and ſowed there; and after they had gathered in their croppe they went their way, and dwelt in other houſes which they had at the foote of the mountaine farre from the riuer. And hee ſhewed me by ſignes that the houſes were of wood compaſſed with earth without, and I vnderſtood that they made a round houſe, wherein the men and women liued all together. I asked him whether their women were common or not: he tolde me no, and that hee which was merried, was to haue but one wife only. I deſired to know what order they kept in marying: and he told me, that if any man had a daughter to marry, he went where the people kept, and ſaid, I haue a daughter to marry: is there any man here that wil haue her? And if there were any that would haue her, he anſwered that he would haue her: and ſo the mariage was made. And that the father of him which would haue her, brought ſome thing to giue the yong woman; and from that houre forward the mariage was taken to be finiſhed, and that they ſang & danced: and that when night came, the parents tooke them, and left them together in a place where no body might ſee them. And I learned that brethren, and ſiſters, and kinſfolks married not together: and that maydes before they were married conuerſed not with men, nor talked not with them, but kept at home at their houſes and

Theſe people are greatly inclined to learne the Chriſtian faith.

The riuer in diuers places full of ſhelfes.

Another olde man.

Their anceſters told them that there were bearded and white men in the world.

Another nation.

People of 23. languages dwelling along this riuer.

Acuco as Gomara writeth is on a ſtrong mountaine.

Great houſes of ſtone.

Round houſes.

Dancing and ſinging at mariages of the Sauages.

They burne their dead.

Pipes to drinke Tabacco with.

Maiz, gourds, Mill.

Grindeſtones, earthenpots, good fiſh.

This riuer ouerfloweth his banks at certaine ſeaſons.

in their poſſeſſions, and wrought: and that if by chance any one had company with men before ſhe were maried, her husband forſooke her, and went away into other Countreyes: and that thoſe women which fell into this fault, were accompted naughty packs. And that if after they were maried, any man were taken in adultery with another woman, they put him to death: and that no man might haue more then one wife, but very ſecretly. They tolde mee that they burned thoſe which dyed; and ſuch as remayned widowes, ſtayed halfe a yeere, or a whole yeere before they married. I deſired to know what they thought of ſuch as were dead. Hee told me that they went to another world, but that they had neither puniſhment nor glory. The greateſt ſickneſſe that this people dye of, is vomiting of blood by the mouth: and they haue Phyſicians which cure them with charmes and blowing which they make. The apparell of theſe people were like the former: they carried their pipes with them to perfume themſelues, like as the people of New Spaine vſe Tabacco. I inquired whether they had any gouernour, and found that they had none, but that euery family had their ſeuerall gouernour. Theſe people haue beſides their Maiz certaine gourds, and another corne like vnto Mill: they haue grindſtones & earthen pots, wherein they boyle thoſe gourds, and fiſh of the riuer, which are very good. My interpreter could goe no farther then this place: for he ſaid that thoſe which we ſhould find farther on our way, were their enemies, and therefore I ſent him backe very well contented. Not long after I eſpied many Indians to come crying with a loude voice, and running after me. I ſtayed to know what they would haue; and they told me that they had ſet vp the croſſe which I had giuen them, in the midſt of their dwellings as I had appointed, but that I was to wit, that when the riuer did ouerflow, it was wont to reach to that place, therefore they prayed mee to giue them leaue to remoue it, and to ſet it in another place where the riuer could not come at it, nor carry it away: which I granted them.

Chap. 5.

Of an Indian of that countrey they haue relation of the ſtate of *Cenola*, and of the conditions and cuſtomes of theſe people, and of their gouernour: and likewiſe of the countreys not farre diſtant from thence, whereof one was called *Quicoma*, and the other *Cumana*: of the people of *Quicoma*, and of the other Indians not farre diſtant they receiue curteſie.

Colde and raine.

Cenola 40 dayes iourney from thence by the riuer.

Turqueſts in Cenola.

Thus ſayling, I came where were many Indians, and another interpreter, which I cauſed to come with me in my boat. And becauſe it was cold, & my people were wet, I leapt on ſhore, and commanded a fire to be made, and as we ſtood thus warming our ſelues, an Indian came and ſtrooke me on the arme, pointing with his finger to a wood, out of which I ſaw two companies of men come wͭ their weapons, & he told me that they came to ſet vpon vs: & becauſe I meant not to fall out with any of them, I retired my company into our boats, & the Indians which were with me ſwam into the water, and ſaued themſelues on the other ſide of the riuer. In the meane ſeaſon I inquired of that Indian which I had with me, what people they were that came out of ẏ wood: and he told me that they were their enemies, and therefore theſe others at their approch without ſaying any word leapt into the water: and did ſo, becauſe they meant to turne backe againe, being without weapons, becauſe they brought none with them, becauſe they vnderſtood my will & pleaſure, that they ſhould cary none. I inquired the ſame things of this interpreter which I had done of the other of the things of that countrey, becauſe I vnderſtood that among ſome people one man vſed to haue many wiues, and among others but one. Now I vnderſtood by him, that he had bin at *Cenola*, and that it was a moneths iourney from his country, and that from that place by a path that went along that riuer a man might eaſily trauel thither in xl. daies, and that the occaſion that moued him to goe thither, was only to ſee *Cenola*, becauſe it was a great thing, & had very hie houſes of ſtone of 3. or 4. lofts, and windowes on ech ſide: that the houſes were compaſſed about with a wall conteining the height of a man & an halfe, and that aloft & beneath they were inhabited with people, and that they vſed the ſame weapons, that others vſed, which we had ſeene, that is to ſay, bowes & arrowes, maces, ſtaues & bucklers: and that they had one gouernor, & that they were apparelled with mantles, and with oxe-hides, & that their mantles had a painting about them, and that their gouernour ware a long ſhirt very fine girded vnto him, and ouer the ſame diuers mantles: and that the women ware very long garments, and that they were white, and went all couered: and that euery day many Indians wayted at the gate of their gouernor to ſerue him, & that they did weare many Azure or blew ſtones, which were digged out of a rocke of ſtone, and that they had but one wife, with whom they were maried, and that when their gouernors died, all the goods that they had were buried with them. And likewiſe all the while they eate, many of their men waite at their table to court them, and ſee them eate, and that they eate with napkins, and that they haue bathes. On thurſday mor-

ning at breake of day the Indians came with the like cry to the banke of the riuer, and with greater
deſire to ſerue vs, bringing me meat to eat, and making me the like good cheere, which the others
had done vnto me, hauing vnderſtood what I was: & I gaue them croſſes, with the ſelf ſame order
which I did vnto the former. And going farther vp the riuer, I came to a country where I found
better gouernment: for the inhabitants are wholy obedient vnto one only. But returning againe
to conferre with mine interpreter touching the dwellings of thoſe of Ceuola, he tolde me, that the
lord of that country had a dog like that which I caried with me. Afterward when I called for dinner, this interpreter ſaw certaine diſhes caried in the firſt and later ſeruice, whereupon he told me
that the lord of Ceuola had alſo ſuch as thoſe were, but that they were greene, and that none other
had of them ſauing their gouernour, and that they were 4. which he had gotten together with that
dogge, and other things, of a blacke man which had a beard, but that he knew not from what quarter he came thither, and that the king cauſed him afterward to be killed, as he heard ſay. I asked
him whether he knew of any towne that was neere vnto that place: he tolde me that aboue the riuer he knew ſome, & that among the reſt there was a lord of a towne called Quicoma, and another
of a towne called Coama: and that they had great ſtore of people vnder them. And after he had
giuen me this information, he craued leaue of me to returne vnto his companions. From hence I
began againe to ſet ſaile, and within a dayes ſayling I found a towne diſpeopled: where aſſoone as
I was entred, by chance there arriued there 500. Indians with their bowes & arrowes, and with
them was that principall Indian called Naguachato, which I had left behind, and brought with
them certaine conies & yucas: and after I had friendly interteined them all, departing from them,
I gaue them licenſe to returne to their houſes. As I paſſed further vp the deſert, I came to certain
cotages, out of which much people came toward me with an old man before them, crying in a language which mine interpreter wel vnderſtood, and he ſaid vnto thoſe men: Brethren, you ſee here
that lord; let vs giue him ſuch as we haue, ſeeing he dooth vs pleaſure, and hath paſſed through ſo
many diſcourteous people, to come to viſit vs. And hauing thus ſaid, he offred to the Sunne, and
then to me in like ſort as the reſt had done. Theſe had certaine great bags & well made of the ſkins
of fiſhes called Sea-bremes. And I vnderſtood that this was a towne belonging vnto the lord of
Quicoma, which people came thither onely to gather the fruit of their haruest in ſummer; and among them I found one which vnderſtood mine interpreter very well: whereupon very eaſily I
gaue them the like inſtruction of the croſſe which I had giuen to others behind. Theſe people had
cotton, but they were not very carefull to vſe the ſame: becauſe there was none among them that
knew the arte of weauing, & to make apparel thereof. They asked me how they ſhould ſet vp their
croſſe when they were come to their dwelling which was in the mountaine, and whether it were
beſt to make an houſe about it, that it might not be wet, & whether they ſhould hang any thing vpō
the armes thereof. I ſaid no; & that it ſufficed to ſet it in a place where it might be ſeene of all men,
vntil I returned: and leſt peraduenture any men of warre ſhould come that way, they offred mee
more men to goe with me, ſaying that they were naughty men which I ſhould finde aboue; but I
would haue none: neuertheleſſe 20. of them went with me, which when I drew neere vnto thoſe
which were their enemies, they warned mee thereof: and I found their centinels ſet vpon their
guarde on their borders. On Saturday morning I found a great ſquadron of people ſitting vnder
an exceeding great arbour, & another part of them without: and when I ſaw that they roſe not vp,
I paſſed along on my voyage: when they beheld this, an old man roſe vp which ſaid vnto me, Sir,
why doe you not receiue victuals to eate of vs, ſeeing you haue taken food of others? I anſwered,
that I tooke nothing but that which was giuen me, & that I went to none but to ſuch as requeſted
me. Here without any ſtay they brought me victuals, ſaying vnto me, that becauſe I entred not
into their houſes, and ſtayed all day and all night in the riuer, and becauſe I was the ſonne of the
Sunne, all men were to receiue me for their lord. I made them ſignes to ſit down, and called that
old man which mine interpreter vnderſtood, and asked him whoſe that countrey was, and whether
the lord thereof were there, he ſaid, yea: and I called him to me; and when he was come, I imbraced him, ſhewing him great loue: & when I ſaw that all of them tooke great pleaſure at the friendly interteinment which I gaue him, I put a ſhirt vpon him, and gaue him other trifles, and willed
mine interpreter to vſe the like ſpeaches to that lord which he had done to the reſt; and that done,
I gaue him a croſſe, which he receiued with a very good wil, as the others did: and this lord went a
great way with me, vntill I was called vnto from the other ſide of the riuer, where the former old
man ſtood with much people: to whom I gaue another croſſe, vſing the like ſpeach to them which
I had vſed to the reſt, to wit, how they ſhould vſe it. Then following my way, I mette with another
great company of people, with whom came that very ſame olde man whom mine interpreter vnderſtood; and when I ſaw their lord which he ſhewed vnto me, I prayed him to come with me into

This was the Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza.

Quicoma.

Coama.

Conies and yucas.

Cotton.

A mountaine.

my boat, which he did very willingly, and ſo I went ſtill vp the riuer, and the olde man came and ſhewed me who were the chiefe lords: and I ſpake vnto them alwayes with great curteſie, & all of them ſhewed that they reioiced much thereat, & ſpake very wel of my comming thither. At night I withdrew my ſelfe into the midſt of the riuer, & aſked him many things concerning that country: and I found him as willing & wel diſpoſed to ſhew them me, as I was deſirous to know them. I aſked him of Ceuola: and he told me he had bin there, and that it was a goodly thing, & that the lord thereof was very wel obeyed: and that there were other lords thereabout, with whom he was at continual warre. I aſked him whether they had ſiluer & gold, and he beholding certain bels, ſaid they had metal of their colour. I inquired whether they made it there, and he anſwered me no, but that they brought it from a certain mountaine, where an old woman dwelt. I demanded whether he had any knowledge of a riuer called Totonteac, he anſwered me no, but of another exceeding mighty riuer, wherein there were ſuch huge Crocodiles, that of their hides they made bucklers, and that they worſhip the Sunne neither more nor leſſe then thoſe which I had paſſed: and when they offer vnto him the fruits of the earth, they ſay: Receiue hereof, for thou haſt created them, and that they loued him [illegible] he warmed them; and that when he brake not foorth, they were acolde. Herein [illegible] began ſomewhat to complaine, ſaying vnto me, I know not wherefore the Sunne [illegible] termes with vs, becauſe he giueth vs not clothes, nor people to ſpin nor to weaue them, nor other things which he giueth to many other, and he complayned that thoſe of that country would not ſuffer them to come there, and would not giue them of their [illegible]. I told him that I would remedie this, whereat he remayned very well ſatiſfied.

Ceuola a goodly thing.

Gold and ſiluer in a mountaine neere Ceuola.

A mighty riuer.

This riuer ſeemeth to bee Northward by the colde.

Chap. 6.

They are aduertiſed by the Indians, [illegible] the lorde of *Ceuola* killed the Negro, which went with Frier *Marco*, and of many other things: And of an old woman called *Guatazaca*, which liueth in a lake and eateth no food. The deſcription of a beaſt, of the skinne whereof they make targets. The ſuſpition that they conceiue of them, that they are of thoſe Chriſtians which were ſeene at *Ceuola*, and how they cunningly ſaue themſelues.

The next day which was Sunday before breake of day, began their cry as they were wont: and this was the cry of 2. or 3. ſorts of people, which had lyen all night neere the riuers ſide, wayting for me: and they tooke Maiz & other corne in their mouth, and ſprinkled me therwith, ſaying that that was the faſhion which they vſed when they ſacrificed vnto the Sunne: afterward they gaue me of their victuals to eat, and among other things, they gaue me many white peaſon. I gaue them a croſſe as I had done to the reſt: and in the meane ſeaſon that old man tolde them great matters of my doing, and poynted me out with his finger, ſaying, this is the lord, the ſonne of the Sunne: and they made me to combe my beard, & to ſet mine apparell handſomely which I ware vpon my backe. And ſo great was the confidence that they had in me, that [illegible] of them told me what things had paſſed, & did paſſe among them, & what good or bad mind they bare one toward another. I aſked them wherefore they imparted vnto me all their ſecrets, and that old man anſwered me: Thou art our lord, & we ought to hide nothing from our lord. After theſe things, following on our way, I began againe to inquire of him the ſtate of Ceuola, & whether he knewe that thoſe of this country had euer ſeene people like vnto vs: he anſwered me no, ſauing one Negro which ware about his legs & armes certain things which did ring. Your lordſhip is to cal to mind how this Negro which went with frier Marco was wont to weare bels, & feathers on his armes & legs, & that he caried plates of diuers colours, and that it was not much aboue a yeere agoe ſince he came into thoſe parts. I demanded vpon what occaſion he was killed: and he anſwered me, That the lord of Ceuola inquired of him whether he had other brethren: he anſwered that he had an infinite number, and that they had great ſtore of weapons with them, and that they were not very farre from thence. Which when he had heard, many of the chiefe men conſulted together, and reſolued to kill him, that he might not giue newes vnto theſe his brethren, where they dwelt, & that for this cauſe they ſlew him, and cut him into many pieces, which were diuided among all thoſe chiefe lords, that they might know aſſuredly that he was dead; and alſo that he had a dogge like mine, which he likewiſe killed a great while after. I aſked him whether they of Ceuola had any enemies, and he ſaid they had. And he reckoned vnto me 14. or 15. lords which had warre with them: and that they had mantles, and bowes like thoſe aboue mentioned: howbeit he told me that I ſhould find going vp the riuer a people that had no warre either with their neighbours, nor with any other. He told me that they had 3. or 4. ſorts of trees bearing moſt excellent fruite to eate: and that in a certaine lake dwelt an olde woman, which was much honoured and worſhipped of them: and that ſhee re-

The Negro that went with Frier Marco de Niza ſlaine.

The cauſe wherefore Stephan Dorantez the Negro was ſlaine.

They of Ceuola haue 14. or 15. lords their enemies.

An olde woman called Guatazaca in a lake greatly worſhipped.

mayned in a litle houſe which was there, and that ſhe neuer did eate any thing: and that there th made things which did ſound, and that many mantles, feathers and Maiz were giuen vnto her. I aſked what her name was, and he tolde me that ſhe was called Guatuzaca, and that thereabout were many lords which in their life & death, vſed the like orders which they of Ceuola did, which had their dwelling in the ſummer with painted mantles, and in the winter dwelt in houſes of wood of 2. or 3. lofts hie: and that he had ſeene all theſe things, ſauing the old woman. And when againe I began to aſke him more queſtions, he would not anſwere me, ſaying that he was wearie of me: and many of thoſe Indians comming about me, they ſaid among themſelues: Let vs marke him well, that we may know him when he commeth hither againe. The Monday following, the riuer was beſet with people like to them, and I began to requeſt the old man to tell me what people were in that countrey, which told me he thought I would ſoone forget them: and here he reckoned vp vnto me a great number of lords, and people at the leaſt 200. And diſcourſing with him of their armour, he ſaid that ſome of them had certaine very large targets of lether, about two fingers thicke. I aſked him of what beaſts ſkinne they made them: and he deſcribed vnto me a very great beaſt, like vnto an Oxe, but longer by a great handfull, with broad feete, the legs as bigge as the thigh of a man, and the head ſeuen handfuls long, the forehead of three ſpannes, and the eyes bigger then ones fiſt, and the hornes of the length of a mans leg, out of which grew ſharpe poynts an handfull long, the forefeete and hinderfeete aboue ſeuen handfuls bigge, with a wrethed tayle, but very great; and holding vp his armes aboue his head, he ſaid the beaſt was higher then that. After this hee gaue mee information of another olde woman which dwelt toward the ſea ſide. I ſpent this day in giuing croſſes to thoſe people as I had done vnto the former. This old man that was with me leapt on ſhore, & fell in conference with another which that day had often called him; and here both of them vſed many geſtures in their ſpeach, mouing their armes, and poynting at me. Therefore I ſent mine interpreter out, willing him to drawe neere vnto them, and liſten what they ſaid; and within a while I called him, and aſked him whereof they talked, and he ſayd, that he which made thoſe geſtures ſaid vnto the other, that in Ceuola there were others like vnto vs with beards, and that they ſaid they were Chriſtians, and that both of them ſayd that we were all of one company, and that it were a good deede to kill vs, that thoſe others might haue no knowledge of vs, leſt they might come to doe them harme: and that the old man had anſwered him, this is the ſonne of the Sunne, & our lord, he doth vs good, and wil not enter into our houſes, although we requeſt him thereunto: he will take away nothing of ours, he will meddle with none of our women: and that to be ſhort, he had ſpoken many other things in my commendation and fauour: and for all this the other ſtedfaſtly affirmed that we were all one, and that the old man ſaid, Let vs goe vnto him, and aſke him whether he be a Chriſtian as the other be, or els the ſonne of the Sunne: and the old man came vnto me, and ſayd: In the countrey of Ceuola whereof you ſpake vnto me other men like vnto you dwell. Then I began to make as though I wondred, and anſwered him, that it was impoſſible; and they aſſured me that it was true, and that two men had ſeene them which came from thence, which reported that they had things which did ſhoote fire, and ſwords as we. I aſked them whether they had ſeene them with their owne eyes: and they anſwered no, but that certaine of their companions had ſeene them. Then he aſked mee whether I were the ſonne of the Sunne, I anſwered him yea. They ſaid that thoſe Chriſtians of Ceuola ſaid ſo likewiſe. And I anſwered them that it might well be. Then they aſked mee if thoſe Chriſtians of Ceuola came to ioyne themſelues with me, whether I would ioyne with them: and I anſwered them, that they neede not to feare any whit at all, for if they were the ſonnes of the Sunne as they ſaid, they muſt needes be my brethren, and would vſe towards all men the like loue and courteſie which I vſed: whereupon hereat they ſeemed to be ſomewhat ſatiſfied.

Antonio d'Eſpejo ſpeaketh of ſuch a great lake.

200. Kindes of people.

This might be the crooke backed oxe of Quiuira.

The ſea ſide.

The Sauages treaſons to be taken heede of.

Certaine newes of the Spaniards at Ceuola.

Chap. 7.

It is tolde him that they are ten dayes iourney diſtant from *Ceuola*, and that there be Chriſtians there, which make warre againſt the lords of that countrey. Of the ſodomie which thoſe Indians vſe with foure yong men, appoynted for that ſeruice, which weare womens apparel. Seeing they could not ſend newes of their being there to them of *Ceuola*, they went backe againe downe the riuer to their ſhips.

Then I prayed them to tel me how many dayes that kingdom of Ceuola, which they ſpake of, was diſtant from that riuer: and that man anſwered, that there was the ſpace of tenne dayes iourney without habitation, and that he made none accompt of the reſt of the way, becauſe there were people to be found. Upon this aduertiſement I was deſirous to certifie Captaine Francis Vazquez of my being there, and imparted my mind with my ſouldiers, among whom I found

Ceuola tenne dayes diſtant from this place.

A deſert of ten dayes iourney.

none that was willing to goe thither, although I offered them many rewards in your lordſhips name, onely one Negro ſlaue though with an euil wil offred himſelfe vnto me to go thither: but I looked for the comming of thoſe two Indians which they told me of, and herewithall we went on our way vp the riuer againſt the ſtreame in ſuch ſort as we had done before. Here that olde man ſhewed me as a ſtrange thing a ſonne of his clad in womans apparel, exerciſing their office: I aſked him how many there were of theſe among them, and he told me there were foure; & that when any of them died, there was a ſearch made of all the women with child which were in the country, and that the firſt ſonne which was borne of them, was appoynted to doe that duetie belonging vnto women, and that the women clad him in their apparell, ſaying, that ſeeing he was to doe that which belonged to them, he ſhould weare their apparel: theſe yong men may not haue carnall copulation with any woman: but all the yong men of the countrey which are to marrie, may company with them. Theſe men receiue no kind of reward for this inceſtuous act of the people of the countrey, becauſe they haue libertie to take whatſoeuer they find in any houſe for their food. I ſaw likewiſe certaine women which liued diſhoneſtly among men: and I aſked the old man whether they were married, who anſwered me no, but they were common women, which liued apart from the married women. I came at length after theſe diſcourſes to pray them to ſend for thoſe Indians, which they ſaid had bin at Ceuola, & they told me that they were eight dayes iourney diſtant from that place, but that notwithſtanding there was one among them which was their companion and which had ſpoken with them, as he met them on the way, when they went to ſee the kingdome of Ceuola, and that they told him that he were not beſt to goe any farther, for he ſhould find there a fierce nation like vs, and of the ſame qualities and making, which had fought much with the people of Ceuola, becauſe they had killed a Negro of their company, ſaying, Wherefore haue yee killed him? what did he to you? did he take any bread from you, or do you any other wrong? and ſuch like ſpeach. And they ſaid moreouer, that theſe people were called Chriſtians, which dwelt in a great houſe, & that many of them had oxen like thoſe of Ceuola, and other litle blacke beaſts with wooll and hornes, & that ſome of them had beaſts which they rode vpō, which ran very ſwiftly; & that one day before their departure, from ſunne riſing vntill ſunne ſetting theſe Chriſtians were all day in comming thither, & all of them lodged in that place where others had lodged, & that theſe two met with two Chriſtians, which aſked them whence they were, & whether they had fields ſowen with corne; and they told them that they dwelt in a farre country, and that they had corne, and that then they gaue each of them a litle cap, and they gaue them another to cary to their other companions, which they promiſed to do, & departed quickly. When I vnderſtood this, I ſpoke againe with my company, to ſee if any one of them would go thither, but I found them vnwilling as at the firſt, and they laid againſt me greater inconueniences. Then I called the old man to ſee if he would giue me any people to goe with me, & victuals to trauel through that wildernes, but he laid before me many inconueniences & dangers, which I might incurre in that voyage, ſhewing me the danger that there was in paſſing by a lord of Cumana, which threatned to make warre vpon them, becauſe his people had entred into the others countrey to take a ſtagge, and that I ſhould not therefore depart thence without ſeeing him puniſhed. And when I replied that in any wiſe I muſt needs goe to Ceuola, he willed me to ſurceaſe from that purpoſe, for they looked that that lord without al doubt would come to annoy them, & that therefore they could not leaue their countrey naked to goe with me, and that it would be better, that I would make an end of that warre betweene them, and that then I might haue their company to Ceuola. And vpon this point we grew to ſuch variance, that we began to grow into choler, and in a rage he would haue gone out of the boat, but I ſtayed him, and with gentle ſpeeches began to pacifie him, ſeeing that it imported mee much to haue him my friend: but for all my courteſies which I ſhewed him, I could not alter him from his mind, wherein he ſtil remained obſtinate. In this meane while I ſent a man away vnto my ſhips to giue them knowledge of the iourney that I had determined to make. After this I prayed the old man that he would fetch him backe againe, becauſe I had determined, that ſeeing I ſaw no meanes to be able to go to Ceuola, & becauſe I would ſtay no longer among thoſe people, becauſe they ſhould not diſcouer me, and likewiſe becauſe I meant in perſon to viſit my ſhips, with determination to returne againe vp the riuer, carying with me other companions, & leaue there ſome which I had ſicke, and telling the olde man and the reſt that I would returne, and leauing them ſatiſfied the beſt I could (although they alwayes ſaid that I went away for feare) I returned downe the riuer: and that way which I had gone againſt the ſtreame vp the riuer in 15. dayes and an halfe, I made in my returne in 2. dayes and an halfe, becauſe the ſtreame was great and very ſwift. In this wiſe going downe the riuer, much people came to the banks, ſaying, Sir, wherefore doe you leaue vs? what diſcourteſie hath bin done vnto you? did you not ſay that you would remayne continually with vs, and

[illegible] of [illegible].

A deſert.

Cumana.

He returneth in 2. dayes and an halfe to his ſhips.

and be our Lord? And turne backe againe? if any man about the riuer hath done you any wrong we will goe with our weapons with you and kill him; and ſuch like words ful of loue and kindnes.

Chap.8.

When they came to their ſhippes the Captaine named that coaſt *La Campanna de la Cruz*, and builded a Chapel vnto our Lady, and called the riuer *El Rio de Buena Guia*, and returned vp the ſame againe: when he came to *Quicama* and *Coama* the Lords of thoſe places vſed him very courteouſly.

Vpon mine arriuall at my ſhips I found all my people in health, although very heauie for my long ſtay, and becauſe the current had fretted fower of their cables, and that they had loſt two ankers which were recouered. After we had brought our ſhips together, I cauſed them to bring them into a good harbour, & to giue the catena to the ſhippe called Sanct Peter, & to mend all things that were needfull. And here aſſembling all my company together, I opened vnto them what knowledge I had receiued of Francis Vaſquez; and how it might be that in thoſe ſixteene dayes ſpace which I was in ſayling vp the riuer he might peraduenture haue ſome knowledge of me, and that I was minded to returne vp the riuer once againe to try if I could finde any meanes to ioyne my ſelfe with him: and although ſome ſpake againſt my determination, I cauſed al my boates to bee made ready, becauſe the ſhips had no need of them. I cauſed one of them to be filled with wares of exchange, with corne and other ſeedes, with hennes & cockes of Caſtile, and departed vp the riuer, leauing order that in that prouince called Campanna de la Cruz they ſhould build an Oratorie or Chapell, and called it the Chappell of our Lady de la Buena Guia, and that they ſhould call this riuer Rio de Buena Guia becauſe that is your Lordſhips Deuiſe: I carried with me Nicolas Zamorano Pilote mayor, to take the height of the pole. And I departed on tueſday the fourteenth of September, & on wedneſday I came vnto the firſt dwellings of the firſt Indians, which came running to hinder my paſſage, ſuppoſing that we had bene other people, for we carried with vs a fifer, & a drummer, and I was clad in other apparell then I went in before, when they ſaw me firſt of all: and when they knew me they ſtayed, though I could not grow vnto perfect friendſhip with them, whereupon I gaue them ſome of thoſe ſeedes which I brought with mee; teaching them how they ſhould ſow them: and after I had ſayled 3 leagues, my firſt interpretour came euen to my boat to ſeeke me with great ioy, of whom I demanded wherefore he had left me, he tolde me that certaine companions of his had led him away. I made him good countenance and better intertainment, becauſe he ſhould beare me companie againe, conſidering howe much it did importe me to haue him with me. He excuſed himſelfe becauſe he ſtayed there to bring mee certaine feathers of Parrats, which he gaue me. I aſked him what people theſe were, and whether they had any Lord: hee anſwered me, *yea*; and named three or foure vnto me, of foure or 25 names of people which he knew and that they had houſes painted within, and that they had trafficke with thoſe of Ceuola, and that in two moones hee came into the countrey. He told me moreouer many other names of Lords, and other people, which I haue written downe in a booke of mine, which I will bring my ſelfe vnto your Lordſhip. But I thought good to deliuer this briefe relation to Auguſtine Guerriero in this hauen of Colima, that he might ſend it ouerland to your Lordſhippe, to whom I haue many other things to imparte.

Marke what things the Spaniards carry with them in newe diſcoueries.

Rio de buena Guia.

Parrats in theſe parts.

Two moones to Ceuola.

Another booke written of the particulars of that countrey.

Quicama.

But to returne to my iourney, I arriued at Quicama, where the Indians came forth with great ioy and gladnes to receiue me, aduertizing me that their Lord waited for my comming; to whom when I was come I found that he had with him fiue or ſixe thouſand men without weapons, from whom he went aparte with ſome two hundred onely, all which brought victuals with them, and ſo he came towards me, going before the reſt with great authoritie, and before him and on each ſide of him were certaine which made the people ſtande aſide, making him way to paſſe. Hee ware a garment cloſe before and behind and open on both ſides, faſtened with buttons, wrought with white and blacke checker worke, it was very ſoft and well made, being of the ſkinnes of certaine delicate fiſhes called Sea breams. Aſſoone as he was come to the waters ſide his ſeruants tooke him vp in their armes, and brought him into my boate, where I embraced him and receiued him with great ioy, ſhewing vnto him much kindneſſe: vpon which intertainment his people ſtanding by and beholding the ſame ſeemed not a litle to reioyce. This Lord turning himſelfe to his people willed them to conſider my courteſie, and that he being of his owne accord come vnto me with a ſtrange people, they might ſee how good a man I was, and with how great loue I had entertained him, and that therefore they ſhould take me for their Lord, and that all of them ſhould become my ſeruants, and doe whatſoeuer I would command them. There I cauſed him to ſit downe, and to eat certaine conſerues of ſugar which I had brought with mee, and willed the interpreter to thanke him in my name for the fauour which he had done me in vouchſafing to come to ſee mee, recommending vnto him the worſhipping of the croſſe, and all ſuch other things as I had recommended to the reſt of the Indians; namely that they ſhould liue in peace, and ſhould leaue off warres, and ſhould continue alwayes good friendes together: he anſwered, that of long time they had continued in warres with their neighbours, but that from thence forward he would command his people that they ſhould giue food to all ſtrangers that paſſed through his kingdome, and that they ſhould doe them no kinde of wrong, and that if any nation ſhould come to inuade him, he ſaid he would tell them howe I had commanded that they ſhould liue in peace, and if they refuſed the ſame, he would defend himſelfe, and promiſed me, that he would neuer goe to ſeeke warre, if others came not to inuade him. Then I gaue him certaine trifles, as well of the ſeedes which I brought, as of the hens of Caſtile, wherewith he was not a litle pleaſed. And at my departure I caryed certaine of his people with me, to make friendſhip betweene them and thoſe other people which dwelt aboue the Riuer: and here the interpreter came vnto me, to craue leaue to returne home; and I gaue him certaine gifts wherewith he departed greatly ſatiſfied.

Coama.

The next day I came to Coama, and many of them knew me not, ſeeing me clad in other apparel, but the old man which was there as ſoone as he knew me leapt into the water, ſaying vnto me; Sir, lo here is the man which you left with me, which came forth very ioyfull & pleaſant declaring vnto me the great courteſies which that people had ſhewed him, ſaying that they had ſtriuen together who ſhould haue him to his houſe, and that it was incredible to thinke what care they had at the riſing of the Sunne to hold vp their hands and kneele before the Croſſe. I gaue them of my ſeedes, and thanked them hartily for the good entertainement which they had ſhewed my man, and they beſought me that I would leaue him with them, which I granted them vntill my returne, and he ſtayed among them very willingly. Thus I went forward vp the Riuer, taking that olde man in my companie, which told mee, that two Indians came from Cumana to enquire for the Chriſtians, & that he had anſwered them that he knew none ſuch, but that he knew one which was the ſonne of the Sunne, and that they had perſwaded him to ioyne with them to kill mee and my companions. I wiſhed him to lend me two Indians, and I would ſend word by them, that I would come vnto them, and was deſirous of their friendſhip, but if that they on the contrary would haue warre, I would make ſuch a warre with them, that ſhould diſpleaſe them. And ſo I paſſed through all that people, and ſome came and aſked me, why I had not giuen them Croſſes as well as the reſt, and ſo I gaue them ſome.

Cumana.

Treaſon of the ſauages.

Chap. 9.

They goe on land, and ſee the people worſhip the Croſſe which they had giuen them. The Captaine cauſeth an Indian to make a draught of the countrey: hee ſendeth a Croſſe to the Lord of *Cumana*, and going downe the Riuer with the ſtreame, he arriueth at his ſhips. Of the error of the Pilots of *Cortez* as touching the ſituation of this Coaſt.

The next day I went on land to ſee certaine cottages, and I found many women and children holding vp their hands and kneeling before a Croſſe which I had giuen them. When I came thither I did the like my ſelf; and conferring with the old man, he began to informe me of as many people and Prouinces as he knew. And when euening was come I called the old man to come and lodge with mee in my boate; hee anſwered that hee would not goe with mee becauſe I would wearie him with aſking him queſtions of ſo many matters: I told him that I would requeſt him nothing elſe but that he would ſet me downe in a charte as much as he knew concerning that Riuer, and what maner of people thoſe were which dwelt vpon the bankes thereof on both ſides: which he did willingly. And then he requeſted me that I would deſcribe my countrey vnto him, as he had done his vnto me. And for to content him, I cauſed a draught of certaine things to be made for him. The next day I entred betweene certaine very high mountaines, through which this Riuer paſſeth with a ſtreight chanel, and the boats went vp againſt the ſtreame very hardly for want of men to draw the ſame. Here certaine Indians came and told me, that in the ſame place, there were certaine people of Cumana, and among the reſt an enchanter, who enquired which way we would paſſe; & they telling him that we meant to paſſe by the Riuer, he ſet certaine canes on both ſides thereof, through which wee paſſed, without receiuing any kinde of damage which they intended againſt vs. Thus going forward I came vnto the houſe of the olde man which was in my company, and here I cauſed a very high Croſſe to be ſet vp, whereupon I engraued certaine letters to ſignifie that I was come thither: and this I did, that if by chance any of the people of

An Inchanter.

the generall Vaſquez de Coronado ſhould come thither, they might haue knowledge of my being there. At length ſeeing I could not attaine to the knowledge of that which I ſought for, I determined to returne backe vnto my ſhips. And being ready to depart there arriued two Indians, which by meanes of the interpreters of the old man, told me that they were ſent to me, and that they were of Cumana, and that their Lord could not come himſelfe, becauſe he was farre from that place, but deſired me to ſignifie vnto him what my pleaſure was. I told them, that I wiſhed that he would alwayes imbrace peace, and that I was comming to ſee that countrey, but being inforced to returne backe downe the River I could not now doe it, but that hereafter I would returne, and that in the meane ſeaſon they ſhould giue that Croſſe vnto their Lorde, which they promiſed me to do, and they went directly to cary him that Croſſe with certaine feathers which were on the ſame. Of theſe I ſought to vnderſtand what people dwelt vpward vpon the bankes of the River, which gaue me knowledge of many people, and told me that the River went farre more vp into the land then I had yet ſeene, but that they knew not the head thereof, becauſe it was very far into the countrey, and that many other Riuers fell into the ſame.

This River ran much farther vp then he had trauelled.

Hauing learned thus much the next day morning I returned downe the River, and the day following I came where I had left my Spaniard, with whom I ſpake, and told him that all things had gone well with me, and that at this time and the former I had gone aboue 30 leagues into the countrey. The Indians of that place inquired of me what the cauſe was of my departure, and whe I would returne; to whom I anſwered, that I would returne ſhortly. Thus ſayling downe the ſtreame, a woman leapt into the water crying vnto vs to ſtay for her, and ſhee came into our boate, and crept vnder a bench, from whence we could not make her to come out: I vnderſtood that ſhee did this, becauſe her huſband had taken vnto him another wife, by whom hee had children, ſaying that ſhe ment not to dwell any longer with him, ſeeing he had taken another wife. Thus ſhee and another Indian came with me of their owne accord, and ſo I came into my ſhips, and making them ready we proceeded home on our voyage, coaſting and oftentimes going on land, and entering a great way into the countrey, to ſee if I could learne any newes of Captaine Francis Vaſquez and his companie; of whom I could haue no other knowledge, but ſuch as I learned in the aforeſaide River. I bring with me many actes of taking poſſeſſion of all that Coaſt. And by the ſituation of the River and the height which I tooke, I finde that that which the Maſters and Pilots of the Marqueſſe tooke is falſe, & that they were deceiued by 2 degrees, and I haue ſayled beyond them about 4 degrees. I ſayled vp the River 85 leagues, where I ſaw and learned all the particulars before mentioned, and many other things; whereof when it ſhall pleaſe God to giue mee leaue to kiſſe your Lordſhips hands, I will deliuer you the full and perfect relation. I thinke my ſelfe to haue had very good fortune, in that I found Don Luis de Caſtilia, and Auguſtine Ghenero in the port of Colima: for the Galiot of the Adelantado came vpon mee, which was there with the reſt of his fleet, and commanded me to ſtrike ſayle, which ſeeming a ſtrange thing vnto me, and not vnderſtanding in what ſtate things were in Nueua Eſpanna, I went about to defend my ſelfe, and not to doe it. In the meane while came Don Luis de Caſtilia in a boate and conferred with mee, and I lay at anchor on the other ſide of the Hauen where the ſaide fleete road, and I gaue vnto him this relation (and to auoyd ſtriffe I determined to ſayle away by night) which relation I carryed about me briefly written; for I alwayes had a purpoſe to ſend the ſame, as ſoone as I ſhould touch vpon Nueua Eſpanna, to aduertize your Lordſhip of my proceedings.

He ſayled 85 leagues vp the River.

The port of Colima.

An extract of a Spaniſh letter written from *Pueblo de los Angeles* in *Nueua Eſpanna* in October 1597, touching the diſcouerie of the rich Iſles of *California*, being diſtant eight dayes ſayling from the maine.

WE haue ſeene a letter written the eight of October 1597, out of a towne called Pueblo de los Angeles ſituate eighteene leagues frõ Mexico, making mention of the Ilands of California ſituate two or three hundreth leagues frõ the maine land of Nueua Eſpanna, in Mar del Sur: as that thither haue bene ſent before that time ſome people to conquer them: which with loſſe of ſome twentie men were forced backe. After that they had wel viewed and found thoſe Iſlands or countreys to be very rich of gold and ſiluer mynes, and of very large Orientall pearles, which were caught in good quantitie vpon one fathome and an halfe paſſing likewiſe the pearles of the Iſland Margarita: the report thereof cauſed the Vice-roy of Mexico to ſend a citizen of Mexico with two hundreth men to conquer the ſame. Therein alſo was affirmed that within eight dayes they could ſayle thither from the mayne.

The courſe which Sir *Francis Drake* held from the hauen of *Guatulco* in the South ſea on the backe ſide of *Nueua Eſpanna*, to the Northweſt of *California* as far as fourtie three degrees: and his returne back along the ſaid Coaſt to thirtie eight degrees: where finding a faire and goodly hauen, he landed, and ſtaying there many weekes, and diſcouering many excellent things in the countrey and great ſhewe of rich minerall matter, and being offered the dominion of the countrey by the Lord of the ſame, hee tooke poſſeſſion thereof in the behalfe of her Maieſtie, and named it *Noua Albion*.

WEe kept our courſe from the Iſle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ſhip) along the Coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna, vntill we came to the Hauen and Towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but ſeuenteene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to ſtand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes.

Aſſoone as we were entred this Hauen we landed, and went preſently to the towne, and to the Towne houſe, where we found a Iudge ſitting in iudgement, he being aſſociate with three other officers, vpon three Negroes that had conſpired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges, and priſoners we tooke, and brought them a ſhippeboord, and cauſed the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to auoid, that we might ſafely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ranſaked the Towne, and in one houſe we found a pot of the quantitie of a buſhell full of royals of plate, which we brought to our ſhip.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, took a Spaniſh gentleman as he was flying out of the Towne, and ſearching him, he found a chaine of Gold about him, and other iewels, which we tooke and ſo let him goe.

The Portugal Pilote ſet on land.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, ſet aſhore his Portugall Pilote, which he tooke at the Iſland of Cape Verde, out of a ſhip of Saint Marie port of Portugall, and hauing ſet them aſhore, we departed thence.

Our General at this place and time thinking himſelfe both in reſpect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as alſo of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, ſufficiently ſatiſfied, and reuenged; and ſuppoſing that her Maieſtie at his returne would reſt contented with this ſeruice, purpoſed to continue no longer vpon the Spaniſh coaſtes, but began to conſider and to conſult of the beſt way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two ſpeciall cauſes: the one, leaſt the Spaniards ſhould there waite, and attend for him in great number and ſtrength, whoſe handes he being left but one ſhip, could not poſſibly eſcape. The other cauſe was the dangerous ſituation of the mouth of the Streights of the South ſide, with continuall ſtormes raining and bluſtering, as he found by experience, beſides the ſhoales and ſands vpon the coaſt, wherefore he thought it not a good courſe to aduenture that way: he reſolued therefore to auoide theſe hazards, to goe forward to the Iſlands of the Malucos, and therehence to ſaile the courſe of the Portugales by the Cape of Bona Sperança.

Vpon this reſolution, he began to thinke of his beſt way for the Malucos, and finding himſelfe, where hee now was, becalmed, hee ſawe that of neceſſitie hee muſt bee enforced to take a Spaniſh courſe, namely to ſaile ſomewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore ſet ſaile, and ſayled 800 leagues at the leaſt for a good winde, and thus much we ſayled from the 16 of Aprill after our olde ſtile till the third of Iune.

Sir Francis Drake ſayled on the backe ſide of America to 43 degrees of Northerly latitude.

The fift day of Iune being in fortie three degrees towardes the pole Arcticke, being ſpeedily come out of the extreame heate, wee found the ayre ſo colde, that our men being pinched with the ſame, complayned of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increaſed vpon vs, whereupon we thought it beſt for that time to ſeeke land, and did ſo, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, & we drew backe againe without landing, til we came within thirtie eight degrees towardes the line. In which height it pleaſed God to ſend vs into a faire and good Bay, with a good winde to enter the ſame.

38 degrees.

In this Bay wee ankered the ſeuenteenth of Iune, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houſes cloſe by the waters ſide, ſhewed themſelues vnto vs, and ſent a preſent to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things which we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accuſtomed humanitie) curteouſly intreated them, and liberally beſtowed on them neceſſarie things to couer their nakedneſſe, whereupon they ſuppoſed vs to be gods, and would not be perſwaded to the contrary: the preſentes which they ſent vnto our Generall were feathers, and cals of net worke.

A deſcription of the people and Countrey of Noua Albion.

Their houſes are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermoſt brimmes of the circle clifts of wood ſet vpon them, ioyning cloſe together at the toppe like a ſpire ſteeple, which by reaſon of that cloſeneſſe are very warme.

Their bed is the ground with ruſhes ſtrawed on it, and lying about the houſe, they haue the fire in the middeſt. The men goe naked, the women take bulruſhes and kembe them after the maner of hempe, and thereof make their looſe garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing alſo about their ſhoulders a ſkinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. Theſe women are very obedient and ſeruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and viſited vs the ſecond time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for preſents: And when they came to the toppe of the hil (at the bottom whereof wee had pitched our tents) they ſtayed themſelues, where one appointed for ſpeaker wearied himſelfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill and came downe with their preſents.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themſelues lamentably, tearing their fleſh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a ſacrifice. In the meane time our Generall with his companie, went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exerciſe they were attentiue and ſeemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs they reſtored againe vnto vs thoſe things which before we had beſtowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being ſpread through the countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongſt them the king himſelf, a man of a goodly ſtature, and comely perſonage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whoſe comming were ſent two Ambaſſadours to our Generall, to ſignifie that their king was comming, in doing of which meſſage, their ſpeech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by ſignes requeſted our Generall to ſend ſomething by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might bee in peace: wherein our Generall hauing ſatiſfied them they returned with glad tidings to their king, who marched to vs with a princely Maieſtie, the people crying continually after their maner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, ſo did they ſtriue to behaue themſelues in their actions with comlineſſe.

In the forefront was a man of a goodly perſonage, who bare the ſcepter, or mace before the king, whereupon hanged two crownes, a leſſe and a bigger, with three chaines of a meruellous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with feathers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bony ſubſtance and few be the perſons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number alſo the perſons are ſtinted, as ſome ten, ſome twelue, &c. Next vnto him which bare the ſcepter, was the king himſelfe, with his Guarde about his perſon, clad with Conie ſkinnes, and other ſkinnes: after them followed the naked common ſort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, ſome with white ſome with blacke, and other colours and hauing in their hands one thing or other for a preſent, not ſo much as their children, but they alſo brought their preſents.

Theſe are like chaines of Eſurgny in Canada and Hochelaga.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making againſt their approching, a very warlike ſhewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general ſalutation being made, there was preſently a generall ſilence. Then he that bare the ſcepter before the king, being informed by another, whome they aſſigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other ſpake to him in ſecret, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the king with the whole number of men, and women the children excepted came downe without any weapon, who deſcending to the foote of the hill, ſet themſelues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the ſcepter bearer began a ſong, obſeruing his meaſures in a dance, and that with a ſtately countenance, whom the king with his Garde, and euery degree of perſons following, did in like maner ſing and dance, ſauing onely the women which danced and kept ſilence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwark, where they continued their ſong and daunce a reaſonable time. When they had ſatiſfied themſelues, they made ſignes to our Generall to ſit downe, to whom the king, and diuers others made ſeueral orations or rather ſupplication, that he would take their prouince and kingdom into his hand, and become their king, making ſignes that they would reſigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his ſubiects. In which to perſwade vs the better, the king and the reſt, The king reſigneth his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

Great riches in Noua Albion.

with one conſent and with great reuerence, ioyfully ſinging a ſong, did ſet the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offered vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it ſeemed a ſigne of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, becauſe hee knewe not what honour and profite it might bee to our countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vſe of her Maieſtie, he tooke the ſcepter, crowne and dignitie of the ſaid Countrey in his hands, wiſhing that the riches & treaſure thereof might ſo conueniently be tranſported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the ſame.

The common ſort of the people leauing the king and his Guarde with our Generall, ſcattered themſelues together with their ſacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery perſon; and ſuch as pleaſed their fancie, (which were the yongeſt) they incloſing them about offred their ſacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, ſcratching, and tearing the fleſh from their faces with their nayles, whereof iſſued abundance of blood. But wee vſed ſignes to them of diſliking this, and ſtayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwardes to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worſhippe. They ſhewed vnto vs their woundes, and craued helpe of them at our handes, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaiſters, and ointments agreeing to the ſtate of their griefes, beſeeching God to cure their deſeaſes. Euery thirde day they brought their ſacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderſtoode our meaning, that we had no pleaſure in them: yet they could not be long abſent from vs, but daily frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure ſeemed ſo grieuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into ſorrow. They intreated vs, that being abſent wee would remember them, and by ſtelth prouided a ſacrifice, which we miſliked.

Great heards of Deere.

Our neceſſarie buſineſſe being ended, our Generall with his companie trauelled vp into the Countrey to their villages, where we found heardes of Deere by a thouſand in a companie, being moſt large and fat of body.

Abundance of ſtrange conies.

We found the whole countrey to bee a warren of a ſtrange kinde of Conies, their bodies in bigneſ as be the Barbary Conies, their heads as the heades of ours, the feet of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either ſide a bagge, into the which ſhee gathereth her meate when ſhe hath filled her belly abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their ſkinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Noua Albion.

Our Generall called this countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two cauſes: the one in reſpect of the white bankes and cliffes, which ly towardes the ſea: and the other, becauſe it might haue ſome affinitie with our Countrey in name, which ſometime was ſo called.

Golde and ſiluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth here to bee taken vp, wherein there is not ſome ſpeciall likelihood of gold or ſiluer.

At our departure hence our Generall ſet vp a monument of our being there; as alſo of her Maieſties right and title to the ſame, namely a plate nailed vpon a faire great poſte, whereupon was ingrauen her Maieſties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the Prouince and people into her Maieſties hands, together with her Highnes picture and armes, in a peece of ſixe pence of current Engliſh money vnder the plate, where vnder was alſo written the name of our Generall.

It ſeemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the countrey, neither did euer diſcouer the land by many degrees to the Southwards of this place.

The true and perfect deſcription of a voyage performed and done by *Franciſco de Gualle* a Spaniſh Captaine and Pilot, for the Vice-roy of *New Spaine*, from the Hauen of *Acapulco* in *New Spaine*, to the Iſlands of the *Luçones* or *Philippinas*, vnto the Hauen of *Manilla*, & from thence to the Hauen of *Macao* in *China*, and from *Macao* backe againe to *Acapulco*, accompliſhed in the yeere of our Lord, 1584.

Chap. 1.

The tenth of March in the yeere of our Lorde 1582 wee ſet ſayle out of the Hauen of Acapulco, lying in the countrey of New Spaine, directing our courſe towards the Iſlands of the Luçones, or Philippinas Weſt Southweſt, running in that maner for the ſpace of twentie fiue leagues, till wee came vnder ſixteene degrees, that ſo wee might ſhunne the calmes by ſayling cloſe by the ſhore. From thence forward we held our courſe Weſt for the ſpace of 30 leagues, and being there, we ran Weſt, and Weſt & by South, for the ſpace of 1800 leagues, to the Iland cal-

Iſla del Enganno, which is the furtheſt Iland lying in the South parts of yͤ Ilands called De los Ladrones, that is, The Ilands of rouers, or Iſlas de las Velas, vnder 13. degrees and ½. in latitude Septentrionall, and 164. degrees in longitude Orientall, vpon the fixed Meridionall line, which lyeth right with the Iland of Terçera. From thence we helde our courſe Weſtward for the ſpace of 280. leagues, till we came to the point called El capo de Eſpirito Santo, that is, The point of the holy Ghoſt, lying in the Iland Tandaya, the firſt Iland of thoſe that are called Philippinas, Luçones, or Manillas, which is a countrey with fewe hilles, with ſome mines of brimſtone in the middle thereof. From the point aforeſayde, wee ſailed Weſt for the ſpace of eighteene leagues to the point or entrie of the chanell, which runneth in betweene that Iland and the Iland of Luçon. This point or entrie lieth ſcarce vnder 12. degrees. All the coaſt that ſtretcheth from the entrie of the chanel to the point of El capo del Spirito ſanto, is not very faire.

Eight leagues from the ſayde point lyeth a hauen of indifferent greatneſſe, called Baya de Lobos, that is, The Bay of woolues, hauing a ſmall Iland in the mouth thereof: and within the chanell about halfe a league from the ende of the ſayd Iland lyeth an Iland or cliffe, & when you paſſe by the point in the middle of the chanell, then you haue fiue and twentie fathom deepe, with browne ſand: there we found ſo great a ſtreame running Weſtward, that it made the water to caſt a ſkum as if it had beene a ſande, whereby it put vs in feare, but caſting out our lead, wee found fiue and twentie fathom deepe.

From the aforeſayd entrie of the chanell North, and North and by Eaſt about tenne leagues, lyeth the Iland of Catanduanes, about a league diſtant from the lande of Luçon, on the furtheſt point Eaſtward, and from the ſame entrie of the chanell towards the Weſt and Southweſt, lyeth the Iland Capuli about ſixe leagues from thence, ſtretching Weſtſouthweſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt, being fiue leagues long, and foure leagues broad: and as wee paſt by it, it lay Northward from vs vnder twelue degrees and ½. and ſomewhat high lande. Foure leagues from the aforeſayd Iland of Capuli Northweſtward lie the three Ilands of the hauen of Bollon in the Iland of Luçones, ſtretching North and South about foure leagues, diſtant from the firme lande halfe a league, whereof the furtheſt Southward lieth vnder thirteene degrees: In this chanell it is twentie fathom deepe, with white ſand, and a great ſtreame, running Southeaſt: we paſſed through the middle of the chanell. From this chanell wee helde our courſe Southweſt, and Southweſt and by Weſt, for the ſpace of twentie leagues, vntill wee came to the Weſt ende of the Iland of Tycao, which reacheth Eaſt and Weſt thirteene leagues. This point or hooke lyeth vnder 12. degrees and ½. In the middle betweene this Iland and the Iland Capuli there lie three Ilands called the Faranias, and we ranne in the ſame courſe on the Northſide of all the Ilands, at the depth of of 22. fathom with white ſand.

From the aforeſayd Weſt point of the Iland Tycao to the point of Buryas it is Eaſt and Weſt to ſayle about the length of a league or a league and an halfe: we put into that chanell, holding our courſe South, and South and by Weſt about three leagues, vntill we were out of the chanell at ſixteene fathom deepe, with halfe white and reddiſh ſande in the chanell, and at the mouth thereof, whereof the middle lyeth vnder 12. degrees and ½. and there the ſtreames runne Northward.

The Iland of Buryas ſtretcheth Northweſt and Southeaſt, and is lowe lande, whereof the Northweſt point is about three leagues from the coaſt of Luçon, but you cannot paſſe betweene them with any ſhippe, but with ſmall foiſts and barkes of the countrey. This ſhallowe chanell lieth vnder twelue degrees: and running thorow the aforeſaid chanell betweene the Ilands Tycao and Buryas, as I ſayd before, we ſayled Southward about two leagues from the Iland of Maſbate, which ſtretcheth Eaſt and Weſt 8. leagues long, being in bredth 4. leagues, and lyeth vnder 12. degrees and ½. in the middle thereof, and is ſomewhat high land.

The Ile of Maſbate.

From the ſayd chanell betweene Tycao and Buryas, wee helde our courſe Weſtnorthweſt for thirteene leagues, leauing the Iland Maſbate on the Southſide, and the Iland Buryas on the North ſide: at the ende of thirteene leagues wee came by an Iland called Banton, which is in forme like a hat, vnder twelue degrees and ½. when we had ſayled the aforeſayd thirteene leagues and eight leagues more, on the South ſide wee left the Iland called Rebuiam, which ſtretcheth Northweſt, and Northweſt and by North, and Southeaſt, and Southeaſt and by South, for the ſpace of eight leagues, being high and crooked lande, whereof the North point lyeth vnder twelue degrees and ½. and there you haue [illegible] fathom deepe, with white ſand.

From the aforeſayd Iland of Banton Southward nine leagues, there beginne and followe three Ilandes, one of them being called Bantonſilla, which is a ſmall Iland in forme of a ſugar loafe: the ſecond Crymara, being ſomewhat great in length, reaching Eaſt and Weſt about two leagues: the third leſſe, is the Ile of Goates, hauing certaine houſes. By all theſe Ilands aforeſayd you may paſſe with all ſortes of ſhippes, whereof the foremoſt lyeth Southward vnder twelue degrees and ¼. From the Iland of Bantonſilla, or ſmall Banton, wee helde our courſe Northweſt for the ſpace of foure leagues, to the chanell betweene the Ilands called de Vereies, and the Iland Marinduque, the Vereies lying on the South ſide vnder twelue degrees and ¼. (which are two ſmall Ilands like two Frigats) and the Iland Marinduque on the North ſide vnder twelue degrees, and ¼. which is a great Iland, ſtretching Weſt northweſt, and Eaſtſouth-eaſt, hauing in length 12. & in bredth 7. leagues. On the North ſide with the Iland Luçon it maketh a long and ſmall chanell, running ſomewhat crooked, which is altogether full of ſhallowes and ſandes, whereby no ſhippes can paſſe through it. The furtheſt point Weſtward of the ſame Iland lyeth vnder thirteene degrees and ¼. It is high lande, on the Eaſt ſide hauing the forme of a mine of brimſtone or fierie hill, and on the Weſt ſide the land runneth downeward at the point thereof being round like a loafe of bread: in the chanell betweene it and the Vereies, there are 18. fathom deepe with ſmall blacke ſand.

From the aforeſayd chanell of Vereies and Marinduque, wee helde our courſe Weſtnorthweſt twelue leagues to the lande of Mindora, to the point or hooke called Dumaryn, lying ſtill vnder thirteene degrees: Fiue leagues forward from the ſayde chanell on the South ſide wee left an Iland called Iſla del maeſtro del Campo, that is, The Iland of the Colonell, lying vnder twelue degrees and ¼. which is a ſmall and flat Iland: In this courſe we had 45. fathom deep, with white ſand.

By this point or end of the Iland Marinduque beginneth the Iland of Myndoro, which hath in length Eaſt and Weſt fiue and twentie leagues, and in bredth twelue leagues, whereof the furtheſt point Southward lyeth vnder thirteene degrees, and the furtheſt point Northward vnder thirteene degrees and ¼. and the furtheſt point Weſtward vnder thirteene degrees. This Iland with the Iland of Luçon maketh a chanell of fiue leagues broad, and ten or twelue fathom deepe with muddie ground of diuers colours, with white ſande. Fiue leagues forward from Marinduque lyeth the riuer of the towne of Anagacu, which is ſo ſhallowe, that no ſhippes may enter into it. From thence two leagues further lie the Ilands called Bacco, which are three Ilands lying in a triangle, two of them being diſtant from the land about three hundred cubits, and betweene them and the land you may paſſe with ſmall ſhippes: And from the lande to the other Iland, are about two hundred cubites, where it is altogether ſhallowes and ſandes, ſo that where the ſhippes may paſſe outward about 150. cubites from the lande you leaue both the Ilands on the South ſide, running betweene the third Iland and the riuer called Rio del Bacco, ſomewhat more from the middle of the chanell towardes the Iland, which is about a league diſtant from the other: the chanell is tenne fathom deepe, with mud and ſhelles vpon the ground: the riuer of Bacco is ſo ſhallowe, that no ſhips may enter into it. From this Iland with the ſame courſe two leagues forward, you paſſe by the point called El Capo de Reſcalco, where wee caſt out our lead, and found that a man may paſſe cloſe by the lande, and there you ſhall finde great ſtrong ſtreames: and halfe a league forward with the ſame courſe, lyeth the towne of Mindoro, which hath a good hauen for ſhippes of three hundred tunnes. Three leagues Northward from the ſame hauen lyeth the Iland called Cafaa, ſtretching Eaſt and Weſt, being hilly ground.

From the ſayde towne of Myndoro, wee helde our courſe Weſtnorthweſt eight leagues, till wee came to the poynt or hooke of the ſandes called Tulen, lying vpon the Iland of Luçon, which ſande or banke reacheth into the Sea halfe a league from the coaſt: you muſt keepe about an hundred cubites from it, where you finde eight fathom water, muddie and ſhellie ground: you runne along by thoſe ſandes North, and North and by Weſt for the ſpace of two leagues, till you come to the riuer called Rio de Anaſebo: all the reſt of the coaſt called De los Limbones to the mouth or entrie of the Bay called Manilla, (which are foure leagues is ſayled with the ſame courſe. The Limbones which are Ilands ſo called) are high in forme like a paire of Organs, with good hauens for ſmall ſhippes, running along by the Limbones: and two leagues beyond them on the South ſide, wee leaue the Ilands of Fortan, and foure Ilands more, but the three Ilands of Lubao, which are very low, lie vnder 13. degrees and ¼. and the Limbones lie in the mouth or entrie of the Bay of Manilla vnder 14 degrees and ¼.

The Bay of Manilla in 14. degrees and one quarter.

From thence we ranne Northweſt for the ſpace of ſixe leagues to the hauen of Cabite, keeping along by the land lying on the Weſt ſide, where it is ſhallowe, and is called Los Baixos del Rio de Cannas. The ſhallowes of the riuer of Reedes: all along this Bay in the ſame courſe, there is from ten to foure fathom deepe.

Being by the point or hooke of Cabite, then wee kept but an hundred paces from it running Southweſt, ſouthſouthweſt, and South, vntill wee diſcouered the whole mouth or entrie of the

Bay, where we might anker at foure fathom about two hundred cubites from the lande, and then the towne of Manilla was two leagues Northward from vs.

Chap. 2.

The courſe and voyage of the aforeſayd *Franciſco Gualle* out of the hauen or roade of *Manilla*, to the hauen of *Macao* in *China*, with all the courſes and ſituations of the places.

Sayling out of the hauen of Cabite, lying in the Bay of Manilla, wee helde our courſe Weſtwarde for the ſpace of eighteene leagues, to the point called El Cabo de Samballes: and when wee were eight leagues in our way, wee left the two Ilands Maribillas on the South ſide, and ſailed about a league from them: the point of Samballes aforeſayde lyeth vnder foureteene degrees, and ⅓, being low land, at the end of the ſame coaſt of Luçon, on the Weſt ſide.

From the hooke or point aforeſayde, wee ranne North, and North and by Weſt, for the ſpace of fiue and twentie leagues (about a league from the coaſt of Luçon) to the point called Cabo de Bullinao: all this coaſt and Cape is high and hilly ground, which Cape lyeth vnder ſixteene degrees and ⅓. From this Cape de Bullinao we helde our courſe North, and North and by Eaſt, for 45. leagues to the point called El Cabo de Bojador, which is the furtheſt lande Northwarde from the Iland Luçon lying vnder 19. degrees.

The Cape de Bullinao being paſt the lande maketh a great creeke or bough, and from this creeke the coaſt runneth North to the point of Bojador, being a land full of cliffes and rockes that reach into the Sea, and the land of the hooke or point is high and hilly ground.

From the point of Bojador, wee helde our courſe Weſtnorthweſt an hundred and twentie leagues, vntill we came to the Iland called A Ilha Branca, or the white Iland, lying in the beginning of the coaſt and Bay of the riuer Canton vnder two and twentie degrees, hauing foure and twentie fathom browne muddie ground. Canton 22. degrees.

From the Iland Ilha Branca, wee helde the aforeſayde courſe of Weſtnorthweſt, for the ſpace of ſixteene leagues, to the Iland of Macao lying in the mouth of the riuer of Canton, and it maketh the riuer to haue two mouthes or entries, and it is a ſmall Iland about three leagues great. The Iland of Macao.

Chap. 3.

The Nauigation or courſe of the aforeſayd *Franciſco Gualle* out of the hauen of *Macao* to *Newe Spaine*, with the ſituation and ſtretchings of the ſame, with other notable and memorable things concerning the ſame voyage.

When we had prepared our ſelues, and had taken our leaues of our friends in Macao, we ſet ſaile vpon the foure and twentieth of July, holding our courſe Southeaſt, & Southeaſt and by Eaſt, being in the wane of the Moone: for when the Moone increaſeth, it is hard holding the courſe betweene the Ilands, becauſe as then the water and ſtreames run very ſtrong to the Northweſt; wee trauailed through many narrowe chanels by night, hauing the depth of eight or ten fathom, with ſoft muddie ground, vntill wee were about the Iland Ilha Branca, yet we ſaw it not, but by the height we knew that we were paſt it. Ilha Branca.

Being beyond it, we ranne Eaſtſoutheaſt an hundred and fiftie leagues, to get aboue the ſands called Os Baixos dos Peſcadores, and the beginning of the Ilands Lequeos on the Eaſt ſide, which Ilands are called As Ilhas fermoſas, that is to ſay, The faire Ilands. This I vnderſtoode by a Chinar called Santy of Chinchon, and hee ſayde that they lie vnder one and twentie degrees and ⅓, there it is thirtie fathom deepe: and although wee ſawe them not, notwithſtanding by the height and depth of the water we knew we were paſt them. As Ilhas fermoſas.

Being paſt As Ilhas fermoſas, or the faire Ilands, wee helde our courſe Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North, for two hundred and ſixtie leagues, vntill we were paſt the length of the Ilands Lequeos, lying about fiftie leagues from them: the ſaid Chinar tolde me, that thoſe Ilands called Lequeos are very many, and that they haue many and very good hauens, and that the people and inhabitants thereof haue their faces and bodies painted like the Byſayas of the Ilands of Luçon or Philippinas and are apparelled like the Byſayas, and that there alſo are mines of golde: Hee ſayd likewiſe that they did often come with ſmall ſhippes and barkes laden with Bucks and Harts-hides, and with golde in graines or very ſmall pieces, to traffique with them of the coaſt of China, which hee aſſured mee to bee moſt true, ſaying that hee had bene nine times in the ſmall Ilands, bringing of the ſame wares with him to China: which I beleeued to bee true, for that afterwarde Lequeos. Mines of gold

I

I enquired thereof in Macao, and vpon the coaſt of China, and found that hee ſayde true. The furtheſt or vttermoſt of theſe Ilands ſtretching Northwarde and Eaſtwarde, lie vnder nine and twentie degrees.

Firando.

Being paſt theſe Ilands, then you come to the Ilands of Iapon, whereof the firſt lying Weſt and South, is the Iland of Firando, where the Portugals vſe to traffique: they are in length altogether an hundred and thirtie leagues, and the furtheſt Eaſtward lieth vnder two and thirtie degrees: we ranne ſtill Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North, vntill we were paſt the ſayd hundred and thirtie leagues.

Other Ilands Eaſtward of Iapon.

All this information I had of the aforeſayd Chinar, as alſo that there I ſhould ſee ſome mines of brimſtone or fierie hilles, being ſeuentie leagues beyond them, and thirtie leagues further I ſhould finde foure Ilands lying together, which I likewiſe found, as hee had tolde mee: And that being in Iapon, he ſayd hee had there ſeene certaine men of a very ſmall ſtature, with great rolles of linnen cloth about their heads, that brought golde in ſmall pieces, and ſome white Cangas of cotton, (which are pieces of cotton-linnen ſo called by the Chinars) as alſo ſalte-fiſh like the Spaniſh Atun, or Tunney, which hee ſayde came out of other Ilandes Eaſtward from Iapon: and by the tokens and markes which hee ſhewed mee, I geſſed whereabout thoſe Ilands ſhould bee, and found them not farre from whence he ſayd they lay. Hee ſayd likewiſe that all the Ilands of Iapon haue good hauens and chanels, being a Countrey full of Rice, Corne, Fiſh, and fleſh, and that they are an indifferent and reaſonable people to traffique with, and that there they haue much ſiluer.

Iapon 900. leagues diſtant from the coaſt of America in 37 degrees and an halfe.

Running thus Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North about three hundred leagues from Iapon, we found a very hollowe water, with the ſtreame running out of the North and Northweſt, with a full and very broad Sea, without any hinderance or trouble in the way that wee paſt: and what winde ſoeuer blewe, the Sea continued all in one ſort, with the ſame hollow water and ſtreame, vntill wee had paſſed ſeuen hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coaſt and land of newe Spaine wee beganne to loſe the ſayd hollow Sea and ſtreame: whereby I moſt aſſuredly thinke and beleeue, that there you ſhall finde a channell or ſtraight paſſage, betweene the firme lande of newe Spaine, and the Countreys of Aſia and Tartaria. Likewiſe all this way from the aforeſayde ſeuen hundred leagues, we found a great number of Whale-fiſhes and other fiſhes called by the Spaniardes Atuns or Tunnies, whereof many are found on the coaſt of Gibralter in Spaine, as alſo Albacoras and Bonitos, which are all fiſhes, which commonly keepe in chanels, ſtraights, and running waters, there to diſperſe their ſeede when they breede: which maketh mee more aſſuredly beleeue, that thereabouts is a chanell or ſtraight to paſſe through.

Seuen and thirtie deg. and an halfe. Read Francis Vlloa chap. 16.

Being by the ſame courſe vpon the coaſt of newe Spaine, vnder ſeuen and thirtie degrees and ½. wee paſſed by a very high and faire lande with many trees, wholly without ſnowe, and foure leagues from the lande, you finde thereabouts many drifts of rootes, leaues of trees, reedes, and other leaues like figge leaues, the like whereof wee found in great abundance in the countrey of Iapon, which they eate: and ſome of thoſe that wee found, I cauſed to bee ſodden with fleſh, and being ſodden, they eate like Colewortes: there likewiſe wee found great ſtore of Seales: whereby it is to bee preſumed and certainely to bee beleeued, that there are many riuers, bayes, and hauens along by thoſe coaſtes to the hauen of Acaculpo.

Cabo de San Lucas in 22. deg.

From thence wee ranne Southeaſt, Southeaſt and by South, and Southeaſt and by Eaſt, as wee found the winde, to the point called El Cabo de Sant Lucas, which is the beginning of the lande of California, on the Northweſt ſide, lying vnder two and twentie degrees, being fiue hundred leagues diſtant from Cape Mendoçino.

Hauens lately found out.

In this way of the aforeſayde fiue hundred leagues along by the coaſt, are many Ilands: and although they bee but ſmall, yet without doubt there are in them ſome good hauens, as alſo in the firme land, where you haue theſe hauens following, now lately found out, as that of the Iſle of Saint Auguſtine, lying vnder thirtie degrees and ½. and the Iland called Iſla de Cedros, lying vnder eight & twenty deg. and ½. and the Iland lying beneath Saint Martyn, vnder three and twentie degrees and ½. All this coaſt and countrey, as I thinke, is inhabited, and ſheweth to be a very good countrey: for there by night wee ſawe fire, and by day ſmoke, which is a moſt ſure token that they are inhabited.

From the poynt or hooke of Saint Lucas, to the Southeaſt ſide of California, wee helde our courſe Eaſtſoutheaſt, for the ſpace of 80. leagues, to the point called El cabo de las corrientes, that is, the Cape of the ſtreames lying vnder 19. degrees and ½. And running this courſe, Northward about a league from vs wee ſawe three Ilands called Las tres Marias, (that is to ſay, The three Maries) running the ſame courſe. About foure leagues from the other Ilands, there are other

Ilands.

lands reaching about two or three leagues: All this way from the mouth or gulfe of California aforeſayd, for the ſpace of the ſayd fourescore leagues, there are great ſtreames that run Weſtward.

From the point or Cape de las Corrientes, we ranne Southeaſt, and ſometimes Southeaſt and by Eaſt, for the ſpace of an hundred and thirtie leagues to the hauen of Acapulco. In this way of an hundred and thirtie leagues, being twentie leagues on the way, we had the hauen of Natiuidad, that is, of the birth of the Virgin Mary: and other eight leagues further, the hauen of Saint Iago, or Saint Iames: and ſixe leagues further, the ſea Strand called La Playa de Colima, that is, the Strand of Colima. All this coaſt from California to the hauen of Acapulco is inhabited by people that haue peace and traffique with the Spaniards, and are of condition and qualities like the people of the other places of new Spaine. Acapulco.

The concluſion of the Author of this laſt voyage.

All this deſcription and nauigation haue I my ſelfe ſeene, prooued, and well noted in my voyage made & ended in the yeere of our Lord 1584. from great China out of the hauen and riuer of Canton, as I will more at large ſet it downe vnto your honour, with the longitudes and latitudes thereof, as God ſhall permit me time and leyſure, whom I beſeech to ſend you long and happie dayes.

And the ſame was truely tranſlated out of Spaniſh into lowe Dutch verbatim out of the Originall copie, (wich was ſent vnto the Viceroy of the Portugall Indies) by Iohn Huyghen Van Linſchoten.

DIVERS VOYAGES MADE BY ENGLISHmen to the famous Citie of *Mexico*, and to all or moſt part of the other principall prouinces, cities, townes and places throughout the great and large kingdom of *New Spaine*, euen as farre as *Nicaragua* and *Panama*, & thence to *Peru*: together with a deſcription of the Spaniards forme of gouernment there: and ſundry pleaſant relations of the maners and cuſtomes of the natural inhabitants, and of the manifold rich commodities & ſtrange rarities found in thoſe partes of the continent: & other matters moſt worthy the obſeruation.

The voyage of *Robert Tomſon* Marchant, into *Noua Hiſpania* in the yeere 1555. with diuers obſeruations concerning the ſtate of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himſelfe.

Robert Tomſon borne in the towne of Andouer in Hampſhire began his trauaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March: who departing out of the citie of Briſtoll in a good ſhip called The barke yong, in companie of other Marchants of the ſayde citie, within 8. dayes after arriued at Liſbone in Portugall, where the ſayd Robert Tomſon remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he ſhipped himſelfe for Spaine in the ſayd ſhippe, and within 4. dayes arriued in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluſia, which is vnder the kingdom of Spaine, & from thence went vp to the citie of Siuil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there hee repaired to one Iohn Fields houſe an Engliſh Marchant, who had dwelt in the ſaid city of Siuil 18. or 20. yeres maried with wife and children: In whoſe houſe the ſaid Tomſon remained by the ſpace of one whole yeere or thereabout, for two cauſes: The one to learne the Caſtillian tongue, the other to ſee the orders of the countrey, and the cuſtomes of the people. At the end of which time hauing ſeene the fleetes of ſhippes come out of the Indies to that citie, with ſuch great quantitie of gold & ſiluer, pearles, precious ſtones, ſuger, hides, ginger, and diuers other rich commodities, he did determine with himſelfe to ſeeke meanes and opportunitie to paſſe ouer to ſee that rich countrey from whence ſuch great quantitie of rich commodities came. And it fell out that within ſhort time after, the ſayd Iohn Field (where the ſayd Tomſon was lodged) did determine to paſſe ouer into the Weſt Indies, himſelfe, with his wife, children, and familie, and at the requeſt of the ſayde Tomſon, he purchaſed a licence of the King to paſſe into the Indies, for himſelfe, his wife and children, and among them alſo for the ſayde Tomſon to paſſe with them: ſo that preſently they made preparation of victuall and other neceſſarie prouiſion for the voyage. But the ſhippes which were prepared to performe the voyage being all ready to depart, vpon certaine conſiderations by the Kings commandement were ſtayed and arreſted till further ſhould bee knowen of the Kings pleaſure. Whereupon the ſaid Iohn Field, with Robert Tomſon departed out of Siuil and came downe to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and ſeeing the ſtay made vpon the ſhips of the ſaid fleet, & being not aſſured when they would depart, determined to ſhip themſelues for the Iles of the Canaries, which are 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to ſtay till the ſaid fleet ſhould come thither: for that is continually their port to make ſtay at 6. or 8. dayes, to take in freſh water, bread, fleſh, & other neceſſaries.

So that in the moneth of February in An. 1555. the ſayde Robert Tomſon with the ſayd Iohn Field and his companie, ſhipped themſelues out of the towne of S. Lucar in a caruel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arriued at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our comming the ſhips that rode in the ſaid port began to cry out of all meaſure with lowd voyces, in ſo much that the caſtle which ſtood faſt by began to ſhoot at vs, and ſhot 6. or 7. ſhot at vs, and ſtrooke downe our maine maſte, before we could hoiſe out our boat to goe on land, to know what the cauſe of the ſhooting was, ſeeing that we were Spaniſh ſhips, and were comming into his countrey. So that being on lande, and complaining of the wrong and damage done vnto vs, they anſwered, that they had thought we had bene French rouers, that had come into the ſaid port to do ſome harme to the ſhips that were there. For that 8. dayes paſt there went out of the ſaid port a caruell much like vnto ours, laden wit ſugers and other marchandiſe for Spaine and on the other ſide of the point of the ſayd Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the ſaid caruell, & vnladed out of her into the ſaid French ſhip both men & goods. And being demanded of the ſaid Spaniards what other ſhips remained in the port whence they came, they anſwered that there remained diuers other ſhips, ſome laden with ſugers (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine: vpon the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ſhip well appointed into the ſaid caruel which they had taken, and ſent her backe againe to the ſaid port from whence ſhe had departed the day before. And ſomewhat late towards the euening came into the port, not ſhewing paſt 3. or 4. men, and ſo came to an anker hard by the other ſhips that were in the ſaid port, and being ſeene by the caſtle and by the ſaid ſhips, they made no reconing of her, becauſe they knew her, & thinking that ſhe had found contrary windes at the ſea, or had forgot ſomething behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the ſame, and ſo made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ſhips in the ſaid port: So that about midnight the ſaid caruel with the Frenchmen in her went aboord the other ſhip that lay hard by laden with ſugers, and droue the Spaniards that were in her vnder hatches, & preſently let ſlip her cables and ankers, and ſet ſaile & carried her cleane away, and after this ſort deceiued them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did ſhoote at vs as they did. This being paſt, the next day after our arriuall in the ſayd port, wee did vnbarke our ſelues and went on lande vp to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Engliſhmen marchants ſeruants of one Anthony Hickman and Edward Caſtelin, marchants of the citie of London that lay there in traffique, of whom wee receiued great courteſie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being paſt, in the which we had ſeene the countrey, the people, and the diſpoſition thereof, wee departed from thence, and paſſed to the next Ile of the Canaries 18. leagues off, called Teneriffe, and being come on land, went vp to the citie called La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete, which in the meane while, and there hauing taken that which they had neede of, wee ſhipped our ſelues in a ſhip of Cadiz, being one of the ſaide fleete, which was belonging to an Engliſhman maried in the citie of Cadiz in Spaine, whoſe name was Iohn Sweeting, and there came in the ſayd ſhip for captain alſo an Engliſhman maried in Cadiz, and ſonne in law to the ſayde Iohn Sweeting, whoſe name was Leonard Chilton: there came alſo in the ſaid ſhip another Engliſhman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 60. yeeres or thereabout, whoſe name was Ralph Sarre. So that we departed from the ſayd Ilands in the moneth of October the foreſayd yeere, 8. ſhips in our companie, and ſo directed our courſe towards the bay of Mexico, and by the way towardes the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwiſe called Hiſpaniola. So that within 32. dayes after we departed from the Iles of Canaries wee arriued with our ſhip at the port of S. Domingo, and went in ouer the barre where our ſhip knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ſhip rid before the towne, where wee went on land, & refreſhed our ſelues 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but biſcuit brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it ſelfe doeth yeelde no kinde of bread to make graine withall. But the bread they make there, is certaine cakes made of rootes called Caſſaui, which is ſomething ſubſtantiall, but it hath but an vnſauorie taſte in the eating thereof. Fleſh of beefe and mutton they haue great ſtore: for there are men that haue 10000. head of cattell, of oxen, bulles and kine, which they doe keepe onely for the hydes: for the quantitie of fleſh is ſo great, that they are not able to ſpend the hundreth part. Hogs fleſh is there good ſtore, very ſweete and ſauorie, and ſo holſome, that they giue it to ſick folkes to eat in ſtead of hennes and capons, although they haue good ſtore of poultrie of that ſort, as alſo of Guinycocks & Guiny

Engliſh factors in the Grand Canaria.

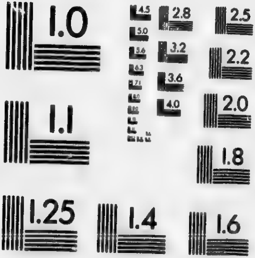
Iohn Sweeting Engliſhman married in Cadiz, ſendeth a ſhip of his owne into the Weſt Indies vnder the conduct of his ſonne in lawe Leonard Chilton. Ralph Sarre.

At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of aboue 500. houſholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the ſuburbs there were more. The countrey is moſt part of the yere very hot, & very full of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke & moleſt the people very much in the night when they are aſleepe, in pricking their faces and hands, and other parts of their bodies that lie vncouered, & make them to ſwel wonderfully. Alſo there is another kind of ſmall worme which creepeth into the ſoles of mens feet & eſpecially of the black Moores and children which vſe to go barefoot, & maketh their feet to grow as big as a mans head, & doth ſo ake that it would make one run mad. They haue no remedy for the ſame, but to open the fleſh ſometimes 3. or 4. inches & ſo dig them out. The countrey yeeldeth great ſtore of ſuger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fiſtula & Salſa perillia: mines of ſiluer & gold there are none, but in ſome riuers there is found ſome ſmal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do traffique withal in that place, is blacke money made of copper & braſſe: and this they ſay they do vſe for that they lacke money of gold and ſiluer to trade withall out of the other parts of India, but becauſe if they ſhould haue good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold and ſiluer, and let the countrey commodities lie ſtill. And thus much for S. Domingo. So we were comming from the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, & there ſtaying vntil the moneth of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of Ianuary we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico & new Spaine, toward which we ſet our courſe, and ſo ſailed 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. Iohn de Vllua, which was the port of Mexico of our right diſcharge: And being ſo neere our ſaid port, there roſe a ſtorme of Northerly windes, which came off from Terra Florida, which cauſed vs to caſt about into the ſea againe, for feare leaſt that night we ſhould be caſt vpon the ſhoare before day did breake, and ſo put our ſelues in danger of caſting away: the winde and ſea grew ſo foule and ſtrong, that within two houres after the ſtorme began, eight ſhips that were together were ſo diſperſed, that we could not ſee one another. One of the ſhips of our company being of the burthen of 500. tun called the hulke of Carion, would not caſt about to ſea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to recouer the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, but miſſing the port went with the ſhoare and was caſt away. There were drowned of that ſhip 75. perſons, men, women and children, and 64. were ſaued that could ſwim, and had meanes to ſaue themſelues: among thoſe that periſhed in that ſhip, was a gentleman who had bene preſident the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the reſt of his ſeruants & houſhold. We with the other 7. ſhips caſt about into the ſea, the ſtorme during 10. dayes with great might, boiſterous winds, fogs & raine: our ſhip being old and weake was ſo toſſed, that ſhe opened at the ſterne a fadome vnder water, and the beſt remedy we had was to ſtop it with beds and pillobiers, and for feare of ſinking we threw and lightened into the ſea all the goods we had or could come by: but that would not ſerue. Then we cut our maine maſt and threw all our Ordinance into the ſea ſauing one piece, which early in a morning when wee thought wee ſhould haue ſunke, we ſhot off, and as pleaſed God there was one of the ſhips of our company neere vnto vs, which we ſaw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the ſound of the piece, & vnderſtanding ſome of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards vs, and when they came within hearing of vs, we deſired them for the loue of God to helpe to ſaue vs, for that we were all like to periſh. They willed vs to hoiſe our foreſaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would do their beſt to ſaue vs, and ſo we did: And we had no ſooner hoiſed our foreſaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of a ſea, ſtrooke in the foreſaile, and caried ſaile & maſte all ouerboord, ſo that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to imbrace one another, euery man his friend, euery wife her huſband, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our ſoules to Almighty God, thinking neuer to eſcape aliue: yet it pleaſed God in the time of moſt need when all hope was paſt, to aide vs with his helping hand, and cauſed the winde a litle to ceaſe, ſo that within two houres after, the other ſhip was able to come aboord vs, & tooke into her with her boat man, woman and child, naked without hoſe or ſhoe vpon many of our feete. I do remember that the laſt perſon that came out of the ſhip into the boat, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ſhip into the boat with a yong ſucking child in her armes, lept too ſhort and fell into the ſea, and was a good while vnder the water before the boat could come to reſcue her, and with the ſpreading of her clothes roſe aboue water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boate hauing ſtill her childe vnder her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall loue towards her childe would not let her let the childe goe. And when ſhe came aboord the boate ſhe helde her childe ſo faſt vnder her arme ſtill, that two men were ſcant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ſhip & left it in the ſea: it was worth foure hundreth thouſand duckets, ſhip & goods when we left it. And within three dayes after we arriued at our port of S. Iohn de Vllua in New Spaine. I do remember

Many of our men died of their wormes at the taking of Puerto rico.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



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Cuerpo Santo.

member that in the great and boyſterous ſtorme of this foule weather, in the night, there came vpon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maſte, a certaine little light, much like vnto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Cuerpo ſanto, and ſaide it was S. Elmo, whom they take to bee the aduocate of Sailers. At the which ſight the Spaniards fell downe vpon their knees and worſhipped it, praying God and S. Elmo to ceaſe the torment, and ſaue them from the perill that they were in, with promiſing him that at their comming on land, they would repaire vnto his Chappell, and there cauſe Maſſes to be ſaide, and other ceremonies to be done. The friers caſt reliques into the ſea, to cauſe the ſea to be ſtill, and likewiſe ſaid Goſpels, with other croſſings and ceremonies vpon the ſea to make the ſtorme to ceaſe: which (as they ſaid) did much good to weaken the furie of the ſtorme. But I could not perceiue it, nor gaue no credite to it, till it pleaſed God to ſend vs the remedie & deliuered vs from the rage of the ſame, His Name be praiſed therefore. This light continued aboord our ſhip about three houres, flying from maſte to maſte, & from top to top: and ſometime it would be in two or three places at once. I informed my ſelfe of learned men afterward what that light ſhould be, and they ſaid, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the Sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, which flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit on the maſts and ſhrowds of the ſhips that are at ſea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be ſo: for that I haue ſeene the like in other ſhips at ſea, and in ſundry ſhips at once. By this men may ſee how the Papiſts are giuen to beleeue and worſhip ſuch vaine things and toyes, as God, to whom all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and neceſſities do let to call vpon the liuing God, who is the giuer of all good things.

His arriuall at Vera Cruz.

Florida 300. leagues from San Iuan de Vllua.

The 16. of April in Anno 1556. we arriued at the port of S. Iohn de Vllua in new Spaine, very naked and diſtreſſed of apparell, and all other things, by meanes of the loſſe of our foreſaid ſhip and goods, and from thence we went to the new Towne called Vera Cruz, fiue leagues from the ſaid port of S. Iohn de Vllua, marching ſtill by the ſea ſide, where wee found lying vpon the ſands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes and all, ſome of them of foure, fiue, and ſixe cart load by our eſtimation, which, as the people tolde vs, were in the great ſtormy weather, which we indured at ſea, rooted out of the ground in Terra Florida, which is three hundreth leagues ouer by Sea, and brought thither. So we came to the ſaide Towne of Vera cruz, where wee remained a moneth: and there the ſaid Iohn Field chanced to meete with an olde friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordoua, a very rich man of the ſaide Towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his comming thither with his wife and family, and of his miſfortune by Sea, came vnto him and receiued him and all his houſhold into his houſe, and kept vs there a whole moneth, making vs very good cheere, and giuing vs good intertainement, and alſo gaue vs that were in all eight perſons of the ſaid Iohn Fields houſe, double apparell new out of the ſhop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hoſe, ſhirts, ſmocks, gownes for the women, hoſe, ſhooes, and al other neceſſary apparel, and for our way vp to the Citie of Mexico, horſes, moiles and men, and money in our purſes for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount vnto the ſumme of 400. Crownes. And after wee were entred two dayes iourney into the Countrey, I the ſaide Robert Tomſon fell ſo ſicke of an ague, that the next day I was not able to ſit on my horſe, but was faine to be caried vpon Indians backes, from thence to Mexico. And when wee came within halfe a dayes iourney of the Citie of Mexico, the ſaide Iohn Field alſo fell ſicke, and within three dayes after we arriued at the ſaid Citie, hee died: And preſently ſickened one of his children, and two more of his houſhold people, and within eight dayes died. So that within tenne dayes after we arriued at the Citie of Mexico, of eight perſons that were of vs of the ſaide company, there remained but foure aliue, and I the ſaid Tomſon was at the point of death of the ſicknes that I got vpon the way, which continued with mee the ſpace of ſixe moneths. At the ende of which time it pleaſed Almightie God to reſtore me my health againe, although weake and greatly diſabled. And being ſome thing ſtrong, I procured to ſeeke meanes to liue, and to ſeeke a way how to profite my ſelfe in the Countrey, ſeeing it had pleaſed God to ſende vs thither in ſafetie. Then by friendſhip of one Thomas Blake a Scottiſhman borne, who had dwelt and had bene married in the ſaid Citie aboue twentie yeeres before I came to the ſaide Citie, I was preferred to the ſeruice of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the firſt conquerours of the ſaid Citie, whoſe name was Gonçalo Cerezo, with whom I dwelt twelue moneths and a halfe. At the ende of which I was maliciouſly accuſed by the Holy houſe for matters of Religion, and ſo apprehended and caried to priſon, where I lay cloſe priſoner ſeuen moneths, without ſpeaking to any creature, but to the Iailer that kept the ſaid priſon, wh[illegible] he brought me my meat and drinke. In the meane time was brought into the ſaide priſon one Auguſtin Boacio an Italian of Genoua alſo for matters of Religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the

Mexico.

Northweſt of the Citie of Mexico: At the ende of the ſaid ſeuen moneths, we were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance vpon an high ſcaffold, made before the high Altar, vpon a Sunday, in the preſence of a very great number of people, who were at the leaſt fiue or ſixe thouſand. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to ſee the ſaide Auto (as they call it) for that there were neuer none before, that had done the like in the ſaid Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant: for they neuer heard of any ſuch thing before. We were brought into the Church, euery one with a S.Benito vpon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the middeſt, and caſt ouer a mans head: both flaps hang one before, and another behinde, and in the middeſt of euery flap, a S. Andrewes croſſe, made of red cloth, ſowed on vpon the ſame, and that is called S.Benito. The common people before they ſawe the penitents come into the Church, were giuen to vnderſtand that wee were heretiques, infidels, and people that did deſpiſe God, and his workes, and that wee had bene more like deuils then men, and thought wee had had the fauour of ſome monſters, or heathen people. And when they ſaw vs come into the Church in our players coates, the women and children beganne to cry out, and made ſuch a noiſe, that it was ſtrange to ſee and heare, ſaying, that they neuer ſawe goodlier men in all their liues, and that it was not poſſible that there could be in vs ſo much euill as was reported of vs, and that we were more like Angels among men, then ſuch perſons of ſuch euill Religion as by the Prieſtes and friers wee were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that wee ſhould bee ſo vſed for ſo ſmall an offence. So that being brought into the ſaide high Church, and ſet vpon the ſcaffold which was made before the high Altar, in the preſence of all the people, vntill high Maſſe was done, and the ſermon made by a frier, concerning our matter, they did put vs in all the diſgrace they could, to cauſe the people not to take ſo much compaſſion vpon vs, for that wee were heretiques, & people that were ſeduced of the deuill, & had forſaken the faith of the Catholique Church of Rome, with diuers other reprochfull wordes, which were too long to recite in this place. High Maſſe and Sermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, euery man what he had ſaid and done, and preſently was the ſentence pronounced againſt vs. That was, that the ſaid Auguſtine Boacio was condemned to weare his S.Benito all the dayes of his life, and put into perpetuall priſon, where hee ſhould fulfill the ſame, and all his goods confiſcated and loſt. And I the ſaide Tomſon to weare the S.Benito for three yeeres, and then to be ſet at libertie. And for the accompliſhing of this ſentence or condemnation, we muſt be preſently ſent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S.Iohn de Vllua, and there to be ſhipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with ſtrait commandement, that vpon paine of 1000. duckets, the Maſters euery one ſhould looke ſtraitly vnto vs, and carry vs to Spaine, and deliuer vs vnto the Inquiſitors of the Holy houſe of Siuill, that they ſhould put vs in the places, where we ſhould fulfill our penances that the Archbiſhop of Mexico had enioyned vnto vs, by his ſentence there giuen. For performance of the which, we were ſent downe from Mexico, to the Sea ſide, which was 65. leagues, with fetters vpon our feete, and there deliuered to the Maſters of the ſhips, to be caried for Spaine, as before is ſaid. And it was ſo, that the Italian, fearing that if he had preſented himſelfe in Spaine before the Inquiſitors, that they would haue burned him, to preuent that danger, when wee were comming homeward, and were arriued at the yland of Terçera, one of the yles of the Açores, the firſt night that we came into the ſaid port to an ancker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ſhip into the ſea, & ſwam naked a ſhoare, and ſo preſently got him to the further ſide of the yland, where hee found a little Carauel ready to depart for Portugal, in the which he came to Lisbone, and paſſed into France, and ſo into England, where hee ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept ſtill aboord the ſhip, and came into Spaine, and was deliuered to the Inquiſitors of the Holy houſe of Siuill, where they kept me in cloſe priſon, till I had fulfilled the three yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of priſon, and ſet at libertie: and being in the Citie of Siuil a caſher of one Hugh Typton, an Engliſh marchant of great doing, by the ſpace of one yeere, it fortuned that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called Iohn de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indies, and had got great ſummes of golde and ſiluer, and with one onely daughter ſhipped himſelfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gaue all that hee had vnto his onely daughter, whoſe name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arriued at the Citie of Siuil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to mee 2500. pounds in barres of golde and ſiluer, beſides iewels of great price. This I thought good to ſpeake of, to ſhew the goodnes of God to all them that put their truſt in him, that I being brought out of the Indies, in ſuch great miſery and infamy to the world, ſhould be prouided at Gods hand in one moment, of more then in all my life before I could attaine vnto by my owne labour.

After we departed from Mexico, our S.Benitoes were ſet vp in the high Church of the ſaid Citie, with our names written in the ſame, according to their vſe and cuſtome, which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of vs, as long as the Romiſh Church doth raigne in that country. The ſame haue bene ſeene ſince by one Iohn Chilton, and diuers others of our nation, which were left in that countrey long ſince, by Sir Iohn Hawkins. And becauſe it ſhalbe knowen wherefore it was that I was ſo puniſhed by the Clergies hande, as before is mentioned, I will in briefe words declare the ſame.

It is ſo, that being in Mexico at the table, among many principall people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Engliſhman, whether it were true, that in England they had ouerthrowen all their Churches and houſes of Religion, and that all the images of the Saints of heauen that were in them were throwen downe, broken, and burned, and in ſome places high wayes ſtoned with them, and whether the Engliſh nation denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had bene certified out of Spaine by their friends. To whom I made anſwere, that it was ſo, that in deed they had in England put downe all the Religious houſes of friers and monks that were in England, and the images that were in their Churches and other places were taken away, and vſed there no more: for that (as they ſay) the making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expreſſe cōmandement of Almighty God, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelfe any grauen image, &c. and that for that cauſe they thought it not lawfull that they ſhould ſtand in the Church, which is the houſe of adoration. One that was at the declaring of theſe words, who was my maſter Gonſalo Cereſo, anſwered and ſaid, if it were againſt the commandement of God, to haue images in the Churches, that then he had ſpent a great deale of money in vaine, for that two yeres paſt he had made in the monaſtery of Santo Domingo, in the ſaid citie of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure ſiluer & golde, with pearles and precious ſtones, which coſt him 7000. and odde peſos, and euery peſo is 4.s.8.d. of our money: which indeed was true, for that I haue ſeene it many times my ſelfe where it ſtands. At the table was another gentleman, who preſuming to defend the cauſe more then any other that was there, ſaide, that they knew well ynough that they were made but of ſtockes and ſtones, and that to them was no worſhip giuen, but that there was a certaine veneration due vnto them after they were ſet vp in the Church, and that they were ſet there to a good intent: the one, for that they were books for the ſimple people, to make them vnderſtand the glory of the ſaints that were in heauen, & a ſhape of them to put vs in remembrance to cal vpon them, to be our interceſſors vnto God for vs, for that we are ſuch miſerable ſinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that vſing deuotion to ſaints in heauen, they may obtaine at Gods hands the ſooner, the thing that we demand of him. As for example, ſaid he, imagin that a ſubiect hath offended his king vpon the earth in any kind of reſpect, is it for the party to go boldly to the king in perſon, & to demand pardon for his offences? No, ſaith he, the preſumptiō were too great, & poſſibly he might be repulſed, and haue a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for ſuch a perſon to ſeek ſome priuate man neere the king in his Court, and make him acquainted with his matter, & let him be a mediator to his Maieſty for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and ſo might he the better come to his purpoſe, and obteine the thing which he doeth demand: euen ſo ſaith he, it is with God and his ſaints in heauen: for we are wretched ſinners, and not worthy to appeare nor preſent our ſelues before the Maieſty of God, to demand of him the thing that we haue need of: therefore thou haſt need to be deuout, and haue deuotion to the mother of God, and the ſaints of heauen, to be interceſſors to God for thee, and ſo mayeſt th[illegible] better obtaine of God the thing that thou doſt demand. To this I anſwered, & ſaid, ſir, as to[illegible] the compariſon you made of the interceſſors to the king, how neceſſary they were, I would [illegible] aske you this queſtion. Set the caſe that this king you ſpeak of, if he be ſo merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his ſubiects hath offended him, he ſend for him to his owne towne, or to his owne houſe, or palace, & ſay vnto him, come hither, I know that thou haſt offended many lawes, if thou doeſt know thereof, and doeſt repent thee of the ſame, with ful intent to offend no more, I wil forgiue thy treſpaſſe, and remember it no more: ſaid I, if this be done by the kings owne perſon, what then hath this man need to go ſeeke friendſhip at any of the kings priuat ſeruants hands, but go to the principal, ſeeing that he is readier to forgiue thee, then thou art to demand forgiuenes at his hands? Euen ſo is it with our gracious God, who calleth and crieth out vnto vs throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apoſtles, and by his owne mouth, ſaying, Come vnto me al ye that labour and are ouer laden, and I wil refreſh you: beſides 1000. other offers and proffers which he doth make vnto vs in his holy Scriptures. What then haue we need of the ſaints helpe that are in heauen, whereas the Lord himſelf doth ſo freely offer himſelfe vnto vs? At which ſayings, many of the hearers were aſtonied, and ſaid, that by that reaſon, I would giue to vnderſtand, that the

innocation

inuocation of Saints was to be diſanulled, and by the Lawes of God not commanded. I anſwered, that they were not my words, but the words of God himſelfe: looke into the Scriptures your ſelfe, and you ſhall ſo finde it. The talke was perceiued to be preiudiciall to the Romiſh doctrine, and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, and all remained vnthought vpon, had it not bene for a villanous Portugal that was in the company, who ſaid, Baſta ſer Ingles para ſaber todo eſto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Biſhop of Mexico, and his Prouiſor, and ſaid, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was an Engliſhman, who had ſaid, that there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any inuocation of Saints, vpon whoſe denomination I was apprehended for the ſame words here rehearſed, and none other thing, and thereupon was vſed, as before is written.

Sant Iuan de Vllua.

Now to ſpeake ſomewhat of the deſcription of the countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand, that the port of S. Iohn de Vllua is a very little Iſland low by the water ſide, the broadeſt or longeſt part thereof not aboue a bow ſhoote ouer, and ſtandeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one houſe, and a little Chappel to ſay Maſſe in, in all the Iſland: the ſide to the landwards is made by mans handes, with free-ſtone and grauel, and is 4. fadome deepe downe right, wherfore the great ſhips that come in there do ride ſo neere the ſhoare of the Iſland, that you may come and goe aland vpon their beake noſes. They vſe to put great chaines of yron in at their halſers, and an ancker to the landward, and all little ynough to more well their ſhippes for feare of the Northerly winds, which come off the coaſt of Florida, that ſometimes haue caried ſhips, & houſes, and all away to the ſhoare. The king was wont to haue 20. great mightie Negroes, who did ſerue for nothing elſe, but onely to repaire the ſaid Iſland, where the foule weather doeth hurt it. The Countrey all thereabout is very plaine ground, & a mile from the ſea ſide a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the ſame, ſo that when the mariners of the ſhips are diſpoſed, they go vp into the wildernes, and do kil of the ſame, and bring them aboord to eate, for their recreation.

The way and diſtance from San Iuan de Vllua to Vera Cruz, is fiue leagues.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almoſt by the Sea ſide, till you come within one league of the place, and then you turne vp towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle riuer hard by the ſaid townes ſide, which ſometimes of the yere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not paſt 300. houſholds, and ſerued but for the folke of the ſhips, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliuer it to their owners, as alſo the owners and their factors to receiue their goods of the Maſters of the ſhips. This towne ſtandeth alſo in a very plaine on the one ſide the riuer, and the other ſide is enuironed with much ſande blowen from the ſea ſide with the tempeſt of weather, many times comming vpon that coaſt. This towne alſo is ſubiect to great ſicknes, and in my time many of the Mariners & officers of the ſhips did die with thoſe diſeaſes, there accuſtomed, & eſpecially thoſe that were not vſed to the countrey, nor knew the danger therof, but would commonly go in the Sunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruit of the countrey with much diſorder, and eſpecially gaue themſelues to womens company at their firſt comming: whereupon they were caſt into a burning ague, of the which few eſcaped.

Venta de Rinconado.

Halfe a dayes iourney from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of fiue or ſixe houſes, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinacle made of lime and ſtone, faſt by a riuer ſide, where the Indians were wont to doe their ſacrifices vnto their gods, and it is plaine and low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and alſo ſubiect to ſicknes: but afterward halfe a dayes iourney that you do begin to enter into the high land, you ſhall find as faire, good, and ſweet countrey, as any in the world, and the farther you go, the goodlier and ſweeter the countrey is, till you come to Pueblo de los Angeles, which may be ſome 43 leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. houſholds, or thereabout, ſtanding in a goodly ſoile. Betweene Vera Cruz and that you ſhall come through many townes of the Indians, and villages, and many goodly fieldes of medow grounds, Riuers of freſh waters, forreſts, and great woods, very pleaſant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angeles, to Mexico, is 20. leagues of very faire way and countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a Citie in my time, of not aboue 1500. houſholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of Indian people in the ſuburbs of the ſaid city, dwelt aboue 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This City of Mexico is 65. leagues from the North ſea, and 75. leagues from the South ſea, ſo that it ſtandeth in the midſt of the maine land, betwixt the one ſea and the other. It is ſituated in the middeſt of a lake of ſtanding water, and enuironed round about with the ſame, ſauing in many places, going out of the Citie, are many broad wayes through the ſaid lake or water. This lake and Citie is enuironed alſo with great mountaines round about, which are in compaſſe aboue thirtie leagues, and the ſaide Citie and lake of ſtanding water, doeth ſtand in a great plaine in the middeſt of it. This lake of ſtanding water doeth proceed from the ſhedding of the raine, that falleth vpon the ſaide mountaines, and ſo gather themſelues together in this place.

Pueblo de los Angeles.

Mexico.

All the whole proportion of this Citie doeth ſtand in a very plaine ground, and in the middeſt of the ſaid Citie is a ſquare place of a good bow ſhoote ouer from ſide to ſide: and in the middeſt of the ſaid place is the high Church, very faire and well builded all through, at that time not halfe finiſhed, and round about the ſaid place, are many faire houſes built: on the one ſide, are the houſes where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, and now there lye alwayes the viceroyes that the King of Spaine ſendeth thither euery three yeeres. And in my time there was for viceroy a gentleman of Caſtil, called Don Luis de Velaſco. And on the other ſide of the ſaide place, ouer againſt the ſame, is the Biſhops houſe, very faire built, and many other houſes of goodly building. And hard by the ſame, are alſo other very faire houſes, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwiſe called Hernando Cortes, who was hee that firſt conquered the ſaide Citie and Countrey, who after the ſaid conqueſt which hee made with great labour and trauaile of his perſon, and danger of his life, and being growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine ſent for him, ſaying that he had ſome particular matters to impart vnto him. And when he came home, he could not bee ſuffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promiſed him. With the which, for ſorrow that he tooke, he died; and this he had for the reward of his good ſeruice.

Don Luis de Velaſco.

This is to be vnderſtood of his ſecond comming into Spaine.

The ſaid Citie of Mexico hath the ſtreetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the ſtreet, may ſee at the leaſt a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the ſtreets of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleare water, that euery man may put into his houſe as much as he will, without the coſt of any thing, but of the letting in. Alſo there is a great caue or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, euen vnto the high place, where come euery morning at the break of the day twentie or thirtie Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all maner of prouiſion for the citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commoditie for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the ſaid Citie, of beefe, mutton, and hennes, capons, quailes, Guiny-cockes, and ſuch like, all are very good cheape: To ſay, the whole quarter of an oxe, as much as a ſlaue can carry away from the Butchers, for fiue Tomynes, that is, fiue Royals of plate, which is iuſt two ſhillings and ſixe pence, and a fat ſheepe at the Butchers for three Royals, which is 18. pence and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kinde of fruites, as apples, peares, pomegranats, and quinces, at a reaſonable rate. The Citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the moſt populous Citie in the world, as it may be ſuppoſed. The weather is there alwayes very temperate, the day differeth but one houre of length all the yere long. The fields and the woods are alwayes greene. The woods full of popiniayes, and many other kinde of birdes, that make ſuch an harmonie of ſinging, and crying, that any man will reioyce to heare it. In the fields are ſuch odoriferous ſmels of flowers and hearbs, that it giueth great content to the ſenſes. About the Citie of Mexico two, three, or foure leagues off, are diuers townes of Indians, ſome of 4000, or 6000, houſholds, which doe ſtand in ſuch a goodly ſoyle, that if Chriſtians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were dwelling and aliue in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the conquerours at the firſt conqueſt with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the ſaid Countrey was conquered.

Mexico conquered Anno 1519. and 1520.

About Mexico there are diuers Mines of ſiluer, and alſo in other places there about, but the principall Mines that are in all New Spaine are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mines of S. Martin, thirtie leagues, both to the Northweſtward of Mexico, where is great ſtore of gold and ſiluer. Alſo there is a place called the Miſteca, fiftie leagues to the Northweſt, which doth yeeld great ſtore of very good ſilke, and Cochinilla. Wine and oyle there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Alſo there are many goodly fruits in that Countrey, whereof we haue none ſuch, as Plantanos, Guyaues, Sapotes, Tunas, and in the wildernes great ſtore of blacke cheries, and other wholſome fruites. The Cochinilla is not a worme, or a flye, as ſome ſay it is, but a berrie that groweth vpon certaine buſhes in the wilde field, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Alſo the Indico that doeth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wilde fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the aſhes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the ſaide Indico is made. Balme, Salſa perilla, Cana fiſtula, ſuger, oxe hides, and many other good and ſeruiceable things the Countrey doeth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there ſolde and diſtributed to many nations.

Cochinilla is not a worme nor a flie, but a berry.

Indico.

ROBERT TOMSON.

A voyage

A voyage made by M. *Roger Bodenham* to *S. Iohn de Vllua* in the bay of *Mexico*, in the yeere 1564.

I Roger Bodenham hauing a long time liued in the city of Siuil in Spaine, being there married, and by occaſion thereof vſing trade and traffique to the parts of Barbary, grew at length to great loſſe and hindrance by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez: whereupon being returned into Spaine, I began to call my wits about mee, and to conſider with my ſelfe by what meanes I might recouer and renew my ſtate: and in concluſion, by the ayde of my friends, I procured a ſhip called The Barke Fox, pertaining to London, of the burden of eight or nine ſcore tunnes; and with the ſame I made a voyage to the Weſt India, hauing obteined good fauour with the Spaniſh merchants, by reaſon of my long abode, and marriage in the countrey. My voyage was in the company of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes for Noua Hiſpania: who being himſelfe appointed Generall for Terra Firma and Peru, made his ſonne Generall for New Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himſelfe was the principall man and directer in both fleets. We all departed from Cadiz together the laſt day of May in the yere 1564: and I with my ſhip being vnder the conduct of the ſonne of Don Pedro aforeſayd, arriued with him in Noua Hiſpania, where immediatly I tooke order for the diſcharge of my merchandiſe at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwiſe called Villa Rica, to be tranſported thence to the city of Mexico, which is ſixty and odde leagues diſtant from the ſayd port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angeles, and another called Tlaxcalan. The city of Mexico hath three great cauſeyes to bring men to it, compaſſed with a lake, ſo that it needeth no walles, being ſo defended by the water. It is a city plentifull of all neceſſary things, hauing many faire houſes, churches, and monaſteries. I hauing continued in the countrey the ſpace of nine moneths, returned againe for Spaine with the Spaniſh fleet, and deliuered the merchandiſe and ſiluer which I had in the ſhip into the Contractation houſe, and there receiued my fraight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000 ducats and more. I obſerued many things in the time of my abode in Noua Hiſpania, aſwell touching the commodities of the countrey as the maners of the people both Spaniards and Indians: but becauſe the Spaniſh hiſtories are full of thoſe obſeruations, I omit them, and referre the readers to the ſame: onely this I ſay, that the commodity of Cochinilla groweth in greateſt abundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angeles, and is not there worth aboue forty pence the pound.

A new trade begun in the city of Fez by Roger Bodenham.

The place where Cochinilla groweth, and the price thereof.

A notable diſcourſe of M. *Iohn Chilton*, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of *New Spaine*, and other prouinces in the *Weſt Indies*, ſeene and noted by himſelfe in the time of his trauels, continued in thoſe parts, the ſpace of ſeuenteene or eighteene yeeres.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1561, in the moneth of Iuly, I Iohn Chilton went out of this city of London into Spaine, where I remained for the ſpace of ſeuen yeres, & from thence I ſailed into Noua Hiſpania, and ſo traueiled there, and by the South ſea, vnto Peru, the ſpace of ſeuenteene or eighteene yeeres: and after that time expired, I returned into Spaine, and ſo in the yere 1586 in the moneth of Iuly, I arriued at the foreſayd city of London; where peruſing the notes which I had taken in the time of my trauell in thoſe yeeres, I haue ſet downe as followeth.

1568. In the yeere 1568, in the moneth of March, being deſirous to ſee the world, I embarked my ſelfe in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluzia, in a ſhippe bound for the Iſles of the Canaries, where ſhe tooke in her lading, & ſet forth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of Iune, the ſame yere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Iſle of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Noua Hiſpania, and came into the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, which is a litle Iſland ſtanding in the ſea, about two miles from the land, where the king mainteineth about 50 ſouldiers, and captaines, that keepe the forts, and about 150 negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carying of ſtones for building, & other vſes, and to helpe to make faſt the ſhips that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at ech ende of a wall, that ſtandeth likewiſe in the ſayde Iſland, where the ſhippes vſe to ride, made faſt to the ſayd wall with their cables, ſo neere, that a man may leape aſhore. From this port I iourneyed by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, ſtanding by a

Cadiz.

San Iuan de Vllua.

Vera Cruz.

riuers ſide, where all the factours of the Spaniſh merchants dwell, which receiue the goods of ſuch ſhips as come thither, and alſo lade the ſame with ſuch treaſure and merchandize as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about foure hundred, who onely remaine there, during the time that the Spaniſh fleet diſchargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the end of Auguſt to the beginning of April following. And then for the vnwholeſomneſſe of the place they depart thence ſixteene leagues further vp within the countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthfull ſoile. There is neuer any woman deliuered of childe in this port of Vera Cruz: for ſo ſoone as they perceiue themſelues conceiued with child, they get them into the countrey, to auoid the perill of the infected aire, although they vſe euery morning to driue thorow the towne aboue two thouſand head of cattell, to take away the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa ſeuen leagues I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houſes builded of ſtraw, called by the name of ventas, the inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accuſtome to harbour ſuch trauellers as are occaſioned to iourney that way vp into the land. It ſtandeth in a great wood of Pine and Cedar trees, the ſoile being very colde, by reaſon of ſtore of ſnow which lieth on the mountaines there all the yere long. There are in that place an infinite number of deere, of bigneſſe like vnto great mules, hauing alſo hornes of great length. From Perota nine leagues, I came to the Fuentes of Ozumba, which fuentes are ſprings of water iſſuing out of certeine rocks into the midſt of the high wayes, where likewiſe are certaine ranges, and houſes, for the vſes before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place I came to the city of the Angels, ſo called by that name of the Spanyards, which inhabit there to the number of a thouſand, beſides a great number of Indians. This city ſtandeth in very plaine fields, hauing neere adioyning to it many ſumptuous cities, as namely the city of Tlaxcalla, a city of two hundred thouſand Indians, tributaries to the king, although he exacteth no other tribute of them then a handfull of wheat a piece, which amounteth to thirteene thouſand hanneges yeerely, as hath appeared by the kings books of account. And the reaſon why he contenteth himſelfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, becauſe they were the occaſion that he tooke the city of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the ſame time when the Spanyards came into the countrey. The gouernour of this city is a Spanyard, called among them The Alcalde mayór, who adminiſtreth chiefeſt cauſes of iuſtice both vnto the Chriſtians and Indians, referring ſmaller and lighter vices, as drunkenneſſe and ſuch like, to the iudgement and diſcretion of ſuch of the Indians as are choſen euery yeere to rule amongſt them, called by the name of Alcaldes. Theſe Indians from fourteene yeeres olde vpwards, pay vnto the king for their yerely tribute one ounce of ſiluer, and an hannege of maiz, which is valued among them commonly at twelue reals of plate. The widowes among them pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this city, and of the reſt, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantles of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, painted thorowout with works of diuers and fine colours. It is diſtant from the city of the Angels foure leagues to the Northward, & fourteene from Mexico. There is another city a league from it, called Chetula, conſiſting of more then ſixty thouſand Indians, tributaries, and there dwell not aboue twelue Spanyards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Acaſſingo, of aboue fifty thouſand Indians, and about eight or twelue Spanyards, which ſtandeth at the foot of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the Eaſt ſide. There are beſides theſe, three other great cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous city, Waxazingo, and Tichamachalcho: all theſe in times paſt belonged to the kingdome of Tlaxcalla: and from theſe cities they bring moſt of their Cochinilla into Spaine. The diſtance from the city of the Angels, to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. This city of Mexico is the city of greateſt fame in all the Indies, hauing goodly and coſtly houſes in it, builded all of lime and ſtone, and ſeuen ſtreets in length, and ſeuen in breadth, with riuers running thorow euery ſecond ſtreet, by which they bring their prouiſion in canoas. It is ſituated at the foot of certaine hilles, which conteine in compaſſe by eſtimation aboue twenty leagues, compaſſing the ſayd city on the one ſide, and a lake which is foureteene leagues about on the other ſide. Upon which lake there are built many notable and ſumptuous cities, as the city of Teſcuco, where the Spanyards built ſixe frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where alſo Fernando Cortes made his abode fiue or ſix moneths in curing of the ſickneſſe of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwell in this city about ſixty thouſand Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this city the ſayd Fernando built the fineſt church that euer was built in the Indies, the name whereof is S. Peters.

Xalapa ſixteene leagues.

Perota ſeuen leagues.

Fuentes de Ozumba nine leagues.

Pueblo de los Angeles eight leagues.

Tlaxcalla foure leagues northward from los Angeles.

Vulcan is a hill that continually burneth with fire.

Cochinilla.

Pueblo de los Angeles 20 leagues from Mexico.

His voyage from Mexico to Nueua Biſcaia.

After I had continued two yeeres in this city, being deſirous to ſee further the countreys, I imployed that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the prouinces of California, in the which was diſcouered a certeine countrey, by a Biſcaine, whoſe name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his countrey, New Biſcay, where I ſolde my merchandiſe for exchange of ſiluer, for there were there certaine rich mines diſcouered by the aforeſayd Biſkaine. Going from Mexico I directed my voyage ſomewhat toward the Southweſt, to certaine mines, called Tamaſcaltepec, and ſo trauelled forward the ſpace of twenty dayes thorow deſert places vnhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which ioyneth to the prouince of New Biſcay. In all theſe places the Indians for the moſt part go naked, and are wilde people. Their common armour is bowes and arrowes: they vſe to eate vp ſuch Chriſtians as they come by. From hence departing, I came to another prouince named Xaliſco, and from thence to the port of Nauidad, which is 120 leagues from Mexico, in which port arriue alwayes in the moneth of April, all the ſhips that come out of the South ſea from China, and the Philippinas, and there they lay their merchandiſe aſhore. The moſt part whereof is mantles made of Cotton wooll, Waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much golde.

New Biſcay.

The Siluer mines of Tamaſcaltepec.

The valley of S. Bartholomew.

The hauen where ÿ ſhips of China & the Philippinas arriue.

The next Summer following, being in the yeere 1570 (which was the firſt yeere that the Popes Buls were brought into the Indies) I vndertooke another voyage towards the prouince of Sonſonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whither I caried diuers merchandize of Spaine, all by land on mules backs. The way thitherward from Mexico is to the city of the Angels, and from thence to another city of Chriſtians 80 leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50 Spanyards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this prouince pay their tribute in mantles of Cotton wooll, and Cochinilla, whereof there groweth abundance thorowout this countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South ſea, called Aguatulco, in the which there dwell not aboue three or foure Spanyards, with certaine Negroes, which the king mainteineth there: in which place Sir Francis Drake arriued in the yeere 1579, in the moneth of April, where I loſt with his being there aboue a thouſand duckets, which he tooke away, with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico from one Franciſco Gomes Rangifa, factour there for all the Spaniſh merchants that then traded in the South ſea: for from this port they vſe to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, and to the kingdome of Honduras. From Guaxaca I came to a towne named Nixapa, which ſtandeth vpon certaine very high hilles in the prouince of Sapotecas, wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spanyards, by the King of Spaines commandement, to keepe that country in peace; for the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpoſe hee beſtoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that prouince. From hence I went to a city called Tecoantepec, which is the fartheſt towne to the Eaſtward in all Noua Hiſpania, which ſometime did belong to the Marques de Valle, and becauſe it is a very fit port, ſtanding in the South ſea, the king of Spaine, vpon a rebellion made by the ſayd Marques againſt him, tooke it from him, and doth now poſſeſſe it as his owne. Heere in the yeere 1572 I ſaw a piece of ordinance of braſſe, called a Demy culuerin, which came out of a ſhip called the Ieſus of Lubec, which captaine Hawkins left in S. Iohn de Vllua, being in fight with the Spanyards in the yeere 1568; which piece they afterwards caried 100 leagues by land ouer mighty mountaines to the ſayd city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leauing Tecoantepec, I went ſtill along by the South ſea about 150 leagues in the deſolate prouince of Soconuſco, in which prouince there groweth cacao, which the Chriſtians cary from thence into Noua Hiſpania, for that it will not grow in any colde countrey. The Indians of this countrey pay the king their tribute in cacao, giuing him foure hundred cargas, and euery carga is 24000 almonds, which carga is worth in Mexico thirty pieces of reals of plate. They are men of great riches, and withall very proud: and in all this prouince thorowout, there dwell not twenty Chriſtians. I trauelled thorow another prouince called Suchetepec; and thence to the prouince of Guaſacapan: in both which prouinces are very few people, the biggeſt towne therein hauing not aboue two hundred Indians. The chiefeſt merchandiſe there, is cacao. Hence I went to the city of Guatimala, which is the chiefe city of all this kingdome: in this city doe inhabit about 80 Spanyards: and here the king hath his gouernors, & councell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for iuſtice. This city ſtandeth from the coaſt of the South ſea 14 leagues within the land, and is very rich, by reaſon of the golde that they fetch out of the coaſt of Veragua. From this city to the Eaſtward 60 leagues lieth the prouince Sonſonate, where I ſolde the merchandize I caried out of Noua Hiſpania. The chiefeſt city of this prouince is called S. Saluador, which lieth 7 leagues from the coaſt of the South ſea, and hath a port lying by the ſea coaſt, called Acaxutla, where the ſhips arriue with the merchandize they bring from Noua Hiſpania; and from thence lade backe againe the cacao: there dwell heere to the number of threeſcore Spanyards. From Sonſonate I trauelled to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, in which port the king buildeth all the ſhipping that trauell out of the Indies to the Malucos. I went forward from thence

Guaxaca.

Aguatulco.

Nixapa.

Sapotecas.

Tecoantepec.

Soconuſco.

Suchetepec.

Guaſacapan.

Guatimala.

Sonſonate.

San Saluador.

Acaxutla.

Nicoia a port where ÿ ſhips which goe to the Philippinas are builded.

Puerto de Cauallos a rich place.

The deſcription of Hauana at large.

The ſmal force of Hauana.

The commodities of Cuba.

thence to Coſta rica, where the Indians both men and women go all naked, and the land lieth betweene Panama, and the kingdome of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there liue as warriers, I durſt not paſſe by land, ſo that here in a towne called S. Saluador I beſtowed that which I caried in annile (which is a kinde of thing to die blew withall) which I caried with me to the port of Cauallos, lying in the kingdome of Honduras, which port is a mighty huge gulfe, and at the comming in on the one ſide of it there lieth a towne of little force without ordinance or any other ſtrength, hauing in it houſes of ſtraw: at which towne the Spanyards vſe yeerely in the moneth of Auguſt to vnlade foure ſhips which come out of Spaine laden with rich merchandiſe, and receiue in heere againe their lading of a kinde of merchandiſe called Annile and Cochinilla (although it be not of ſuch value as that of Noua Hiſpania) and ſiluer of the mines of Tomaangua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salſa perilla, the beſt in all the Indies: all which merchandize they returne, and depart from thence alwayes in the moneth of April following, taking their courſe by the Iſland of Iamaica, in which Iſland there dwell on the Weſt ſide of it certeine Spanyards of no great number. From this place they go to the cape of S. Anthony, which is the vttermoſt part of the Weſtward of the Iſland of Cuba, and from thence to Hauana lying hard by, which is the chiefeſt port that the king of Spaine hath in all the countreys of the Indies, and of greateſt importance: for all the ſhips, both from Peru, Hunduras, Porto rico, S. Domingo, Iamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arriue there in their returne to Spaine, for that in this port they take in victuals and water, and the moſt part of their lading: here they meet from all the foreſayd places alwayes in the beginning of May by the king's commandement: at the entrance of this port it is ſo narrow, that there can ſcarſe come in two ſhips together, although it be aboue ſixe fadome deepe in the narroweſt place of it. In the North ſide of the comming in there ſtandeth a tower, in which there watcheth euery day a man to deſcrie the ſailes of ſhips which hee can ſee on the ſea; and as many as he diſcouereth, ſo many banners he ſetteth vpon the tower, that the people of the towne (which ſtandeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may vnderſtand thereof. Vnder this tower there lieth a ſandy ſhore, where men may eaſily go aland; and by the tower there runneth a hill along by the waters ſide, which eaſily with ſmall ſtore of ordinance ſubdueth the towne and port. The port within is ſo large that there may eaſily ride a thouſand ſaile of ſhips without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabit within the towne of Hauana about three hundred Spanyards, and about threeſcore ſouldiers, which the king mainteineth there for the keeping of a certeine caſtle which hee hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelue pieces of ſmall ordinance, and is compaſſed round with a ſmall ditch, wherethorow at their pleaſure they may let in the ſea. About two leagues from Hauana there lieth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling about an hundred Indians, and from this place 60 leagues there lieth another towne named Bahama, ſituate on the North ſide of the Iſland. The chiefeſt city of this Iſland of Cuba (which is aboue 200 leagues in length) is alſo called Sant Iago de Cuba, where dwelleth a biſhop & about two hundred Spanyards; which towne ſtandeth on the South ſide of the Iſland about 100 leagues from Hauana. All the trade of this Iſland is cattell, which they kill onely for the hides that are brought thence into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards mainteine there many negroes to kil their cattell and foſter a great number of hogs, which being killed, and cut into ſmall pieces, they dry in the Sun, and ſo make it prouiſion for the ſhips which come for Spaine.

Nombre de Dios.
Panama.
Potoſſi.
Cuſco.
Paita.

Hauing remained in this Iſland two moneths, I tooke ſhipping in a frigat, and went ouer to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which ſtandeth vpon the South ſea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is 17 leagues diſtance: from which towne there runneth a riuer which is called the riuer of Chagre, which runneth within 5 leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruzes, thorow which riuer they cary their goods, and diſimbarke them at the ſayd Cruzes, and from thence they are conueyed on mules backs to Panama by land; where they againe imbarke them in certeine ſmall ſhippes in the South ſea for all the coaſt of Peru. In one of theſe ſhips I went to Potoſſi, and from thence by land to Cuſco, and from thence to Paita.

Vera Paz.

Here I remained the ſpace of ſeuen moneths, and then returned into the kingdome of Guatimala, and arriued in the prouince of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I trauelled by land to a prouince called Nicamula (which lieth toward the North ſea in certaine high mountaines) for that I could not paſſe thorow the kingdome of Guatimala at that time for waters, wherewith all the Low countreys of the prouince of Soconuſco, lying by the South ſea, are drowned with the raine that falleth aboue in the mountaines, enduring alwayes from April to September: which ſeaſon for that cauſe they call their Winter. From this prouince I came into another called De Vera Paz, in which the chiefeſt city is alſo called after that name, where there dwelleth a biſhop and about forty Spanyards. Among the mountaines of this countrey toward the North ſea, there is a prouince called La Cãdona, where are Indian men of war which the king can not ſubdue, for that they haue townes and forts in a great lake of water aboue in the ſayd mountaines: the moſt part of them goe naked, and ſome weare mantles of cotton wooll. Diſtant from this about 80 leagues, I came into another prouince called the prouince of Chiapa, wherein the chiefeſt city is called Sacatlan, where there dwelleth a biſhop and about an hundred Spanyards. In this countrey there is great ſtore of Cotten wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Chriſtians buy and cary into Noua Hiſpania. The people of this prouince pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Feathers. Foureteene leagues from this city there is another called Chiapa, where are the fineſt gennets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300 leagues from it. From this city I trauelled ſtill thorow hilles and mountaines, till I came to the end of this prouince, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in Engliſh ſignifieth The hill of winde: for that they ſay, it is the higheſt hill that euer was diſcouered: for from the top of it may be diſcouered both the North and the South ſeas; and it is in height ſuppoſed to be nine leagues. They which trauell ouer it, lie alwayes at the foot of it ouer night, and begin their iourney about midnight, to trauell to the top of it before the Sunne riſe the next day, becauſe the winde bloweth with ſuch force afterwards, that it is impoſſible for any man to goe vp: from the foot of this hill to Tecoantepec, the firſt towne of Noua Hiſpania, are about fifteene leagues. And ſo from hence I iourneyed to Mexico.

Chiapa 300 leagues from Mexico.

Ecatepec an hill nine leagues high.

Tecoantepec.

By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yere 1572) in the company of another Spanyard, which was my companion in this iourney, we went together toward the prouince of Panuco, which lieth vpon the coaſt of the North ſea, and within three dayes iourney we entred a city called Meſtitlan, where there dwelt twelue Spanyards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirty thouſand. This city ſtandeth vpon certaine hie mountaines, which are very thicke planted with townes very holeſome and fruitfull, hauing plentifull fountaines of water running thorow them. The high wayes of theſe hilles are all ſet with fruits, and trees of diuers kindes, and moſt pleaſant. In euery towne as we paſſed thorow, the Indians preſented vs with victuals. Within twenty leagues of this place there is another city called Clanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about fourty thouſand Indians; and there are among them eight or nine friers of the Order of Saint Auguſtine, who haue there a Monaſtery. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla, where there is another Monaſtery of friers of the ſame Order: there dwell in this towne about twelue Spanyards. From this place forwards beginneth a prouince called Gualtecan, which is all plaine grounds without any hilles. The firſt towne we came vnto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of ſtature, hauing all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tied as women vſe to doe with their haire-laces. When they goe out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the moſt part naked. In thoſe countreys they take neither golde nor ſiluer for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly eſteeme, and vſe it for a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes. After nine dayes trauell from this place, we came to a towne called Tampice, which is a port towne vpon the ſea, wherein there dwell, I thinke, forty Chriſtians, of which number whileſt wee abode there, the Indians killed foureteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they haue in this place: it ſtandeth vpon the entrie of the riuer of Panuco, which is a mighty great riuer; and were it not for a ſand that lieth at the mouth of it, ſhips of fiue hundred tunne might goe vp into it aboue three ſcore leagues. From hence we went to Panuco, foureteene leagues from Tampice, which in times paſt had bene a goodly city, where the king of Spaine had his gouernour: but by reaſon that the Indians there deſtroyed the Chriſtians, it lieth in a maner waſte, conteining in it not aboue tenne Chriſtians with a prieſt. In this towne I fell ſicke, where I lay one and forty dayes, hauing no other ſuſtenance then fruit and water, which water I ſent for aboue ſixe leagues off within the countrey. Here I remained till my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, reteining in my company onely a ſlaue, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the laſt day in Eaſter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake ſtate, by reaſon of the vnholeſomeneſſe of the place. Notwithſtanding my weakeneſſe, I being ſet on an horſe, and an Indian behinde mee to holde mee, wee went forward on our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we paſſed ouer the riuer in a canoa; and being on the other ſide, I went my ſelfe before alone: and by reaſon there met many wayes traced by the wilde beaſts, I loſt my way, and ſo trauelled thorow a great wood about two leagues: and at length

His iourney to Panuco.

Meſtitlan.

Clanchinoltepec.

Guaxutla.

Gualtecan.

Tancuylabo.

Salt a principall merchandize.

Tampice a port towne.

Panuco.

fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of ſtraw; who ſeeing me, came out to the number of twenty of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and ſpake vnto mee in their language, which I vnderſtood not: and ſo I made ſignes vnto them to helpe mee from my horſe; which they did by commandement of their lord, which was there with them; and lighted downe. They caried me vnder one of their cottages, and layed me vpon a mat on the ground: and perceiuing that I could not vnderſtand them, they brought vnto mee a little Indian wench of Mexico, of fifteene or ſixteene yeeres of age, whom they commanded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I was come among them: for (ſayth ſhe) doeſt thou not know Chriſtian, how that theſe people will kill and eat thee? To whom I anſwered, let them doe with me what they will; heere now I am. Shee replied, ſaying, thou mayeſt thanke God thou art leane; for they feare thou haſt the pocks: other wiſe they would eate thee. So I preſented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottle; which he eſteemed aboue any treaſure: for for wine they will ſell their wiues and children. Afterwards the wench aſked me what I would haue, and whether I would eat any thing. I anſwered that I deſired a little water to drinke, for that the countrey is very hote: and ſhee brought me a great Venice glaſſe, gilded, full of water. And maruelling at the glaſſe, I demanded how they came by it. She tolde me that the Caſique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne diſtant 30 leagues from this place on the hilles, whereas dwelt certeine Chriſtians, and certeine friers of the Order of S. Auguſtine, which this Caſique with his people on a night ſlew; and burning the friers monaſterie, among other things reſerued this glaſſe: and from thence alſo brought me. Hauing now bene conuerſant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aſke me if I would goe my way. I anſwered her, that I deſired nothing els. So the Caſique cauſed two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way; going before me with their bowes and arrowes, naked, the ſpace of three leagues, till they brought me into an high way: and then making a ſigne vnto me, they ſignified that in ſhort time I ſhould come to a towne where Chriſtians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de los valles, ſtanding in plaine fields, walled about with a mud wall: the number of the Chriſtians that dwelt therein, were not aboue foure or fiue and twenty, vnto which the king of Spaine giueth Indians and townes, to keepe the countreys ſubiect vnto him. Heere the Chriſtians haue their mighty mules, which they cary for all the parts of the Indies, and into Peru, for that all their merchandize are caried by this meanes by land. In this towne aforeſayd, I found my company which I had loſt before, who made no other account of me but that I had beene ſlaine: and the Chriſtians there likewiſe maruelled to heare that I came from thoſe kinde of Indians aliue, which was a thing neuer ſeene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Chriſtian, and to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and ſo are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained eighteene dayes, till I recouered my health, and in the meane ſpace there came one Don Franciſco de Pago, whom the viceroy Don Henrico Manriques had ſent for captaine generall, to open and diſcouer a certeine way from the ſea ſide to the mines of Sacatecas, which were from this place 160 leagues, for to tranſport their merchandize by that way, leauing the way by Mexico, which is ſeuen or eight weeks trauell. So this captaine tooke me and my company, with the reſt of his ſouldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and fiue hundred Indians, which we tooke out of two towns in this prouince called Tanchipa, and Tamaclipa, all good archers, and naked men, and went thence to the riuer de las Palmas, which is of great bigneſſe, parting the kingdome of Noua Hiſpania and Florida: and going ſtill along by this riuer the ſpace of three dayes, ſeeking paſſage to paſſe ouer; and finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a balſa or raft, which when we had made, we ſate on it, the Indians ſwimming in the water, and thruſting it before them to the other ſide. Within thirty dayes after, trauelling thorow woods, hilles, and mountaines, we came to the mines of Sacatecas, which are the richeſt mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch moſt ſiluer: at which mines there dwelt aboue three hundred Chriſtians: and there our captaine gaue vs leaue to depart. So we came to the valley of S. Michael toward Mexico; and from thence to Pueblo nouo; and from that place to the prouince of Mechuacan, after which name the chiefeſt city of that place is called, where there dwelles a biſhop, and aboue an hundred Spanyards in it: it aboundeth with all kind of Spaniſh fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees, and wild vines. Heere are many mines of copper, and great ſtore of cattell. It lieth 60 leagues from Mexico, whither we came within foure dayes after. The Indians of the countrey are very mighty and big men.

Shallapa.

Sant Iago de los valles.

Mighty mules.

Don Henrico Manriques viceroy of Mexico.

Rio de las Palmas.

The mines of Sacatecas.

The valley of S. Michael.
Pueblo nueuo.
Mechuacan.

Copper mines

Afterwards I returned another way to the prouince of Sonſonate by Vera cruz, and ſo to Ri Aluarado, and from thence to the prouince of Campeche, which lieth on the South ſide of the ba

Campeche.

of Mexico: the chiefe towne of this prouince is called Merida, in which is a biſhop and almoſt 100 Spanyards. The Indians of this prouince pay all their tribute in manteles of cotton wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this prouince for a ſhip of 100 tun to ride in, but onely in the riuer of Tabaſco, by which riuer this city of Merida ſtandeth. The chiefeſt merchandize which they lade there in ſmall frigats, is a certeine wood called campeche, (wherewith they vſe to die) as alſo hides end annile. By this there lieth the prouince of Iucatan, nere the Honduras by the North ſea coaſt, where there is alſo another biſhop, and a towne likewiſe named Iucatan, where there dwell a few Spanyards. They haue no force at all in all this coaſt to defend themſelues withall, ſaue only that the land is low, and there is no port to receiue any ſhipping, vnleſſe they be frigats, which cary from thence to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, waxe, cacao, hony, and alſo mantles of cotton wool, whereof they make there great ſtore, and of which kind of merchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the ſame alſo they pay their tribute to the king.

Merida.

Rio de Tabaſco.

Iucatan.

The king hath tribute brought him yerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and ſiluer: for he receiueth of euery Indian which is ſubiect vnto him (excepting thoſe which do belong to the Incommenderos, which are the children of thoſe Spanyards, who firſt conquered the land, to whom the king gaue and granted the gouernment of the cities and townes ſubdued for three liues) twelue reals of plate, and a hannege of maiz, which is a wheat of the countrey, (fiue of them making a quarter of Engliſh meaſure) and of euery widow woman he hath ſixe reals, & halfe a hannege of maiz. And ſo if any Indian haue twenty children in his houſe, he payeth for euery one of them, being aboue fifteene yeres old, after that rate. This Wheat being duely brought to the gouernour of euery prouince and city, is ſold in Mexico by the kings gouernours there euery yeere; ſo that the money receiued for it, is put into the kings Treaſurie there, and ſo is yeerely caried from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and ſiluer, he receiueth the fift part of it, which he calleth his quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes ſet on it; for otherwiſe it may not be brought out of the land into Spaine, vnder paine of death. The marke of ſiluer, which is eight ounces, when it commeth out of the mines, not hauing the kings ſeale vpon it, is worth three and forty reals of plate, and ſo it is current: and when they will bring it for Spaine, they cary it to the kings Treaſure houſe, where his ſeale is ſet vpon it; and ſo it is raiſed in value thereby to threeſcore and foure reals of plate: and ſo the king hath for his cuſtome of euery marke of plate one and twentie reals.

The greatneſſe of the king of Spaines tribute out of the Weſt Indies.

The quintas.

The marke of ſiluer is 64 reals of plate.

From the yere of 1570, which was the yeere that the Popes buls came into the Indies, as is aforementioned, he hath receiued both of the Indians which are tributaries vnto him, and alſo of all others belonging to the Incommenderos, of euery one being aboue twelue yeeres of age, foure reals of euery bull. Alſo they cary other pardons with them into the Indies, for ſuch as be dead, although an hundred yeres before the Spanyards came into the countrey: which pardons the friers in their preachings perſwaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giuing foure reals of plate for a Maſſe, they would deliuer their ſoules out of purgatory. Of the Chriſtians likewiſe dwelling there he hath fourteene reals for euery bull: and there be certeine buls brought thither for the Chriſtians beſides the former, which ſerue for pardoning all ſuch faults wherein they haue treſpaſſed either againſt the king, by keeping backe his cuſtomes, or one againſt another by any other iniury; for euery hundred crownes whereof a mans conſcience doth accuſe him that he hath deceiued the king or any other, he muſt giue ten for a bull, and ſo after that rate for euery hundred which he hath any way ſtollen, and ſo is pardoned the fault. The reuenue of his buls after this maner yeeldeth vnto his treaſury yeerely aboue three millions of gold, as I haue bene credibly informed, although of late both the Spanyards and Indians do refuſe to take the buls; for that they perceiue he doth make a yeerely cuſtome of it: onely ech Indian taketh one pardon for all his houſeholde, (whereas in former time euery Indian vſed to take one for euery perſon in his houſe) and teareth the ſame into ſmall pieces, and giueth to euery one of his houſeholde a litle piece, ſaying thus, they need now no more, ſeeing in that which they bought the yeere before they had aboue ten thouſand yeres pardon. Theſe pieces they ſticke vp in the wall of the houſes where they lie. Both the Chriſtians & Indians are weary with theſe infinite taxes and cuſtomes, which of late he hath impoſed vpon them, more then in the yeeres before: ſo as the people of both ſorts did rebell twiſe in the time that I was among them, and would haue ſet vp another king of themſelues: for which cauſe the king hath commanded vpon paine of death, that they ſhould not plant either wine or oile there, but ſhould alwayes ſtand in need of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would more grow there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twenty, it is ſo fertile a countrey.

The reuenue of the kings buls and pardons came yeerely to three millions.

Rebellions in Noua Hiſpania by too great exactions.

The reaſons which moue the kings of Spaine to forbid forren traffike in the Weſt Indies.

And the king to keepe the countrey alwayes in ſubiection, and to his owne vſe, hath ſtreightly prouided by lawe, vpon paine of death, and loſſe of goods, that none of theſe countreys ſhould traffique with any other nation, although the people themſelues doe much now deſire to trade with any other then with them, and would vndoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill enſuing thereupon.

Magueis.

About Mexico, and other places in Noua Hiſpania, there groweth a certeine plant called magueis, which yeeldeth wine, vineger, hony, and blacke ſugar, and of the leaues of it dried they make hempe, ropes, ſhooes which they vſe, and tiles for their houſes: and at the ende of euery leafe there groweth a ſharpe point like an awle, wherewith they vſe to bore or pearce thorow any thing.

Thus to make an end, I haue heere ſet downe the ſumme of all the chiefeſt things that I haue obſerued and noted in my ſeuenteene yeres trauell in thoſe parts.

A relation of the commodities of *Noua Hiſpania*, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by *Henry Hawks* merchant, which liued fiue yeeres in the ſayd countrey, and drew the ſame at the requeſt of M. *Richard Hakluyt* Eſquire of *Eiton* in the county of *Hereford*, 1572.

S. Iohn de Vllua.

SAint Iohn de Vllua is an Iſland not high aboue the water, where as now the Spanyards vpon M. Iohn Hawkins being there, are in making a ſtrong fort. In this place all the ſhips that come out of Spaine with goods for theſe parts, do vnlade: for they haue none other port ſo good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanels, and the beſt of all is the Northermoſt, which goeth by the maine land: and on euery ſide of the chanels there are many ſmall rocks as big as a ſmall barrell: they wil make men ſtand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Iſland there by, called The Iſland of ſacrifices, where as the Spanyards did in times paſt vnlade their goods: and for that, they ſay, there are vpon it ſpirits or deuils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In theſe places the North wind hath ſo great dominion, that oftentimes it deſtroyeth many ſhips and barks. This place is giuen to great ſickneſſe. Theſe Iſlands ſtand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the ſame is great plenty of fiſh.

Spirits.

Vera Cruz.

Fiue leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua is a faire riuer; it lieth Northweſt from the port, and goeth to a little towne of the Spanyards called Vera Cruz, and with ſmall veſſels or barks, which they call frigats, they cary all their merchandize which commeth out of Spaine, to the ſaid towne: and in like maner bring all the gold, ſiluer, cochinilla, hides, and all other things that the ſhippes cary into Spaine vnto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they cary them to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angeles, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and diuers other places ſo farre within the countrey, that ſome of them are 700 miles off, and ſome more, and ſome leſſe, all vpon horſes, mules, and in waines drawen with oxen, and in carres drawen with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within theſe twenty yeres, when women were brought to bed, the children new borne incontinently died; which is not ſo now in theſe dayes, God be thanked.

Muſquito.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diſeaſes, by reaſon of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a muſquito, which biteth both men and women in their ſleepe; and aſſoone as they are bitten, incontinently the fleſh ſwelleth as though they had bene bitten with ſome venimous worme. And this muſquito or gnat doth moſt follow ſuch as are newly come into the countrey. Many there are that die of this annoyance.

This towne is ſituated vpon the riuer aforeſayd, and compaſſed with woods of diuers maners and ſorts, and many fruits, as orenges and limons, guiaues, and diuers others, and birds in them, popiniayes both ſmall and great, and ſome of them as big as a rauen, and their tailes as long as the taile of a fezant. There are alſo many other kinde of birds of purple colour, and ſmall munkeys, marueilous proper.

Popiniayes.
Munkeys.

This hote or ſicke countrey continueth fiue and forty miles towards the city of Mexico; and the fiue and forty miles being paſſed, then there is a temperate countrey, and full of tillage: but they water all their corne with riuers which they turne in vpon it. And they gather their Wheat twiſe a yere. And if they ſhould not water the ground where as their corne is ſowen, the countrey is ſo hote it would burne all.

Wheat twiſe in a yere.

Tlaxcalla a free city.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it about 16000 houſeholds. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for theſe were the occaſion that Mexico was wonne in ſo ſhort time, and with ſo little loſſe of men. Wherefore they are all gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the cochinilla growing.

Mexico. Mexico is a great city; it hath more then fifty thouſand houſeholds, whereof there are not paſt fiue or ſixe thouſand houſes of Spanyards: all the other are the people of the countrey, which liue vnder the Spanyards lawes. There are in this city ſtately buildings, and many monaſteries of Friers and nunnes, which the Spanyards haue made. And the building of the Indians is ſomewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of ſmall chambers, with very ſmall windowes, which is not ſo comly as the building of the Spanyards. This city ſtandeth in the midſt of a great lake, and the water goeth thorow all or the moſt part of the ſtreets, and there come ſmall boats, which they call canoas, and in them they bring all things neceſſary, as wood, and coales, and graſſe for their horſes, ſtones and lime to build, and corne.

This city is ſubiect to many earthquakes, which oftentimes caſt downe houſes, and kil people.

This city is very well prouided of water to drinke, and with all maner of victuals, as fruits, fleſh and fiſh, bread, hennes and capons, Guiny cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this city euery weeke three Faires or Markets, which are frequented with many people, aſwell Spanyards as the people of the countrey. There are in theſe Faires or Markets all maner of things that may be inuented, to ſell, and in eſpeciall, things of the countrey. The one of theſe Faires is vpon the Munday, which is called S.Hypolitos faire, and S.Iames his faire is vpon the Thurſday, and vpon Saturday is S.Iohns faire. In this city is alwayes the kings gouernour or viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there be other places of iuſtice, yet this is aboue all: ſo that all men may appeale vnto this place, and may not appeale from this city, but onely into Spaine before the king: and it muſt be for a certeine ſumme: and if it be vnder that ſumme, then there is no appellation from them. Many riuers fall into this lake which the city ſtandeth in: but there was neuer any place found whither it goeth out.

A way to drowne Mexico. The Indians know a way to drowne the city, and within theſe three yeeres they would haue practiſed the ſame: but they which ſhould haue bene the doers of it were hanged: and euer ſince the city hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare leaſt at ſome time they might be deceiued: for the Indians loue not the Spanyards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and orchards of the fruits of the countrey, maruellous faire, where the people haue great recreation. The men of this city are maruellous vicious; and [illegible]ke maner the women are diſhoneſt of their bodies, more then they are in other cities or townes in this countrey.

Crocodiles. There are neere about this city of Mexico many riuers and ſtanding waters, which haue in them a monſtrous kinde of fiſh, which is maruellous rauening, and a great deuourer of men and cattell. He is woont to ſleepe vpon the drie land many times, and if there come in the meane time any man or beaſt and wake or diſquiet him, he ſpeedeth well if he get from him. He is like vnto a ſerpent, ſauing that he doth not flie, neither hath he wings.

Nauigation to China from Puerto de Acapulco. There is Weſt out of Mexico a port towne which is on the South ſea, called Puerto de Acapulco, where as there are ſhippes which they haue ordinarily for the nauigation of China, which they haue newly found. This port is threeſcore leagues from Mexico.

The North-weſt ſtreight. There is another port towne which is called Culiacan, on the South ſea, which lieth Weſt and by North out of Mexico, and is 200 leagues from the ſame: and there the Spanyards made two ſhips to goe ſeeke the ſtreight or gulfe, which, as they ſay, is betweene the Newfound-land and Groenland; and they call it the Engliſhmens ſtreight: which as yet was neuer fully found. They ſay, that ſtreight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spanyards account to be maruellous rich.

The more Northward, the richer ſiluer mines. Toward the North from Mexico there are great ſtore of ſiluer mines. There is greater quantitie of ſiluer found in theſe mines toward the North, then there is in any other parts: and as the moſt men of experience ſayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. Theſe mines are commonly vpon great hilles and ſtony ground, maruellous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Painting earth. Out of ſome of the mines the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of diuers colours, wherewith they paint themſelues in times of their dances, and other paſtimes which they vſe.

Golde mines. In this countrey of Noua Hiſpania there are alſo mines of golde, although the golde be commonly found in riuers, or very neere vnto riuers. And nowe in theſe dayes there is not ſo much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great riuers, and great ſtore of fiſh in them, not like vnto our kindes of fiſh. And there are maruellous great woods, and as faire trees as may be ſeene, of diuers ſorts, and eſpecially firre trees, that may maſt any ſhippe that goeth vpon the ſea, okes and pineapples, and

another

Meſquiquez.

another tree which they call Meſquiquez : it beareth a fruit like vnto a peaſcod, maruellous ſweet, which the wilde people gather, and keepe it all the yere, and eat it in ſtead of bread.

Seuen cities by witchcraft not found of the ſeekers.

The Spanyards haue notice of ſeuen cities which old men of the Indians ſhew them ſhould lie towards the Northweſt from Mexico. They haue vſed and vſe dayly much diligence in ſeeking of them, but they cannot find any one of them. They ſay that the witchcraft of the Indians is ſuch, that when they come by theſe townes they caſt a miſt vpon them, ſo that they cannot ſee them.

Pedro Morales & Nicolas Burgignon write the like of Copalla.

They haue vnderſtanding of another city which they call Copalla : and in like maner, at my beeing in the countrey, they haue vſed much labour and diligence in the ſeeking of it : they haue found the lake on which it ſhould ſtand, and a canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiouſly, and could not finde nor ſee any man nor the towne, which to their vnderſtanding ſhould ſtand on the ſame water, or very neere the ſame.

The ſtrange oxen of Cibola.

There is a great number of beaſts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were neuer brought thither by the Spanyards, but breed naturally in the countrey. They are like vnto our oxen, ſauing that they haue long haire like a lion, and ſhort hornes, and they haue vpon their ſhoulders a bunch like a camell, which is higher then the reſt of their body. They are maruellous wild and ſwift in running. They call them the beaſts or kine of Cibola.

Cibola abandoned.

This Cibola is a city which the Spanyards found now of late, without any people in the ſame, goodly buildings, faire chimneys, windowes made of ſtone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to draw their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire ſtones vpon the graues. And the captaine would not ſuffer his ſouldiers to breake vp any part of theſe graues, ſaying, he would come another time to do it.

A great riuer nere Cibola.

They asked certeine people which they met, whither the people of this city were gone : and they made anſwere, they were gone downe a riuer, which was there by, very great, and there had builded a city which was more for their commodity.

This captaine lacking things neceſſary for himſelfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treaſure according to his expectation : neither found they but fewe people, although they found beaten wayes, which had beene much haunted and frequented. The captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great checke of the gouernour, becauſe he had not gone forwards, and ſeene the end of that riuer.

Water congealed to ſalt.

They haue in the countrey, farre from the ſea ſide, ſtanding waters, which are ſalt : and in the moneths of April and May the water of them congealeth into ſalt, which ſalt is all taken for the kings vſe and profit.

Dogs of India deſcribed.

Their dogs are all crooked backt, as many as are of the countrey breed, and cannot run faſt : their faces are like the face of a pig or an hog, with ſharpe noſes.

Cacao a fruit currant as money.

In certeine prouinces which are called Guatimala, & Soconuſco, there is growing great ſtore of cacao, which is a berry like vnto an almond : it is the beſt merchandize that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meat to eat. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any fleſh, fiſh, bread or cheeſe, or other things.

Fruits.

There are many kinde of fruits of the countrey, which are very good, as plantans, ſapotes, guiaues, pinas, aluacatas, tunas, mamios, limons, orenges, walnuts very ſmall and hard, with litle meat in them, grapes which the Spanyards brought into the countrey, and alſo wilde grapes, which are of the countrey, and are very ſmall, quinſes, peaches, figs, and but fewe apples, and very ſmall, and no peares : but there are melons and calabaças or gourds.

There is much hony, both of bees and alſo of a kind of tree which they call magueiz. This hony of magueiz is not ſo ſweet as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is ; and the tree ſerueth for many things, as the leaues make thread to ſowe any kinde of bags, and are good to couer and thatch houſes, and for diuers other things.

Hot ſprings.

They haue in diuers places of the countrey many hote ſprings of water : as aboue all other, I haue ſeene one in the prouince of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a ſpring which hath much water, & it is ſo hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe be caſt into it, within on halfe houre it will be as well ſodden as it will be ouer a fire in halfe a day. I haue ſeene halfe a ſheepe caſt in, and immediatly it hath bene ſodden, and I haue eaten part of it.

Hares and conies.

There are many hares, and ſome conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quailes.

Sea fiſh.

They haue great ſtore of fiſh in the South ſea, and many oiſters, and very great. The people do open the oiſters, and take out the meat of them, and dry it as they do any other kinde of fiſh, and keepe them all the yeere : and when the times ſerue, they ſend them abroad into the countrey to ſell, as all other fiſh. They haue no ſalmon, nor trowt, nor pele, nor carpe, tench, nor pike in all the countrey.

There are in the countrey mighty high mountaines, and hilles, and ſnow vpon them: they commonly burne; and twiſe euery day they caſt out much ſmoke and aſhes at certeine open places, which are in the tops of them.

Burning mountaines.

There is among the wilde people much manna. I haue gathered of the ſame, and haue eaten it, and it is good: for the Apothecaries ſend their ſeruants at certeine times, to gather of the ſame for purgations, and other vſes.

Manna.

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and lions and tygres; which tygres do much harme to men that trauell in the wilderneſſe.

Wilde hogs, lions, and tigres.

In this countrey, not long ſince, there were two poore men that found a maruellous rich mine; and when theſe men went to make a regiſter of the ſame (according to the law and cuſtome) before the kings officers, they thought it to be not meet for ſuch men as they were: and violently tooke the ſayd mine for the king; and gaue no part thereof vnto the two poore men. And within certaine dayes the kings officers reſorted thither to labor in the mine, & they found two great mighty hilles were come together; ſo they found no place to worke in. And in the time while I was among them, which was fiue yeeres, there was a poore ſhepheard, who keeping his ſheepe, happened to finde a well of quicke-ſiluer; and he went in like maner to manifeſt the ſame, as the cuſtome and maner is; the kings officers dealt in like order as they did with the two poore men that found the rich mine, taking it quite from the ſhepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke-ſiluer, or part thereof, they could neuer finde it againe. So theſe things haue bene declared vnto the king, who hath giuen commandement, that nothing being found in the fields, as mines, and ſuch like, ſhall be taken away from any man. And many other things haue bene done in this countrey, which men might count for great maruels.

Mines diſcouered, not found againe.

The authour fiue yeeres in Nueua Eſpanna.

There is great abundance of ſugar here, & they make diuers conſerues, & very good, and ſend them into Peru, where as they ſell them maruellous well, becauſe they make none in thoſe parts.

Sugar & conſerues.

The people of the countrey are of a good ſtature, tawny coloured, broad faced, flat noſed, and giuen much to drinke both wine of Spaine and alſo a certeine kind of wine which they make with hony of Magueiz, and roots, and other things which they vſe to put into the ſame. They call the ſame wine Pulco. They are ſoone drunke, and giuen to much beaſtlineſſe, and void of all goodneſſe. In their drunkenneſſe they vſe and commit Sodomy; and with their mothers and daughters they haue their pleaſures and paſtimes. Whereupon they are defended from the drinking of wines, vpon paines of money, aſwell he that ſelleth the wines as the Indian that drinketh the ſame. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not ſufficient for the Weſt Indies onely.

Deſcription of the Indians perſon and maners.

They are of much ſimplicity, and great cowards, voide of all valour, and are great witches. They vſe diuers times to talke with the diuell, to whom they do certeine ſacrifices and oblations: many times they haue bene taken with the ſame, and I haue ſeene them moſt cruelly puniſhed for that offence.

The people of Nueua Eſpanna great cowards.

The people are giuen to learne all maner of occupations and ſciences, which for the moſt part they learned ſince the comming of the Spanyards: I ſay all maner of arts. They are very artificiall in making of images with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kind of maner as he is. The fineneſſe and excellency of this is woonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, ſhould giue themſelues to ſo fine an arte as this is. They are goldſmiths, blackeſmiths, and copperſmiths, carpenters, maſons, ſhoomakers, tailers, ſadlers, imbroderers, and of all other kind of ſciences: and they will do worke ſo good cheape, that poore yoong men that goe out of Spaine to get their liuing, are not ſet on worke: which is the occaſion there are many idle people in the countrey. For the Indian will liue all the weeke with leſſe then one groat; which the Spanyard cannot do, nor any man els.

They ſay, that they came of the linage of an olde man which came thither in a boat of wood, which they call a canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood or after, neither can they giue any reaſon of the flood, nor frõ whence they came. And when the Spanyards came firſt among them, they did certeine ſacrifice to an image made in ſtone, of their owne inuention. The ſtone was ſet vpon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth: they call it their Cowa. And certeine dayes in the yere they did ſacrifice, certeine olde men, and yoong children; and onely beleeued in the Sunne and the Moone, ſaying, that from them they had all things that were needfull for them. They haue in theſe parts great ſtore of cotton wooll, with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it ſerueth for ſhirts & ſmocks, and all other kind of garments, which they weare vpon their bodies: and the Spanyards vſe it to all ſuch purpoſes, eſpecially ſuch as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all

The Indians ignorance frõ whence they came.

The Sun and Moone honored.

Store of cotto.

maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I ſay linnen cloth, would be ſolde out of all meaſure.

The wilde Indians.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing vpon them. The women weare the ſkinne of a deere before their priuities, and nothing els vpon all their bodies. They haue no care for any thing, but onely from day to day for that which they haue need to eat. They are big men, and likewiſe the women. They ſhoot in bowes which they make of a cherry tree, and their arrowes are of cane, with a ſharpe flint ſtone in the end of the ſame; they will pierce any coat of maile: and they kill deere, and cranes, and wilde geeſe, ducks and other fowle, and wormes, and ſnakes, and diuers other vermin, which they eat. They liue very long: for I haue ſeene men that haue beene an hundred yeres of age. They haue but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

Friers in reuerence.

The Indians haue the friers in great reuerence: the occaſion is, that by them and by their meanes they are free and out of bondage; which was ſo ordeined by Charles the emperor: which is the occaſion that now there is not ſo much gold and ſiluer comming into Europe as there was while the Indians were ſlaues. For when they were in bondage they could not chuſe but doe their taske euery day, and bring their maſters ſo much metall out of their mines: but now they muſt be well payed, and much intreated to haue them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the mines, and to the kings quinto or cuſtome.

Copper mines

There are many mines of copper in great quantity, whereof they ſpend in the countrey as much as ſerueth their turnes. There is ſome golde in it, but not ſo much as will pay the coſts of the fining. The quantity of it is ſuch, and the mines are ſo farre from the ſea, that it will not be worth the fraight to cary it into Spaine. On the other ſide, the kings officers will giue no licence to make ordinance thereof; whereupon the mines lie vnlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the countrey; ſo that with it they couer churches, and other religious houſes: wherefore they ſhall not need any of our lead, as they haue had need thereof in times paſt.

The pompe of owners of mines.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the mines is maruellous to beholde: the apparell both of them and of their wiues is more to be compared to the apparell of noble perſons then otherwiſe. If their wiues goe out of their houſes, as vnto the church, or any other place, they goe out with great maieſty, and with as many men and maids as though ſhe were the wife of ſome noble man. I will aſſure you, I haue ſeene a miners wife goe to the church with an hundred men, and twenty gentlewomen and maids. They keepe open houſe: who will, may come to eat their meat. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and ſupper. They are princes in keeping of their houſes, and bountifull in all maner of things.

Things neceſſary to mines of ſiluer and golde.

A good owner of mines muſt haue at the leaſt an hundred ſlaues to cary and to ſtampe his metals; he muſt haue many mules, and men to keepe the mines; he muſt haue milles to ſtampe his metals; he muſt haue many waines and oxen to bring home wood to fine the oare; he muſt haue much quicke-ſiluer, and a maruellous quantity of ſalt-brine for the metals; and he muſt be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicke-ſiluer, it is a new inuention, which they finde more profitable then to fine their oare with lead. Howbeit the ſame is very coſtly: for there is neuer a hundred of quick-ſiluer but coſteth at the leaſt threeſcore pounds ſterling. And the mines fall dayly in decay, and of leſſe value: and the occaſion is, the few Indians that men haue to labour their mines.

The plenty of cattell.

There is in New Spaine a maruellous increaſe of cattel, which dayly do increaſe, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may haue a great ſteere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his belly for ſixteene ſhillings; and ſome one man hath 20000 head of cattel of his owne. They ſell the hides vnto the merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be well ſpared. They ſpend many in the countrey in ſhooes and boots, and in the mines: and as the countrey is great, ſo is the increaſe of the cattell woonderfull. In the Iſland of Santo Domingo they commonly kill the beaſts for their hides and tallow; and the fowles eat the carkeiſes: and ſo they do in Cuba and Porto Rico, whereas there is much ſugar, and cana fiſtula, which dayly they ſend into Spaine. They haue great increaſe of ſheepe in like maner, and dayly do intend to increaſe them. They haue much wooll, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as ſerueth the countrey, for the common people, and ſend much cloth into Peru. I haue ſeene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene ſolde for tenne pezos a vare, which is almoſt foure pounds Engliſh, and the vare is leſſe then our yard. They haue woad growing in the countrey, and alum, and braſill, and diuers other things to die withall, ſo that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth: but heereafter our cloth will be little ſet by in theſe parts, vnleſſe it be ſome fine cloth. The wools are commonly foure ſhillings euery roue, which is fiue & twenty pounds: and in ſome places of the countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is woorth nothing, and doth ſerue but onely to make beds for men to lie on.

Sheepe.
Wooll.
Cloth.

Woad.
Alum.
Braſill.

They make hats, as many as doe ſerue the Countrey, very fine and good, and ſell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner ſend them into Peru.

Many people are ſet on worke both in the one and in the other: they ſpin their wooll as we doe, and in ſteed of oyle, they haue hogs greaſe: they twiſt not their threed ſo much as wee doe, neither worke ſo fine a threed. They make no kerſies, but they make much cloth, which is courſe, and ſell it for leſſe then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

Hogs greaſe in ſtead of oile.

They haue much ſilke, and make all maner of ſorts thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Veluets of all colours, and they are as good as the ſilkes of Spaine, ſauing that the colours are not ſo perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

Silks of ſundry ſorts.

They haue many horſes, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They haue as good Iennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

Horſes. Mules. Iennets.

There is raine vſually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midſt of October, euery day, which time they call their winter, by reaſon of the ſaid waters. And if it were not for the waters which fall in theſe hot ſeaſons, their Maiz, which is the greateſt part of their ſuſtenance, would be deſtroyed. This Maiz is the greateſt maintenance which the Indian hath, and alſo all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horſes and mules which labour, cannot be without the ſame. This graine is ſubſtantiall, and increaſeth much blood. If the Miners ſhould bee without it, they coulde not labour their Mines: for all their ſeruants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maiz, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in ſome places of England.

Maiz graine for man and beaſt, eaten in cakes.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. ſhillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. ſhillings more vnto the King euery yeere. This is payd in all Noua Hiſpania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, ſauing the Citie of Tlaſcalla, which was made free, becauſe the citizens thereof were the occaſion that Cortes tooke Mexico in ſo little a time. And although at the firſt they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to vſurpe vpon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne coſtes euery yeere for the King, which is as beneficial vnto him, and as great coſt vnto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

An Hanege is a buſhel and an halfe.

The ſhips which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there diſcharge the ſaid goods: and from thence they be caried ouer the necke of a land, vnto a port towne in the South ſea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues diſtant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ſhip their goods againe, and ſo from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They haue ſeldome foule weather, and fewe ſhips are loſt in the South ſea. Foure yeeres paſt, to wit 1568. there was a ſhip made out of Peru, to ſeek Salomons Iſlands, and they came ſomewhat to the South of the Equinoctial, & found an Iſland with many blacke people, in ſuch number that the Spaniards durſt not go on land among them. And becauſe they had bene long vpon the voyage, their people were very weake, and ſo went not on land, to know what commoditie was vpon it. And for want of victuals, they arriued in Noua Hiſpania, in a port called Puerto de Nauidad, and thence returned backe againe vnto Peru, whereas they were euil entreated, becauſe they had not knowen more of the ſame Iſland.

Salomons Iſlands ſought, and found in the South ſea 1568.

They haue in this port of Nauidad ordinarily their ſhips, which goe to the Iſlands of China, which are certaine Iſlands which they haue found within theſe 7. yeres. They haue brought from thence gold, and much Cinamom, and diſhes of earth, and cups of the ſame, ſo fine, that euery man that may haue a piece of them, will giue the weight of ſiluer for it. There was a Mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doues egge from thence, & a ſtone, for which the Viceroy would haue giuen 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, moſt excellent. There are many of theſe ylands, and the Spaniards haue not many of them as yet: *for the Portugals diſturbe them much, and combate with them euery day, ſaying, it is part of their conqueſt, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great Mariners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and ſiluer, and ſilke of all ſorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make ſuch as come from thence. The men of the maine land haue certaine trafique with ſome of theſe ylanders, and come thither in a kind of ſhips, which they haue with one ſaile, and bring of ſuch marchandize as they haue need of. And of theſe things there haue bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and ſiluer, and diuers maners of ſilks, and works of gold and ſiluer, maruellous to be ſeene. So by their ſaying, there is not ſuch a countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the ylands 190. leagues: and the ylands are not farre from the Malucos Northwards. And the people of thoſe ylands, which the Spaniards haue, ſay, that if they would bring their wiues and children, that then they ſhould haue among them what they

China found by the Weſt.

* This is to be vnderſtood of the time when this diſcourſe was written, Anno 1572.

China ſhips with one ſaile.

would

Chamoice.

Spaniſh leather.

India Rauens not killed, to deuoure carrion.

would haue. So there goe women dayly, and the king payeth all the charges of the maried men and their wiues, that go to thoſe ylands. And there is no doubt, but the trade will be marueilous rich in time to come. It was my fortune to be in company with one Diego Gutieres, who was the firſt Pilot that euer went to that Countrey of the Philippinas. Hee maketh report of many ſtrange things in that Countrey, aſwell riches, as other, and ſaith, if there bee any Paradiſe vpon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that ſitting vnder a tree, you ſhall haue ſuch ſweet ſmels, with ſuch great content and pleaſure, that you ſhall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor haue any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous ſmels wil be ſo ſweete. This man hath good liuings in Noua Hiſpania, notwithſtanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treaſure there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this countrey of Noua Hiſpania there are many buckes and does, but they haue not ſo long hornes as they haue here in England. The Spaniards kill them with hand-guns, and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes and arrowes, and with the ſkins they make chamoyce, ſuch as we in England make doublets and hoſe of, as good as the ſkins that are dreſſed in Flanders, & likewiſe they make marueilous good Spaniſh leather of them. There is a bird which is like vnto a Rauen, but he hath ſome of his feathers white: there is ſuch abundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead fleſh which is in the countrey. Otherwiſe the abundance of carren is ſo much, that it would make a marueilous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be ſo noiſome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded, there ſhall none of them be killed. Theſe birds are alwayes about Cities, and townes, where there is much fleſh killed.

Wrongs done to the Indians puniſhed.

Iuſtice þ cauſe of ciuilitie.

The Indians are much fauoured by the Iuſtices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard ſhould happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to ſtrike any of them, being in any towne, where as iuſtice is, they are aſwell puniſhed for the ſame, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of iuſtice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he liſt, conſidering he is ſo farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and miſuſeth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, vntill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaine. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith ſent for, and puniſhed both by his goods, and alſo his perſon is impriſoned, at the pleaſure of the Iuſtice. This is the occaſion that the Indians are ſo tame and ciuil, as they are: and if they ſhould not haue this fauour, the Spaniards would ſoone diſpatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may cal them dogs, and vſe other euill words, as much as they will, and the Indian muſt neede put it vp, and goe his way.

The poore Indians wil go euery day two or three leagues to a Faire or market, with a childe vpon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or ſome kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or cadis of all colours, as ſhall be not paſt worth a pennie: and they wil mainteine themſelues vpon the ſame. For they liue with a marueilous ſmall matter.

They are in ſuch pouertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you ſhall haue an Indian [illegible] with you all the day with your bed vpon his backe, for one royall of plate: and this you ſhall haue from one towne to another. Here you are to vnderſtand, that all men that trauelle by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeues, and wil ſteale all that they may, and you ſhall haue no recompence at their hands.

The apparel of the Indians.

The garments of the women, are in this maner. The vppermoſt part is made almoſt like to a womans ſmocke, ſauing that it is as broad aboue as beneath, and hath no ſleeues, but holes on eche ſide one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red cadis and blew, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they haue another cloth made after the ſame maner, and that goeth rounde about their waſte, and reacheth to their ſhooes, and ouer this a white fine ſheet vpon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made vp round with an haire lace about their head. And the men haue a ſmall paire of breeches of the ſame cotton wool, and their ſhirts which hang ouer their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a ſheete with flowers vpon their backes, and with a knot vpon one ſhoulder, & an hat vpon their heads, and a paire of ſhooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Caſique, which they vſe in all the Countrey.

The houſes of the Indians.

The wals of the houſes of the Indians, are but plaine, but the ſtones are layd ſo cloſe, that you ſhall not well perceiue the ioynts betweene one ſtone and another, they are ſo finely cut: and by the meanes that the ſtones are ſo workmanly done, and finely ioyned together, there is ſome beautie in their walls. They are marueilous ſmall and light, as Pumis ſtone. They make their doores very little, ſo that there can go in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houſes are ſmall, and one roome they haue reſerued for their friends, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marueilous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires ſtanding there to ſit in. They eate their meate vpon the ground, and ſleepe on the ground vpon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

The Indians ſtrike their fire with one ſticke in another, aſwell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a ſtone.

Fire rubbed out of two ſtickes.

In Noua Hiſpania, euery 10. or 12. leagues they haue a contrary ſpeach, ſauing onely about Mexico: ſo there is a number of ſpeeches in the Countrey.

Diuers ſpeeches.

Mutezuma which was the laſt King of this Countrey, was one of the richeſt princes which haue bene ſeene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beaſts which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fiſhes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe vpon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all faſhioned in ſiluer and gold, which was the greateſt part of al his treaſure, and in theſe things had he great ioy, as the old Indians report. And vnto this day, they ſay that the treaſure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards haue it not. This King would giue none of his people freedome, nor forgiue any of them that ſhould pay him tribute, though he were neuer ſo poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the cuſtome, then he would haue him bound to bring at ſuch times as tributes ſhould be payd, a quill full of Lice, ſaying, hee would haue none free, but himſelfe. He had as many wiues or concubines, as hee would haue, and ſuch as liked him. Alwayes whenſoeuer he went out of his Court to paſſe the time, he was borne vpon 4. of his noble mens ſhoulders ſet vpon a table, ſome ſay, of golde, and very richly dreſſed with feathers of diuers and many colours and flowers. He waſhed all his body euery day, were it neuer ſo cold. And vnto this day ſo do all the Indians, and eſpecially the women.

Mutezuma, and his riches.

The Indians waſh themſelues euery day.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great ſubiectiõ. They may haue in their houſes no ſword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare vpon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride vpon any horſe nor mules, in any ſadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greateſt paine of all. They haue attempted diuers times to make inſurrections, but they haue bene ouerthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beaſtly cowardlineſſe.

There remaine ſome among the wild people, that vnto this day eate one another. I haue ſeene the bones of a Spaniard that haue bene as cleane burniſhed, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are caried away by them, but they neuer come againe, whether they be men or women.

Cannybals.

They haue in the Sea ylands of red ſalt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place about the Sea coaſt: and they ſpend very much ſalt with ſalting their hides, and fiſh: and in their Mines they occupie great quantitie. They haue much Alume, and as good as any that is in all the Leuant, ſo that they neede none of that commoditie. They haue alſo of their owne growing, much Cana fiſtula, & much Salſa Perilla, which is marueilous good for many kind of diſeaſes.

Iſlands of ſalt.

Alume.

Caſſia fiſtula. Salſa Perilla.

There are in Florida many Iarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the gentlemen of Noua Hiſpania ſend for euery yere. The Spaniards haue two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

Florida.

A diſcourſe written by one *Miles Philips* Engliſhman, one of the company put on ſhoare Northward of *Panuco*, in the *Weſt Indies* by *M. Iohn Hawkins* 1568. conteining many ſpecial things of that countrey and of the Spaniſh gouernment, but ſpecially of their cruelties vſed to our Engliſhmen, and amongſt the reſt to himſelfe for the ſpace of 15. or 16. yeres together, vntil by good and happy meanes he was deliuered frõ their bloody hands, and returned into his owne Countrey. An. 1582.

Chap. 1.

Wherein is ſhewed the day and time of our departure from the coaſt of *England*, with the number and names of the ſhips, their Captaines and Maſters, and of our trafique and dealing vpon the coaſt of *Africa*.

VPon munday the ſecond of October 1567. the weather being reaſonable faire, our Generall M. Iohn Hawkins, hauing commanded all his Captaines and Maſters to be in a readineſſe to make ſaile with him, hee himſelfe being imbarked in the Ieſus, whereof was appointed for Maſter Robert Barret, hoiſed ſaile, and departed from Plimmouth vpon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, and

This Fleete conſiſted of 6. ſhips.
1. The Ieſus

America,

2. The Mynion.
3. The William and Iohn.
4. The Iudith.
5. The Angel.
6. The Swallow.

America, being accompanied with fiue other ſaile of ſhips, as namely the Mynion, wherein were for Captaine M. Iohn Hampton, and Iohn Garret Maſter. The William and Iohn, wherein was Captaiue Thomas Bolton, and Iames Raunce Maſter. The Iudith, in whom was Captaine M. Francis Drake afterward knight, and the Angel, whoſe Maſter, as alſo the Captaine and Maſter of the Swallow I now remember not. And ſo ſayling in company together vpon our voyage vntill the tenth of the ſame moneth, an extreeme ſtorme then tooke vs neere vnto Cape Finiſter, which dured for the ſpace of foure dayes, and ſo ſeparated our ſhips, that wee had loſt one another, and our Generall finding the Ieſus to bee but in ill caſe, was in minde to giue ouer the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleuenth of the ſame moneth the Seas waxing calme, and the winde comming faire, hee altered his purpoſe, and held on the former entended voyage: And ſo comming to the yland of Gomera being one of the ylands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ſhips which were before diſperſed, wee then tooke in freſh water and departed from thence the fourth of Nouember, and holding on our courſe, vpon the eighteenth day of the ſame moneth wee came to an ancker vpon the coaſt of Africa, at Cape Verde in twelue fadome water; and here our Generall landed certaine of our men, to the number of 160, or thereabout, ſeeking to take ſome Negros. And they going vp into the Countrey for the ſpace of ſixe miles, were encountred with a great number of the Negros: who with their inuenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, ſo that they were inforced to retire to the ſhips, in which conflict they recouered but a fewe Negros, and of theſe our men which were hurt with their enuenomed arrowes, there died to the number of ſeuen or eight in very ſtrange maner, with their mouths ſhut, ſo that wee were forced to put ſtickes and other things into their mouths to keepe them open, and ſo afterward paſſing the time vpon the coaſt of Guinea, vntill the twelfth of Ianuary, wee obteined by that time the number of 150. Negros. And being ready to depart from the Sea coaſt, there was a Negro ſent as an Amballadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negros, which was oppreſſed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, deſiring our Generall to graunt him ſuccour and ayde againſt thoſe his enemies, which our Generall granted vnto, and went himſelfe in perſon a lande, with the number of two hundreth of our men or thereabouts, and the ſaid King which had requeſted our ayde, did ioyne his force with ours, ſo that thereby our Generall aſſaulted, and ſet fire vpon a Towne of the ſaid King his enemies, in which there was at the leaſt the number of eight or ten thouſand Negros, and they perceiuing that they were not able to make any reſiſtance ſought by flight to ſaue themſelues, in which their flight there were taken priſoners to the number of eight or nine hundreth which our Generall ought to haue had for his ſhare: howbeit the Negro King which requeſted our ayde, falſifying his word and promiſe, ſecretly in the night conueyed himſelfe away with as many priſoners as he had in his cuſtodie: but our Generall notwithſtanding finding himſelfe to haue nowe very neere the number of 500. Negros thought it beſt without longer abode to depart with them, and ſuch marchandize as hee had from the coaſt of Africa, towards the Weſt Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in freſh water and fewel, and ſo with ſpeed to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a ſtorme that wee had, wee loſt one of our ſhips, namely the William and Iohn, of which ſhip and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

The William and Iohn ſeparated and neuer after met with the fleete.

Chap. 2.

Wherein is ſhewed the day and time of our departure from the coaſt of *Africa*, with the day and time of our arriuall in the *Weſt Indies*, alſo of our trade, and trafique there, and alſo of the great crueltie that the Spaniards vſed towards vs, by the Vice-roy his direction, and appointment, falſifying his faith and promiſe giuen, and ſeeking to haue intrapped vs.

All things being made in a readineſſe, at our Generall his appointment, vpon the thirde day of Februarie 1568. wee departed from the coaſt of Africa, hauing the weather ſomewhat tempeſtuous, which made our paſſage the more hard; and ſayling ſo for the ſpace of 52. dayes, vpon the 27. of March 1568. we came in ſight of an yland called Dominica, vpon the coaſt of America in the Weſt Indies, ſituated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 322. of longitude: from thence our Generall coaſted from place to place, euer making trafique with the Spaniards and Indians as hee might, which was ſomewhat hardly obtained, for that the King had ſtraightly charged all his gouernours in thoſe parts not to trade with any: yet notwithſtanding, during the moneths of Aprill and May, our Generall had reaſonable trade and trafique, and courteous entertainment in ſundry places, as at Margarita, Coraçao, and elſe where, til we came to Cape de la vela, and Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the gouernour there would not by any meanes permit vs to haue any trade or traffique, nor yet ſuffer vs to take in freſh water: by meanes whereof our Generall for the auoyding of famine and thirſt about the beginning of Iune, was enforced to land two hundreth of our men, and ſo by maine force and ſtrength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes hee could procure: And ſo recouering the Towne with the loſſe of two of our men, there was a ſecret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of 200, and vpwards, and of our other marchandize alſo. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Gouernour was ſo ſtraight, that wee could not obteine any traffique there, and ſo for that our trade was neere finiſhed, our Generall thought it beſt to depart from thence the rather for the auoyding of certaine dangerous ſtormes called the Huricanos, which accuſtomed to begin there about that time of the yere, & ſo the 24. of Iuly 1568. we departed frō thence directing our courſe North: and leauing the yland of Cuba vpon our right hand, to the Eaſtward of vs, and ſo ſayling toward Florida, vpon the 12. of Auguſt an extreeme tempeſt aroſe, which dured for the ſpace of 8. dayes, in which our ſhips were moſt dangerouſly toſſed and beaten hither, & thither, ſo that we were in continuall feare to be drowned by reaſon of the ſhallownes of the coaſt, and in the end we were conſtrained to flee for ſuccour to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, or Vera Cruz, ſituated in 19. degrees of latitude, and in 279 degrees of longitude, which is the port that ſerueth for the Citie of Mexico: in our ſeeking to recouer this port our Generall met by the way three ſmall ſhips that caried paſſengers, which hee tooke with him, and ſo the ſixtenth of September 1568. wee entered the ſaide port of S. Iohn de Vllua. The Spaniards there ſuppoſing vs to haue bene the King of Spaines Fleete, the chiefe officers of the Countrey thereabouts came preſently aboord our Generall, where perceiuing themſelues to haue made an vnwiſe aduenture, they were in great feare to haue bene taken and ſtayed: howbeit our Generall did vſe them all very courteouſly. In the ſaid port there were twelue ſhips which by report had in them in treaſure to the value of two hundreth thouſand pound, all which being in our Generall his power and at his deuotion, he did freely ſet at libertie, as alſo the paſſengers which he had before ſtayed, not taking from any of them all the value of one groat: onely hee ſtayed two men of credite and accompt, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alua, and the other Don Pedro de Riuera, and preſently our Generall ſent to the Viceroy to Mexico which was threeſcore leagues off, certifying him of our arriuall there by force of weather, deſiring that foraſmuch as our Queene his Soueraigne, was the king of Spaine his louing ſiſter and friend, that therefore hee would, conſidering our neceſſities and wants, furniſh vs with victuals for our Nauie, and quietly ſuffer vs to repaire and amend our ſhips. And furthermore that at the arriual of the Spaniſh Fleet which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarell ariſe betweene them, and our Generall and his company for the breach of amitie, he humbly requeſted of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe ſome ſpecial order be taken. This meſſage was ſent away the 16. of September 1568. it being the very day of our arriuall there.

Mexico 60. leagues from S. Iuan de Vllua.

The next morning being the ſeuententh of the ſame moneth, wee deſcried 13. ſaile of great ſhippes: and after that our Generall vnderſtood, that it was the king of Spaines Fleete then looked for, he preſently ſent to aduertiſe the Generall hereof, of our being in the ſaid port, and giuing him further to vnderſtand, that before he ſhould enter there into that harbour, it was requiſite that there ſhould paſſe betweene the two Generals ſome orders and conditions to bee obſerued on either part, for the better contriuing of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals requeſt made vnto the Viceroy. And at this inſtant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, conſidering with himſelfe that if hee ſhould keepe out that Fleete from entring into the port, a thing which hee was very well able to doe with the helpe of God, then ſhould that Fleete be in danger of preſent ſhipwracke and loſſe of all their ſubſtance, which amounted vnto the value of one million and eight hundreth thouſand pounds. Againe he ſaw that if he ſuffered them to enter, hee was aſſured that they would practiſe by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other ſide the hauen was ſo little, that the other Fleete entring, the ſhippes were to ride one hard aboord of another. Alſo hee ſaw that if their Fleete ſhould periſh by his keeping of them out, as of neceſſitie they muſt if he ſhould haue done ſo, then ſtood hee in great feare of the Queene our Soueraignes diſpleaſure in ſo waightie a cauſe: therefore did he chooſe the leaſt euill, which was to ſuffer them to enter vnder aſſurance, and ſo to ſtand vpon his guard, and to defend himſelfe and his from their treaſons which we were well aſſured they would practiſe, and ſo the meſſenger being returned from Don Martin de Henriques, the newe Viceroy, who came in the ſame Fleete, and had ſufficient authoritie to command in all caſes both by Sea and by lande in this prouince of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our Generall, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soueraigne, all our requeſts ſhould bee both fauourably granted,

It is put downe 6. millions in Sir Iohn Hawkins his relation.

granted,and faithfully perfourmed : ſignifying further that he heard and vnderſtood of the honeſt and friendly dealing of our Generall,toward the king of Spaines ſubiects in all places where he had bene, as alſo in the ſaid port : ſo that to bee briefe our requeſts were articled, and ſet downe in writing. Viz.

4. Articles concluded vpon, betwixt the Engliſh & the Spaniards: although the treacherous Spaniards kept none of them.

1 The firſt was that wee might haue victuals for our money, and licenſe to ſell as much wares,as might ſuffice to furniſh our wants.

2 The ſecond,that we might be ſuffered peaceably to repaire our ſhips.

3 The thirde that the yland might bee in our poſſeſſion during the time of our abode there, In which yland our Generall for the better ſafetie of him and his had alreadie planted and placed certaine Ordinance which were eleuen pieces of braſſe, therefore he required that the ſame might ſo continue, and that no Spaniard ſhould come to lande in the ſaide yland,hauing or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the laſt, that for the better and more ſure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelue gentlemen of credite bee deliuered of either part as hoſtages.

These conditions were concluded and agreed vpon in writing by the Viceroy and ſigned with his hand,and ſealed with his ſeale, and 10.hoſtages vpon either part were receiued. And further it was concluded that the two Generals ſhould meet,and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premiſſes. Al which being done,the ſame was proclaimed by the ſound of a trumpet,& commandement was giuen that none of either part ſhould violate or breake the peace vpon paine of death: thus at the ende of three dayes all was concluded, and the Fleete entred the port, the ſhips ſaluting one another as the maner of the Sea doth require : the morrow after being friday we laboured on all ſides in placing the Engliſh ſhips by themſelues,& the Spaniſh ſhips by themſelues, the Captaines and inferiour perſons of either part, offering, and ſhewing great courteſie one to another,and promiſing great amitie vpon all ſides. Howbeit as the ſequel ſhewed,the Spaniards meant nothing leſſe vpon their parts. For the Viceroy and gouernour thereabout had ſecretly at land aſſembled to the number of 1000.choſen men,and wel appointed,meaning the next thurſday being the 24.of September at dinner time to aſſault vs,and ſet vpon vs on all ſides. But before I go any further,I thinke it not amiſſe briefly to diſcribe the maner of the yland as it then was,and the force and ſtrength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards ſince the time of our Generals being there,for the better fortifying of the ſame place,haue vpon the ſame yland built a faire Caſtle,and bulwarke very well fortified : this port was then at our being there, a little yland of ſtones, not paſt three foote aboue water in the higheſt place, and not paſt a bow-ſhotte ouer any way at the moſt, and it ſtandeth from the maine land, two bowſhootes or more : and there is not in all this coaſt any other place for ſhips ſafely to ariue at : alſo the North windes in this coaſt are of great violence and force, and vnleſſe the ſhippes bee ſafely mored in, with their anckers faſtened in this yland, there is no remedie, but preſent deſtruction and ſhipwracke. All this our generall wiſely foreſeeing,did prouide that he would haue the ſaid yland in his cuſtody,or els the Spaniards might at their pleaſure, haue but cut our cables,and ſo with the firſt Northwinde that blewe we had had our paſport,for our ſhips had gone a ſhoore. But to returne to the matter.

A faire caſtle and bulwarke builded vpon the yland of San Iuan de Vllua.

The time approching that their treaſon muſt be put in practiſe, the ſame Thurſday morning, ſome appearance thereof began to ſhewe it ſelfe, as ſhifting of weapons from ſhippe to ſhippe, and planting , and bending their Ordinance againſt our men that warded vpon the lande,with great repaire of people : which apparant ſhewes of breach of the Viceroyes faith cauſed our Generall to ſende one to the Viceroy, to enquire of him what was meant thereby, which preſently ſent and gaue order,that the Ordinance aforeſayde, and other things of ſuſpicion ſhould bee remooued, returning anſwere to our Generall in the faith of a Viceroy, that hee would bee our defence, and ſafetie from all villanous treacherie : this was vpon Thurſday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith ſatiſfied , ſeeing they had ſecretly conueyed a great number of men aboord a great hulke or ſhip of theirs of ſixe hundreth tunne, which ſhippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee ſent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the Maſter of the Ieſus, a man that could ſpeake the Spaniſh tongue very well, and required that thoſe men might bee vnſhipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiuing that their treaſon was throughly eſpied, ſtayed our Maſter, and ſounded the Trumpet, and gaue order that his people ſhould vpon all ſides charge vpon our men, which warded on ſhoore, and elſe where, which ſtrooke ſuch a maſe, and ſudden feare among vs , that many gaue place, and ſought to recouer our ſhippes for the ſafetie of themſelues. The Spaniards which ſecretly were hid in ambuſh at lande were quickly conueyed ouer to the yland in their long boates, and ſo comming to the yland, they ſlewe all our men

The value of a Spaniſh viceroy his faith.

The villanous treacherie of the Spaniards and their crueltie.

that they could meete with, without mercy. The Minion which had ſomewhat before prepared her ſelfe to auoyd the danger, haled away and abode the firſt brunt of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they ſought to fall aboord the Ieſus, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men ſlaine: but yet our men defended themſelues, and kept them out: ſo the Ieſus alſo got looſe, and ioyning with the Minion, the fight waxed hote vpon all ſides: but they hauing woon and got our ordinance on ſhore, did greatly annoy vs. In this fight there were two great ſhippes of the Spaniards ſunke, and one burnt, ſo that with their ſhippes they were not able to harme vs, but from the ſhore they beat vs cruelly with our owne ordinance, in ſuch ſort that the Ieſus was very ſore ſpoyled: and ſuddenly the Spaniards hauing fired two great ſhips of their owne, they came directly againſt vs, which bred among our men a maruellous feare. Howbeit the Minion which had made her ſayles ready, ſhifted for her ſelfe, without conſent of the Generall, Captaine or Maſter, ſo that very hardly our Generall could be receiued into the Minion: the moſt of our men that were in the Ieſus ſhifted for themſelues, and followed the Minion in the boat, and thoſe which that ſmall boat was not able to receiue, were moſt cruelly ſlaine by the Spaniards. Of our ſhips none eſcaped ſauing the Minion and the Iudith: and all ſuch of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men aſhore, they tooke and hung them vp by the armes vpon high poſtes vntill the blood burſt out of their fingers ends: of which men ſo vſed, there is one Copſtow, and certaine others yet aliue, who by the mercifull prouidence of the almighty, were long ſince arriued here at home in England, carying ſtill about with them (and ſhal to their graues) the marks and tokens of thoſe their inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealings.

Copſtowe one of M. Hawkins men returned from Nueua Eſpanna.

Chap. 3.

Wherein is ſhewed, how that after we were eſcaped from the Spaniards, wee were like to periſh with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the auoiding thereof was conſtrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miſeries wee after that ſuſtained amongſt the Sauage people, and how againe we fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

After that the Viceroy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promiſe, moſt cruelly dealt with our Generall maſter Hawkins, at S. Iohn de Vllua, where moſt of his men were by the Spaniards ſlaine and drowned, and all his ſhips ſunke and burned, ſauing the Minion, and the Iudith, which was a ſmall barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then Captaine maſter Francis Drake aforeſayd: the ſame night the ſaid barke loſt vs, we being in great neceſſitie, and inforced to remooue with the Minion two bow-ſhoote from the Spaniſh fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning wee weyed anker, and recouered an Iſland a mile from the Spaniards, where a ſtorme tooke vs with a North winde, in which we were greatly diſtreſſed, hauing but two cables and two ankers left: for in the conflict before we had loſt three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the ſtorme being ceaſed and the weather faire, we weied, and ſet ſayle, being many men in number, and but ſmall ſtore of victuals to ſuffice vs for any long time: by meanes whereof we were in deſpaire and feare that we ſhould periſh through famine, ſo that ſome were in minde to yeelde themſelues to the mercy of the Spaniards, other ſome to the Sauages or Infidels, and wandring thus certaine daies in theſe vnknowen ſeas, hunger conſtrained vs to eate hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrats and munkies: to be ſhort, our hunger was ſo great, that wee thought it ſauourie and ſweete whatſoeuer wee could get to eate.

And on the eight of October wee came to land againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to haue found ſome inhabitants, that wee might haue had ſome reliefe of victuals, and a place where to repaire our ſhip, which was ſo greatly bruiſed, that we were ſcarſe able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppreſſed with famine on the one ſide, and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to find reliefe, wee began to be in wonderfull deſpaire, and we were of many mindes, amongſt whom there were a great many that did deſire our Generall to ſet them on land, making their choiſe rather to ſubmit themſelues to the mercie of the Sauages or Infidels, then longer to hazard themſelues at ſea, where they very well ſawe, that if they ſhould remaine together, if they periſhed not by drowning, yet hunger would inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which requeſt our Generall did very willingly agree, conſidering with himſelfe that it was neceſſary for him to leſſen his number, both for the ſafetie of himſelfe & the reſt: and therupon being reſolued to ſet halfe his people aſhore that he had then left aliue, it was a world to ſee how ſuddenly mens minds were altered: for they which a little before deſired to be ſet on land, were now of another minde, and requeſted rather to ſtay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced, for the more contentation of all mens minds, and to take away all occaſions of offence, to take this order: Firſt he made choice of ſuch perſons of ſeruice and account, as were needefull to ſtay, and that being done, of thoſe which were willing to goe he appointed ſuch as he thought might be beſt ſpared, and preſently appointed that by the boat they ſhould bee ſet on ſhore, our Generall promiſing vs that the next yeere he would either come himſelfe, [illegible] elſe ſend to fetch vs home. Here againe it would haue cauſed any ſtony heart to haue relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and howe loth they were to depart: the weather was then ſomewhat ſtormy and tempeſtuous, and therefore we were to paſſe with great danger, yet notwithſtanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, muſt of neceſſitie doe ſo. Howbeit thoſe that went in the firſt boat were ſafely ſet on ſhore, but of them which went in the ſecond boate, of which number I my ſelfe was one, the ſeas wrought ſo high, that we could not attaine to the ſhore, and therefore we were conſtrained through the cruell dealing of John Hampton captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatſwaine of the Jeſus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine ſea, hauing more then a mile to ſhore, and ſo to ſhift for our ſelues, and either to ſinke or ſwimme. And of thoſe that ſo were (as it were) throwen out, and compelled to leape into the ſea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

They were put on land 25 leagues northward of Panuco the 8 of October 1568.

In the euening of the ſame day, it being Munday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to ſhore, we found freſh water, whereof ſome of our men drunke ſo much, that they had almoſt caſt themſelues away, for wee could ſcarſe get life of them for the ſpace of two or three houres after: other ſome were ſo cruelly ſwollen, what with the drinking in of the ſalt water, and what with the eating of the fruit which wee found on land, hauing a ſtone in it much like an almond (which fruit is called Capule) that they were all in very ill caſe, ſo that we were in a maner all of vs both feeble, faint and weake.

Capule a kind of ſtone fruit.

The next morning being Tewſday, the ninth of October, we thought it beſt to trauell along by the ſea coaſt, to ſeeke out ſome place of habitation: (whether they were Chriſtians or Sauages, we were indifferent, ſo that we might haue wherewithall to ſuſtaine our hungry bodies) and ſo departing from an hill where we had reſted all night, not hauing any drie threed about vs, (for thoſe that were not wet being not throwen into the ſea, were thorowly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly:) As we went from the hil, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to paſſe for the graſſe and weedes that grewe there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the ſea, and vpon the right hand great woods, ſo that of neceſſitie we muſt needs paſſe on our way Weſtward, through thoſe marſhes; and going thus, ſuddenly we were aſſaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they doe not feede vpon mans fleſh as Canibals doe.

These people are called Chichimici, and they vſe to weare their haire long, euen downe to their knees, they doe alſo colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to ſeeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. Theſe people doe keepe warres againſt the Spaniards, of whom they haue bene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy. They perceiuing vs at our firſt comming on land, ſuppoſed vs to haue bene their enemies, the bordering Spaniards, and hauing by their forerunners deſcried what number we were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they ſuddenly according to their accuſtomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike ſorte, raiſed a terrible and huge crie, and ſo came running fiercely vpon vs, ſhooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, vnto whoſe mercy we were conſtrained to yeeld, not hauing amongſt vs any kind of armour, nor yet weapon, ſauing one caliuer, and two old ruſtie ſwords, whereby to make any reſiſtance, or to ſaue our ſelues: which when they perceiued, that wee ſought not any other then fauour and mercie at their handes, and that we were not their enemies the Spaniards, they had compaſſion on vs, and came and cauſed vs all to ſit down: and when they had a while ſurueyed, and taken a perfect view of vs, they came to all ſuch as had any coloured clothes amongſt vs, and thoſe they did ſtrip ſtarke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but thoſe that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and ſo went their wayes, and left vs without doing vs any further hurt, onely in the firſt brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiuing in what weake caſe we were, pointed vs with their hands which way we ſhould go to come to a towne of the Spaniards, which as we afterwards perceiued, was not paſt ten leagues from thence, vſing theſe words: Tampice, Tampice Chriſtiano, Tampice Chriſtiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to ſay in Engliſh, at Tampice [illegible] the Chriſtians. The weapons that they vſe are no other but bowes and arrowes,

Chichimici a warlike and cruel people.

Our men aſſailed by the Chichemici.

Eight of our men ſlaine.

arrowes, and their arme is ſo good, that they very ſeldome miſſe to hit any thing that they ſhoote at. Shortly after they had left vs ſtript (as aforeſayd) we thought it beſt to deuide our ſelues into two companies, and ſo being ſeparated, halfe of vs went vnder the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man aliue, and dwelleth at this inſtant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we choſe to be captaine ouer vs all, and thoſe which went vnder his leading, of which number I Miles Philips was one, trauailed Weſtward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed vs to go. The other halfe went vnder the leading of one Iohn Hooper, whom they did chooſe for their captain, & with the company that went with him, Dauid Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and trauelled Northward, and ſhortly after, within the ſpace of two dayes, they were againe incountered with the ſauage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were ſlaine: then againe they diuided themſelues, and ſome held on their way ſtill Northward, and other ſome, knowing that we were gone Weſtward, ſought to meet with vs againe, as in truth there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with vs in the ſpace of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongſt our ſelues, how many wee were that were ſet on ſhore, and we found the number to be an hundred and fourteene, whereof two were drowned in the ſea, and eight were ſlaine at the firſt incounter, ſo that there remained an hundred and foure, of which 25 went Weſtward with vs, and 52 to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram ſince hath often told me, there were not paſt three of their company ſlaine, and there were but fiue and twenty of them that came againe to vs, ſo that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainely heard of, the number of three and twenty men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet aliue, and married in the ſaid countrey, at Cibola, as hereafter I purpoſe (God willing) to diſcourſe of more particularly, with the reaſon and cauſes that make mee ſo to thinke of them that were lacking, which were Dauid Ingram, Twide, Browne, and ſundry others, whoſe names wee could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we trauelled on ſtill Weſtward, ſometime thorow ſuch thicke woods, that we were inforced with cudgels to breake away the brambles and buſhes from tearing our naked bodies: other ſometimes we ſhould trauell thorow the plaines, in ſuch high graſſe that wee could ſcarſe ſee one another, and as we paſſed in ſome places, we ſhould haue of our men ſlaine, and fall downe ſuddenly, being ſtrooken by the Indians, which ſtood behinde trees and buſhes, in ſecret places, and ſo killed our men as they went by, for wee went ſcatteringly in ſeeking of fruites to relieue our ſelues. We were alſo oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kind of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spaniards called them Muskitos. There are alſo in the ſayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none ſo noyſome as theſe Tequanies bee: you ſhall hardly ſee them they be ſo ſmall, for they are ſcarſe ſo big as a gnat: they will ſucke ones blood maruellouſly, and if you kill them while they are ſucking, they are ſo venimous that the place will ſwell extremely, euen as one that is ſtoong with a Waſpe or Bee: but if you let them ſucke their fill, and to goe away of themſelues, then they doe you no other hurt, but leaue behinde them a red ſpot ſomewhat bigger then a flea-biting. At the firſt wee were terribly troubled with theſe kinde of flies, not knowing their qualities, and reſiſtance wee could make none againſt them, being naked: as for cold wee feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes ſo warme. And as we trauelled thus for the ſpace of tenne or twelue dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cauſe certaine to goe vp into the toppes of high trees, to ſee if they could deſcrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they could not perceiue any, and vſing often the ſame order to climbe vp into high trees, at the length they deſcried a great riuer that fell from the Northweſt into the maine ſea, and preſently after, we heard an harquebuze ſhot off, which did greatly incourage vs, for thereby wee knew that we were neere to ſome Chriſtians, and did therefore hope ſhortly to finde ſome ſuccour and comfort, and within the ſpace of one houre after, as we trauelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was alſo no ſmall ioy vnto vs, and ſo we came to the North ſide of the riuer of Panuco, where the Spaniards haue certaine Salines, at which place it was that the haquebuze was ſhot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but miſſing thereof, we left it about a bowſhot vpon our left hand: of this riuer wee dranke very greedily, for wee had not met with any water in ſixe dayes before, and as we were here by the riuer ſide reſting our ſelues, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebuze was ſhot off, we perceiued many Spaniards vpon the other ſide of the riuer, riding vp and downe on horſebacke, and they perceiuing vs, did ſuppoſe that we had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichimeci: the riuer was not paſt halfe a bowe ſhoot ouer: and preſently one of the Spaniards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and ſo came ouer, being rowed by two Indians, and hauing taken the view of vs, did preſently rowe ouer backe againe to the Spaniards, who without

Anthony Godard

Dauid Ingram.

The riuer of Panuco.

out any delay made out about the number of twenty horſemen, and imbarking themſelues in the Canoas, they led their horſes by the reines ſwimming ouer after them, and being come ouer to that ſide of the riuer where we were, they ſadled their horſes, and being mounted vpon them with their lances charged, they came very fiercely running at vs. Our captaine Anthony Godard ſeeing them come in that order, did perſwade vs to ſubmit and yeelde our ſelues vnto them, for being naked, as we at this time were, and without weapon, we could not make any reſiſtance, whoſe bidding we obeied, and vpon the yeelding of our ſelues, they perceiued vs to be Chriſtians, and did call for more Canoas, and caried vs ouer by foure and foure in a boat, and being come on the other ſide, they vnderſtanding by our captaine how long we had bene without meate, imparted between two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheat, which the Spaniards call Maiz, of the bigneſſe of our halfepenie loaues, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Claſhacally. This bread was very ſweete and pleaſant vnto vs, for we had not eaten any in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to haue a ſauory and a delicate taſte? And hauing thus parted the bread amongſt vs, thoſe which were men they ſent afore to the towne, hauing alſo many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were yong, as boyes, and ſome ſuch alſo as were feeble, they tooke vp vpon their horſes, behind them, and ſo caried vs to the towne where they dwelt, which was very neere diſtant a mile from the place where we came ouer.

The Salines of Panuco.

This towne is well ſituated, and well repleniſhed with all kindes of fruits, as Orenges, Limons, Pomegranates, Apricoks, and Peaches, and ſundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it alſo at that time about the number of two hundred Spaniards, men, women, and children, beſides Negros. Of their Salines, which lie vpon the Weſt ſide of the riuer, more then a mile diſtant from thence, they make a great profit, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and carie it vp into the countrey, and there ſell it to their owne countrey people, in doubling the price. Alſo much of the Salt made in this place, is tranſported from thence by ſea to ſundry other places, as to Cuba, S. Iohn de Vllua, and the other ports of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred hauens Weſt and by South about threeſcore leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua. When we were all come to the towne, the Gouernour there ſhewed himſelfe very ſeuere vnto vs, and threatned to hang vs all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in trueth was very little, for the Indians which we firſt met withall, had in a maner taken all from vs, and of that which they left, the Spaniards which brought vs ouer, tooke away a good part alſo: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Gouernour here had a chaine of gold, which was giuen vnto him at Carthagena, by the Gouernour there, and from others he had ſome ſmall ſtore of money: ſo that wee accounted that amongſt vs all he had the number of fiue hundred Pezos, beſides the chaine of gold.

And hauing thus ſatiſfied himſelfe, when he had taken all that we had, he cauſed vs to be put into a little houſe much like a hogſtie, where we were almoſt ſmoothered: and before we were thus ſhut vp into that little coat, they gaue vs ſome of the countrey wheate, called Mayz, ſodden, which they feede their hogs withall. But many of our men which had bene hurt by the Indians at our firſt comming on land, whoſe wounds were very ſore and grieuous, deſired to haue the helpe of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The gouernour, and moſt of them all anſwered, that wee ſhould haue none other Surgeon but the hangman, which ſhould ſufficiently heale vs of all our griefes: and thus reuiling vs, and calling vs Engliſh dogs, and Lutheran heretikes, we remained the ſpace of three dayes in this miſerable ſtate, not knowing what ſhould become of vs, waiting euery houre to be bereaued of our liues.

Chap. 4.

Wherin is ſhewed how we were vſed in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were caried to *Mexico* to the Viceroy, and of our impriſonment there and at *Teſcuco*, with the courteſies and cruelties wee receiued during that time, and how in the end wee were by proclamation giuen to ſerue as ſlaues to ſundry gentlemen Spaniards.

Vpon the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remaining in a perplexitie, looking euery houre when we ſhould ſuffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards weaponed to fetch vs out of the houſe, and amongſt them wee eſpied one that brought a great many of new halters, at the ſight whereof we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we ſhould preſently haue ſuffered death, and ſo crying and calling to God for mercie and forgiueneſſe of our ſinnes, we prepared our ſelues, making vs ready to die: yet in the end, as the ſequel ſhewed, their meaning was not ſo: for when wee were come out of the houſe, with thoſe halters they bound our armes behind vs, and ſo coupling vs two and two together, they commanded vs to march on through the towne, and ſo along the countrey from place to place toward the citie of Mexico, which is diſtant from Panuco Weſt and by South the ſpace of ninetie leagues, hauing onely but two Spaniards to conduct vs, they being accompanied with a great number of Indians warding on either ſide with bowes and arrowes, leſt we ſhould eſcape from them. And trauelling in this order, vpon the ſecond day at night we came vnto a towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria: in which towne there is a houſe of white friers, which did very courteouſly vſe vs, and gaue vs hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments alſo to couer our ſelues withal, made of white bayes: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit, called Nochole, which fruit is long and ſmall, much like in faſhion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding cauſed vs to fall ſicke of hote burning agues. And here at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had bene before ſhot with an arrow into the throat at the firſt incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and ſo trauailed on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within forty leagues of Mexico, named Meſtitlan, where is a houſe of blacke friers: and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spaniards, both men, women, and children. The friers ſent vs meat from the houſe ready dreſſed, and the friers, and the men and women vſed vs very courteouſly, and gaue vs ſome ſhirts and other ſuch things as we lacked. Here our men were very ſicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruit called in the Indian tongue, Guiaccos, which fruit did binde vs ſo ſore, that for the ſpace of tenne or twelue dayes we could not eaſe our ſelues. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spaniards and Indian gard, as aforeſayd. Of theſe two Spaniards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteouſly intreate vs, and would carefully go before to prouide for vs both meat and things neceſſary to the vttermoſt of his power: the other was a yong man who all the way trauelled with vs, and neuer departed from vs, who was a very cruell caitiue, and he caried a iaueline in his hand, and ſometimes when as our men with very feebleneſſe and faintneſſe were not able to goe ſo faſt as he required them, he would take his iauelin in both his handes, and ſtrike them with the ſame betweene the necke and the ſhoulders ſo violently, that he would ſtrike them downe; then would he cry, and ſay, Marchad, marchad Ingleſes perros, Luterianos, enemigos de Dios: which is as much to ſay in Engliſh, as March, march on you Engliſh dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of ſiluer, and are about ſixe leagues diſtant from this towne of Pachuca towards the Northweſt.

Here at this towne the good olde man our Gouernour ſuffered vs to ſtay two dayes and two nights, hauing compaſſion of our ſicke and weake men, full ſore againſt the minde of the yoong man his companion. From thence we tooke our iourney, and trauelled foure or fiue dayes by little villages, and Stantias, which are farmes or dairie houſes of the Spaniards, and euer as wee had neede, the good olde man would ſtill prouide vs ſufficient of meates, fruites, and water to ſuſtaine vs. At the end of which fiue dayes wee came to a towne within fiue leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where wee alſo ſtayed one whole day and two nights, where was a faire houſe of gray friers, howbeit wee ſaw none of them. Here wee were told by the Spaniards in the towne, that wee had not paſt fifteene Engliſh miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very ioyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we ſhould either be relieued, and ſet free out of bonds, or els bee quickly diſpatched out of our liues: for ſeeing our ſelues thus caried bound from place to place, although ſome vſed vs courteouſly, yet could wee neuer ioy, nor be merrie till wee might perceiue our ſelues ſet free from that bondage, either by death or otherwiſe.

The next morning we departed from thence on our iourney towards Mexico, and ſo traueled till wee came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spaniards a very faire church, called our Ladyes church, in which there is an image of our Lady of ſiluer & gilt, being as high, & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of ſiluer as there be dayes in the yeere, which vpon high dayes are all lighted. Whenſoeuer any Spaniards paſſe by this church, although they be on horſe backe, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneele before the image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all euil; ſo that whether he be horſeman or footman he will not paſſe by, but firſt goe into the Church, and pray as aforeſayd, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleeue that they ſhall neuer proſper: which image

Nueſtra Sennora.

they call in the Spaniſh tongue, Nueſtra ſennora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certaine cold baths, which ariſe, ſpringing vp as though the water did ſeeth: the water whereof is ſomewhat brackiſh in taſte, but very good for any that haue any ſore or wound, to waſh themſelues therewith, for as they ſay, it healeth many: and euery yeere once vpon our Lady day the people vſe to repaire thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they ſay that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spaniards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houſes of their owne countrey building.

Certaine Engliſhmen taken priſoners at the fight at Sant Iuan de Vllua.

Robert Sweeting an Engliſhmã

Engliſh gentlemen hoſtages.

Almoſt an hũdred Engliſhmen priſoners in Mexico.

Here we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horſebacke, which came from Mexico to ſee vs, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to ſee a wonder: we were ſtill called vpon to march on, and ſo about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the ſaid day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or ſtreet called La calle Santa Catherina: and we ſtayed not in any place till we came to the houſe or palace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which ſtandeth in the middeſt of the city, hard by the marketplace, called La plaça del Marqueſe. We had not ſtayed any long time at this place, but there was brought vs by the Spaniards from the market place great ſtore of meat, ſufficient to haue ſatiſfied fiue times ſo many as we were: ſome alſo gaue vs hats, & ſome gaue vs money: in which place we ſtayed for the ſpace of two houres, & from thence we were conueyed by water in two large Canoas to an hoſpital where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. Iohn de Vllua: we ſhould haue gone to our Ladies hoſpitall, but that there were alſo ſo many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for vs. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco dyed within the ſpace of fourteene dayes: ſoone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladies hoſpitall, in which place we were courteouſly vſed, and viſited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought vs diuers things to comfort vs withall, as ſuccats and marmilads, and ſuch other things, and would alſo many times giue vs many things, and that very liberally. In which hoſpitall we remained for the ſpace of ſixe moneths, vntill we were all whole and ſound of body, and then we were appointed by the Vice Roy to be caried vnto the town of Teſcuco, which is from Mexico Southweſt diſtant eight leagues: in which towne there are certaine houſes of correction and puniſhment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell here in London: into which place diuers Indians are ſold for ſlaues, ſome for ten yeeres, and ſome for twelue. It was no ſmall griefe vnto vs when we vnderſtood that we ſhould be caried thither, and to bee vſed as ſlaues, we had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were caried to the priſon of Teſcuco, where we were not put to any labour, but were very ſtraitly kept, & almoſt famiſhed, yet by the good prouidence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meet with one Robert Sweeting, who was the ſonne of an Engliſhman borne of a Spaniſh woman: this man could ſpeake very good Engliſh, and by his means wee were holpen very much with victuals from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, & bread. And if we had not bene ſo relieued, we had ſurely periſhed: and yet all the prouiſion that wee had gotten that way was but ſlender. And continuing thus ſtraightly kept in priſon there for the ſpace of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongſt our ſelues to breake forth of priſon, come of it what would, for we were minded rather to ſuffer death then longer to liue in that miſerable ſtate. And ſo hauing eſcaped out of priſon, we knew not what way to flie for the ſafetie of our ſelues, the night was darke, and it rained terribly, and not hauing any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceiued our ſelues to be come hard to the city of Mexico, which is 24 Engliſh miles frõ Teſcuco. The day being come we were eſpied by the Spaniards, & purſued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head iuſtices, who threatned to hang vs for breaking of the kings priſon. Yet in the end they ſent vs into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, & comming thither, we found there our Engliſh gentlemen which were deliuered as hoſtages when as our General was betrayed at S. Iohn de Vllua, as is aforeſaid, and with them wee alſo found Robert Barret, the Maſter of the Ieſus, in which place we remained labouring and doing ſuch things as we were commanded, for the ſpace of 4 moneths, heuing but two ſheepe a day allowed to ſuffice vs all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread we had euery man two loaues a day, of the quantity of one halfepeny loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they hauing remooued our gentlemen hoſtages, and the Maſter of the Ieſus to a priſon in the Vice Roy his owne houſe, did cauſe it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard ſoeuer was willing, or would haue any Engliſh man to ſerue him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Iuſtices within one moneth after notice giuen, that they ſhould repaire to the ſaid garden, and there take their choice: which proclamation was no ſooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, ſo that happie was he that could ſooneſt get one of vs.

Chap. 5.

Wherein is ſhewed in what good ſort, and how wealthily we liued with our maſters vntill the comming of the Inquiſition, when as againe our ſorowes began a freſh: Of our impriſonment in the holy houſe, and of the ſeuere iudgement and ſentences giuen againſt vs, and with what rigour and crueltie the ſame were executed.

The gentlemen that thus tooke vs for their ſeruants or ſlaues, did new apparell vs throughout, with whom we abode, doing ſuch ſeruice as they appointed vs vnto, which was for the moſt part to attend vpon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlaines, & to waite vpon them when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of: for in that countrey no Spaniard will ſerue one another, but they are all of them attended and ſerued by Indians weekely, and by Negroes which be their ſlaues during their life. In this ſort we remained and ſerued in the ſaid citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the ſpace of a yeere and ſomewhat longer. Afterwards many of vs were by our maſters appointed to go to ſundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to be as ouerſeers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which mines many of vs did profite & gaine greatly: for firſt we were allowed three hundred Pezos a man for a yeere, which is threeſcore pound ſterling, and beſides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought vnder our charge, vpon our well vſing & intreating of them, would at times as vpon Saturdayes when they had left worke, labour for vs, and blow as much ſiluer as ſhould be worth vnto vs 3 markes or thereabouts, euery marke being worth 6 Pezos, and a halfe of their money, which 19 Pezos & a halfe, is worth 4 li. 10 s. of our money. Sundry weekes we did gaine ſo much by this meanes beſides our wages, that many of vs became very rich, and were worth three thouſand or foure thouſand Pezos, for we liued and gained thus in thoſe Mines ſome three or foure yeeres. As concerning thoſe Gentlemen which were deliuered as hoſtages, and that were kept in priſon, in the Viceroy his houſe, after that we were gone from out the garden to ſerue ſundry gentlemen as aforeſaid, they remained priſoners in the ſaid houſe for the ſpace of 4 moneths after their comming thither, at the end whereof the fleete being readie to depart from S. Iohn de Vllua, to goe for Spaine, the ſaid Gentlemen were ſent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I haue heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquiſition houſe, as thoſe which haue bene deliuered home after they had ſuffered the perſecution of that houſe can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret alſo maſter of the Ieſus, was ſent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he ſuffered perſecution in the Inquiſition, and at the laſt was condemned to be burnt, and with him one more of our men whoſe name was Iohn Gilbert.

Now after that ſixe yeeres were fully expired ſince our firſt comming into the Indies, in which time we had bene impriſoned and ſerued in the ſaid countreys as is before truely declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie foure, the Inquiſition began to be eſtabliſhed in the Indies, very much againſt the mindes of many of the Spaniards themſelues: for neuer vntill this time ſince their firſt conquering and planting in the Indies, were they ſubiect to that bloodie and cruell Inquiſition. The chiefe Inquiſitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and Iohn de Bouilla his companion, and Iohn Sanches the Fiſchall, and Pedro de los Rios, the Secretary: they being come and ſetled, and placed in a very faire houſe neere vnto the white Friers, conſidering with themſelues that they muſt make an entrance and beginning of that their moſt deteſtable Inquiſition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole countrey, thought it beſt to call vs that were Engliſhmen firſt in queſtion, and ſo much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence, that many of vs were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good booty and pray to the Inquiſitors: ſo that now againe began our ſorrowes a freſh, for we were ſent for, and ſought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made vpon paine of looſing of goods and excommunication, that no man ſhould hide or keepe ſecret any Engliſhmen or any part of their goods. By means whereof we were all ſoone apprehended in all places, and all our goods ſeized and taken for the Inquiſitors vſe, and ſo from all parts of the countrey we were conueied and ſent as priſoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to priſon in ſundry darke dungeons, where we could not ſee but by candle light, & were neuer paſt two together in one place, ſo that we ſaw not one another, neither could one of vs tell what was become of another. Thus we remained cloſe impriſoned for the ſpace of a yeere and a halfe, and others for ſome leſſe time, for they came to priſon euer as they were apprehended. During which time of our impriſonmēt, at the firſt beginning we were often called before the Inquiſitors alone, and there ſeuerely examined of our faith, and commanded to ſay the Pater noſter, the Aue Maria, & the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of vs could not ſay, otherwiſe then in the Engliſh tongue. And hauing the ſaid Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Teſcuco alwayes preſent with thē for an interpreter, he made report for vs, ẏ in our own countrey ſpeech we could ſay them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceede to demand of vs vpon our othes what we did beleeue of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of conſecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeue that the hoſt of bread which the prieſt did hold vp ouer his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & blood of our Sauiour Chriſt, yea or no: To which if we anſwered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demand of vs what we did remember of our ſelues, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the ſame whiles we were in England: to which we for the ſafety of our liues were conſtrained to ſay, that we neuer did beleeue, nor had bene taught otherwiſe then as before we had ſayd. Then would they charge vs that we did not tell them the truth, that they knew the contrary, and therfore we ſhould cal our ſelues to remembrance, & make them a better anſwer at the next time, or els we ſhould be rackt, and made to confeſſe the trueth whether we would or no. And ſo comming againe before them the next time, we were ſtill demanded of our beliefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bin taught, & alſo what we thought or did know of ſuch of our owne company as they did name vnto vs, ſo that we could neuer be free from ſuch demands, and at other times they would promiſe vs, that if we would tell them trueth, then ſhould we haue fauour & be ſet at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire ſpeeches were but means to intrap vs, to the hazard and loſſe of our liues: howbeit God ſo mercifully wrought for vs by a ſecret meanes that we had, that we kept vs ſtill to our firſt anſwer, & would ſtil ſay that we had told the trueth vnto *them*, and knew no more by our ſelues nor any other of our fellows then as we had declared, and that for our ſinnes and offences in England againſt God and our Lady, or any of his bleſſed Saints, we were heartily ſory for the ſame, and did cry God mercy, and beſought the Inquiſitors for Gods ſake, conſidering that we came into thoſe countreys by force of weather, & againſt our wils, and that neuer in all our liues we had either ſpoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, that therfore they would haue mercy vpō vs. Yet all this would not ſerue: for ſtil from time to time we were called vpon to confeſſe, and about the ſpace of 3 moneths before they proceeded to their ſeuere iudgement, we were al rackt, and ſome enforced to vtter that againſt themſelues, which afterwards coſt them their liues. And thus hauing gotten frō our owne mouths matter ſufficient for them to proceed in iudgement againſt vs, they cauſed a large ſcaffold to be made in the middeſt of the market place in Mexico right ouer againſt the head church, & 14 or 15 daies before the day of their iudgement, with the ſound of a trumpet, and the noiſe of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did aſſemble the people in all parts of the citie: before whom it was then ſolemnely proclaimed, that whoſoeuer would vpon ſuch a day repaire to the market place, they ſhould heare the ſentence of the holy Inquiſition againſt the Engliſh heretikes, Lutherans, and alſo ſee the ſame put in execution. Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell iudgement, the night before they came to the priſon where we were, with certaine officers of that holy helliſh houſe, bringing with thē certaine fooles coats which they had prepared for vs, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yellow cotten & red croſſes vpon them, both before & behind: they were ſo buſied in putting on their coats about vs, and in bringing vs out into a large yard, and placing and pointing vs in what order we ſhould go to the ſcaffold or place of iudgement vpon the morrow, that they did not once ſuffer vs to ſleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was giuen to euery one of vs for our breakfaſt a cup of wine, and a ſlice of bread fried in honie, and ſo about eight of the clocke in the morning, we ſet foorth of the priſon, euery man alone in his yellow coat, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand vnlighted, hauing a Spaniard appointed to goe vpon either ſide of euery one of vs: and ſo marching in this order and maner toward the ſcaffold in the market place, which was a bow ſhoot diſtant or thereabouts, we found a great aſſembly of people all the way, and ſuch a throng, that certaine of the Inquiſitors officers on horſeback were conſtrained to make way; and ſo comming to the ſcaffold, we went vp by a paire of ſtayres, and found ſeates readie made and prepared for vs to ſit downe on, euery man in order as he ſhould be called to receiue his iudgement. We being thus ſet downe as we were appointed, preſently the Inquiſitors came vp another paire of ſtaires, and the Viceroy and all the chiefe Iuſtices with them. When they were ſet downe and placed

Our men are cruelly rackt.

vnder the cloth of eſtate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came vp alſo a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300 perſons, they being ſet in the places for them appointed. Then was there a ſolemne Oyes made, and ſilence commanded, and then preſently beganne their ſeuere and cruell iudgement.

The firſt man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Ieſus, and hee had iudgement to haue three hundred ſtripes on horſebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a ſlaue for 10 yeeres.

The cruell iudgements of the Spaniſh Inquiſitors vpõ our poore countreymen.

After him were called Iohn Gray, Iohn Browne, Iohn Rider, Iohn Moone, Iames Collier, and one Thomas Browne: theſe were adiudged to haue 200 ſtripes on horſebacke, and after to be committed to the gallies for the ſpace of 8 yeeres.

Then was called Iohn Keyes, and was adiudged to haue 100 ſtripes on horſebacke, and condemned to ſerue in the gallies for the ſpace of 6 yeeres.

Then were ſeuerally called the number of 53 one after another, and euery man had his ſeuerall iudgement, ſome to haue 200 ſtripes on horſebacke, and ſome 100 and condemned for ſlaues to the gallies, ſome for 6 yeeres, ſome for 8 and ſome for 10.

And then was I Miles Philips called, and was adiudged to ſerue in a monaſterie for 5 yeeres, without any ſtripes, and to weare a fooles coat, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called Iohn Storie, Richard Williams, Dauid Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horſewell and Thomas Hull: theſe ſixe were condemned to ſerue in monaſteries without ſtripes, ſome for 3 yeeres and ſome for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the ſaid time. Which being done, and it now drawing toward night, George Riuely, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius the Iriſhman, were called and had their iudgement to be burnt to aſhes, and ſo were preſently ſent away to the place of execution in the market place but a little from the ſcaffold, where they were quickly burnt and conſumed. And as for vs that had receiued our iudgement, being 68 in number, we were caried backe that night to priſon againe. And the next day in the morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquiſitors pallace, where we found a horſe in a readineſſe for euery one of our men which were condemned to haue ſtripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60 and ſo they being inforced to mount vp on horſebacke naked from the middle vpward, were carried to be ſhewed as a ſpectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall ſtreetes of the citie, and had the number of ſtripes to euery one of them appointed, moſt cruelly laid vpon their naked bodies with long whips by ſundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: and before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went: Behold theſe Engliſh dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went there were ſome of the Inquiſitors themſelues, and of the familiars of that rakehel order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on thoſe Engliſh heretiks, Lutherans, Gods enemies: and ſo this horrible ſpectacle being ſhewed round about the citie, they returned to the Inquiſitors houſe, with their backes all gore blood, and ſwollen with great bumps, and were then taken from their horſes, & carried againe to priſon, where they remained vntill they were ſent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receiue the reſt of their martirdome: and I and the 6 other with me which had iudgement, and were condemned amongſt the reſt to ſerue an apprentiſhip in the monaſtery, were taken preſently and ſent to certaine religious houſes appointed for the purpoſe.

Chap. 6.

Wherein is ſhewed how we were vſed in the religious houſes, and that when the time was expired, that we were adiudged to ſerue in them, there came newes to *Mexico* of M. *Francis Drakes* being in the South Sea, and what preparation was made to take him, and how I ſeeking to eſcape, was againe taken and put in priſon at *Vera Cruz*, and how againe I made mine eſcape from thence.

I Miles Philips and William Lowe were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an ouerſeer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongſt which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to be a courteous and louing kind of people, ingenious, and of great vnderſtanding, and they hate and abhorre the Spaniardes with all their hearts, they haue vſed ſuch horrible cruelties againſt them, and doe ſtill keepe them in ſuch ſubiection and ſeruitude, that they and the Negros alſo doe daily lie in waite to practiſe their deliuerance out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniardes doe keepe them in. William

Lowe he was appointed to ſerue the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and Dauid Alexander were appointed to the gray Friers, Iohn Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paul Horſewel the Secretary tooke to be his ſeruant: Thomas Hull was ſent to a Monaſtery of prieſts, where afterward he died. Thus we ſerued out the yeeres that we were condemned for, with the vſe of our fooles coates, and we muſt needs confeſſe that the Friers did vſe vs very courteouſly: for euery one of vs had his chamber with bedding & diet, and all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themſelues do vtterly abhorre and miſlike of that cruell Inquiſition, and would as they durſt bewaile our miſeries, and comfort vs the beſt they could, although they ſtood in ſuch feare of that diueliſh Inquiſition, that they durſt not let the left hande know what the right doth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to ſerue in thoſe religious houſes, we were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquiſitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged vp in the head church, called Eccleſia Maior, and euery mans name and iudgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are alſo all their coates hanged vp, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and iudgements, and vnderneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And alſo the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obſtinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we ſuffered to goe vp and downe the countrey, and to place our ſelues as we could, and yet not ſo free, but that we very well knew that there was good eſpiall alwayes attending vs and all our actions, ſo that we durſt not once ſpeake or looke awry. Dauid Alexander & Robert Cooke returned to ſerue the Inquiſitor, who ſhortly after maried them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams maried a rich widow of Biskay with 4000 Pezos: Paul Horſewell is maried to a Meſtiſa, as they name thoſe whoſe fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paul Horſewell hath maried, is ſayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in marriage foure thouſand Pezos, and a faire houſe: Iohn Storie is maried to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leaue and licence to goe into Spaine where he is now married: for mine owne part I could neuer throughly ſettle my ſelfe to marry in that countrey, although many faire offers were made vnto me of ſuch as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could haue no liking to liue in that place, where I muſt euery where ſee and know ſuch horrible idolatrie committed, and durſt not once for my life ſpeake againſt it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and deſire to this my natiue countrey: and, to returne and ſerue againe in the Mines where I might haue gathered great riches and wealth, I very well ſaw that at one time or another I ſhould fall againe into the danger of that diueliſh Inquiſition, and ſo be ſtript of all, with loſſe of life alſo, and therefore I made my choiſe rather to learne to weaue Grogranes and Taffaties, and ſo compounding with a Silke-weauer, I bound my ſelfe for three yeeres to ſerue him, and gaue him an hundred and fiftie Pezos to teach me the ſcience, otherwiſe he would not haue taught mee vnder ſeuen yeeres prentiſhip, and by this meanes I liued the more quiet, and free from ſuſpition. Howbeit I ſhould many times be charged by familiars of that diueliſh houſe, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to be an heretike Lutherane againe: To whom I would anſwere that they had no neede to ſuſpect any ſuch thing in mee, for that they knewe all very well that it was impoſſible for me to eſcape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithſtanding I was called before the Inquiſitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I anſwered that I had bound my ſelfe at an occupation. Well ſaid the Inquiſitor, I knowe thou meaneſt to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here vpon paine of burning as an heretike relapſed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, nor to any other port: To the which I anſwered, that I would willingly obey. Yea ſaid he, ſee thou doe ſo and thy fellowes alſo, they ſhall haue the like charge.

So I remained at my ſcience the full time, and learned the Art, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Engliſhmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, vpon the South ſea, and that they were comming to Mexico to take the ſpoyle thereof, which wrought a marvellous great feare amongſt them, & many of thoſe that were rich, began to ſhift for themſelues, their wiues & children: vpon which hurlie burlie the Viceroy cauſed a generall muſter to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to be the number of 7000 and odde houſholders of Spaniards in the citie and ſuburbs, and of ſingle men vnmaried, the number of 3000 and of Meſtizoes, which are counted to be the ſonnes of Spaniards borne of Indian women, twenty thouſand perſons, and then was Paul Horſewel & I Miles Philips ſent for before the Viceroy, and were examined if we did know an Engliſh man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we anſwered, that Captainee Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of threeſcore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now gouernour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demanded of vs if we knewe one Francis Drake, and we anſwered, no.

While theſe things were in doing, there came newes that all the Engliſhmen were gone, yet were there eight hundred men made out vnder the leading of ſeueral Captains, whereof two hundred were ſent to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, vpon the North Sea vnder the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were ſent to Guatimala in the South ſea, who had for their captaine Iohn Cortes, two hundred more were ſent to Guatulco, a port of the South ſea, ouer whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Robles, and two hundred more were ſent to Acapulco, the port where it was ſaid that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Robles Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, hauing licence giuen by the Inquiſitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there preſently embarked himſelfe in a ſmall ſhip of threeſcore tunne or thereabout, hauing alſo in companie with him two other ſmall barkes, and not paſt two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ſhip, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, ſo that for certaine, if we had met with Captaine Drake, he might eaſily haue taken vs all: We being imbarked kept our courſe and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping ſtill as nigh the ſhore as we could, and leauing the land vpon our left hand, and hauing coaſted thus for the ſpace of eighteene or twentie dayes, and being more to the South then Guatimala, we met at laſt with other ſhips which came from Panama, of whom we were certainely informed that he was cleane gone off the coaſt more then a moneth before: and ſo we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, becauſe his men were very ſore ſea-ſicke: All the while that I was at Sea with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with maſter Drake, we ſhould all be taken, ſo that then I ſhould haue beene freed out of that danger and miſerie wherein I liued, and ſhould returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But miſſing thereof, when I ſawe there was no remedie but that we muſt needes come on land againe, little doeth any man know the ſorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was conſtrained to make faire weather of it. And ſo being landed, ẏ next morow after, we began our iourney towardes Mexico, and paſt theſe townes of name in our way, as firſt the towne of Tuatepec, 50 leagues from Mexico, from thence to Waſhaca, 40 leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24 leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo de los Angeles, where is a high hill which caſteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in maner directly West from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and moſt of his men tooke boat, and came to Mexico againe, hauing bene foorth about the ſpace of ſeuen weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Viceroy what he had done, and how farre he had trauelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to be heard of. To which the Viceroy replied and ſaid, Surely we ſhall haue him ſhortly come into our hands driuen a land through neceſſitie in ſome one place or other, for he being now in theſe ſeas of Sur, it is not poſſible for him to get out of them againe, ſo that if he periſh not at ſea, yet hunger wil force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Viceroy that I ſhould not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwaies be at my maſters houſe in a readineſſe at an houres warning, whenſoeuer I ſhould be called: for that notwithſtanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to ſend away certaine hides and Cochinilla, that they had there at their Scantias or dairie houſes, and my maſter hauing leaue of the Secretarie for me to go with them, I tooke my iourney with them being very well horſed and appointed, and comming thither and paſſing the time there at Mecameca certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleete was readie to depart, I not being paſt 3 daies iourney from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, thought it to be the meeteſt time for me to make an eſcape, and I was the bolder, preſuming vpon my Spaniſh tongue, which I ſpake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my ſelfe, that when I came to S. Iohn de Vllua, I would get to be entertained as a ſouldiour, and ſo go home into Spaine in the ſame Fleete, and therefore ſecretly one euening late, the moone ſhining faire, I conueyed my ſelfe away, and riding ſo for the ſpace of two nights and two dayes, ſometimes in, and ſometimes out, reſting very little all that time, vpon the ſecond day at night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, diſtant from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where the ſhips rode, but only 5 leagues, and here purpoſing to reſt my ſelfe a day or two, I was no ſooner alighted, but within the ſpace of one halfe houre after, I was by ill hap arreſted, and brought before Iuſtices there, being taken and ſuſpected to be a gentlemans ſonne of Mexico, that was runne away

Tuatepec, Waſhaca, Teplaca, Pueblo de los Angeles, Stapelapa.

The Spaniſh Viceroy propheſied, but falſely.

Vera Cruz diſtant 5 leagues from S. Iuan de Vllua.

from his father, who in trueth was the man they ſought for: So I being arreſted, and brought before the Iuſtices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter, euery man charging me that I was the ſonne of ſuch a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knewe not the man, yet would they not beleeue me, but urged ſtil upon me that I was he that they ſought for, and ſo I was conueied away to priſon. And as I was thus going to priſon, to the further increaſe of my griefe, it chanced that at that very inſtant there was a poore man in the preſſe that was come to towne to ſell hennes, who told the Iuſtices that they did me wrong, and that in truth he knew very well that I was an Engliſhman and no Spaniard. They then demanded of him how he knew that, and threatned him that he ſaid ſo, for that he was my companion, and ſought to conuey me away from my father, ſo that he alſo was threatned to be laid in priſon with me: he for the diſcharge of himſelfe ſtood ſtifly in it, that I was an Engliſhman, & one of captaine Hawkins men, and that he had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the Blacke-friers at Mexico, for 3 or 4 whole yeres together: which when they heard, they forſooke him, and began to examine me a new, whether that ſpeech of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceiued that I could not denie, and perceiuing that I was run from Mexico, & came thither of purpoſe to conuey my ſelfe away with the fleete, I was preſently committed to priſon with a ſorrowfull heart, often wiſhing my ſelfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off: howbeit he in ſinceritie had compaſſion of my diſtreſſed eſtate, thinking by his ſpeech, and knowing of me, to haue ſet me free from that preſent danger which he ſaw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedy but patience perforce. And I was no ſooner brought into priſon, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that priſon for the ſpace of 3 weekes, where were alſo many other priſoners which were thither committed for ſundry crimes, & condemned to the gallies. During which time of impriſonment there, I found amongſt thoſe my priſon-fellowes ſome that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truely they had compaſſion of me, & would ſpare of their victuals and any thing els that they had to doe me good: amongſt whom there was one of them that told me that he underſtood by a ſecret friend of his which often came to the priſon to him, that I ſhold be ſhortly ſent backe againe to Mexico by wagon, ſo ſoone as the fleete was gone from S. Iohn de Vllua, for Spaine. This poore man my priſon-fellow of himſelfe, & without any requeſt made by me, cauſed his ſaid friend which came often unto him to the grate of the priſon, bringing him wine and victuals, to buy for him 2 kniues which had files in their backes, which files were ſo welmade that they would ſerue & ſuffice any priſoner to file off his irons, & of thoſe kniues or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had cauſed it to be made for me, and let me haue it at that very price it coſt him, which was 2 Pezos, the value of 8.s. of our money: which knife when I had it, I was a ioyfull man, and conueied the ſame into the foote of my boot, upon the inſide of my left leg, and ſo within 3 or 4 dayes after that I had thus receiued my knife, I was ſuddenly called for, & brought before the head Iuſtice which cauſed thoſe my irons with the round bolt to be ſtricken off and ſent to a Smiths in the towne, where was a new paire of bolts made ready for me of another faſhion, which had a broad iron barre comming betweene the ſhackles, and cauſed my hands to be made faſt with a paire of manacles, and ſo was I preſently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there readie to depart with ſundry other wagons, to the number of 60, towardes Mexico, and they all were laden with ſundry merchandiſe which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was foremoſt in all the companie, and as we trauelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my hands out of the manacles, and as God would, although it were ſomewhat painefull for me, yet my handes were ſo ſlender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and euer as we went, when the wagon made moſt noyſe, and the men were buſieſt, I would be working to file off my bolts, & trauelling thus for the ſpace of 8 leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to an high hill, at the entring up of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, ſo that by that meanes the other wagons went afore, and the wagon-man that had charge of me ſet an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an hoſtrie that a Negro-woman keepes: and at this place, for that the going up of the hill is very ſteepe, for the ſpace of two leagues and better, they doe alwaies accuſtome to take the moiles of 3 or 4 wagons, and to place them all together for the drawing up of one wagon, and ſo to come downe againe, and fetch up others in that order. All which came very well to paſſe: for as it drew towards night when moſt of the Wagoners were gone to draw up their wagons, in this ſort I being alone had quickly filed off my bolts, and ſo eſpying my time in the darke of the euening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conueyed my ſelfe into the woods there adioyning, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, & a few

Miles Philips his laſt wonderfull eſcape.

biſcuits, and two ſmall cheeſes. And being come into the woods, I threw my yrons into a thicke buſh, and then couered them with moſſe and other things, and then ſhifted for my ſelfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good prouidence of Almightie God, I was freed from mine yrons all ſauing the collar that was about my necke, and ſo got my libertie the ſecond time.

Chap.7.

Wherein is ſhewed how I eſcaped to *Guatimala*, vpon the South ſea, and from thence to the port of *Cauallos*, where I got paſſage to goe into *Spaine*, and of our arriuall at *Hauana*, and our comming to *Spaine*, where I was againe like to haue bene committed priſoner, and how through the great mercy of God I eſcaped, and came home in ſafetie into *England* in February 1582.

The next morning (day light being come) I perceiued by the Sunne riſing what way to take to eſcape their hands, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods vpon the left hand: and hauing left that way that went to Mexico vpon my right hand, I thought to keepe my courſe as the woods and mountaines lay, ſtill direct South as neere as I could: by meanes whereof I was ſure to conuey my ſelfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going in the woods, I ſaw many great fires made to the North not paſt a league from the mountaine where I was, and trauailing thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheeſe, the very ſame forenoone I mette with a company of Indians which were hunting of Deere for their ſuſtenance: to whom I ſpake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had of a long time bin kept in priſon by the cruel Spanyards, and did deſire them to helpe me file to off mine yron coller, which they willingly did: reioycing greatly with me, that I was thus eſcaped out of the Spanyards hands. Then I deſired that I might haue one of them to guide mee out of thoſe deſert mountaines towardes the South, which they alſo moſt willingly did: and ſo they brought mee to an Indian towne 8. leagues diſtant from thence, named Shalapa, where I ſtayed three dayes, for that I was ſomewhat ſickely. At which towne (with the gold that I had quilted in my dublet) I bought me an horſe of one of the Indians, which coſt mee 6. pezos, and ſo trauailing South, within the ſpace of 2. leagues I happened to ouertake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whom then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie vſed againſt vs by the Inquiſitors, and truely hee vſed me very courteouſly: and I hauing confidence in him did indeede tel him, that I was minded to aduenture to ſee if I could get out of the ſayd countrey if I could finde ſhipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and aduiſe herein, which he faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my ſafeſt way to trauaile, but he alſo of himſelfe kept me company for the ſpace of three dayes, and euer as we came to the Indians houſes (who vſed and intertained vs well) hee gathered among them in money to the value of 20. pezos, which at my departure from him hee freely gaue vnto mee. So came I to the citie of Guatimala vpon the South ſea, which is diſtant from Mexico about 250. leagues, where I ſtayed 6. dayes, for that my horſe was weake. And from thence I trauailed ſtill South and by Eaſt ſeuen dayes iourney, paſſing by certaine Indian townes, vntill I came to an Indian towne diſtant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to go to the Port de Cauallos in the Northeaſt ſea, it was anſwered that in trauailing thither I ſhould not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes iourney: ſo heere I hired two Indians to be my guides, and I bought hennes, and bread to ſerue vs ſo long time, and tooke with vs things to kindle fire euery night, becauſe of wilde beaſtes, and to dreſſe our meate: and euery night when we reſted, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our ſelues, and my horſe. And in the night time we ſhould heare the Lions roare, with Tygres, Ounces, and other beaſtes, and ſome of them we ſhould ſee in the night, which had eyes ſhining like fire. And trauailing thus for the ſpace of twelue dayes, wee came at laſt to the port of Cauallos vpon the Eaſt ſea, diſtant from Guatimala South and by Eaſt, two hundreth leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborough for ſhippes, and is without either caſtle or bulwarke. I hauing diſpatched away my guides, went downe to the Hauen, where I ſaw certaine ſhips loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I ſpake with one of the Maſters, who aſked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he ſaid, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might paſſe home with him in his ſhip, paying for my paſſage: and he ſaid yea, ſo that I had a ſafe conduct, or letter teſtimonial to ſhew, that he might incurre no danger; for ſaid he, it may be that you haue killed ſome man, or be indebted, and would therefore run away. To that I anſwered, that there was not any ſuch cauſe.

Guatimala on the South ſea.

Puerto de C
uallos.

Don Pedro de Guzman.

Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezos he would carry me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly ſolde my horſe, and made my prouiſion of hennes and bread to ſerue me in my paſſage; And thus within 2. dayes after we ſet ſaile, and neuer ſtayed vntill we came to Hauana, which is diſtant from puerto de Cauallos by ſea 500. leagues: where we found the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bound home from the Indies. And heere I was hired for a ſouldier to ſerue in the Admiral ſhip of the ſame fleete, wherein the General himſelf went. There landed while I was here 4. ſhips out of Spaine, being all full of ſouldiers and ordinance, of which number there were 200. men landed here, & 4. great braſſe pieces of ordinance, although the caſtle were before ſufficiently prouided: 200. men more were ſent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance: and 100. laſtly to S. Iohn de Vllua. As for ordinance there they haue ſufficient, and of the very ſame which was ours, which we had in the Ieſus, and thoſe others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice-roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The ſending of thoſe ſouldiers to euery of thoſe Ports, and the ſtrengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote alſo by them to the general of his fleete, giuing him in charge ſo to doe, as alſo directing him what courſe he ſhould keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him in any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Açores, but to keepe his courſe more to the Northward, aduertiſing him withal, what number and power of French ſhips of warre, and other, Don Antonio had at that time at Terçera, & the yles aforeſaid: which the general of the fleete wel conſidering, and what great ſtore of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very dutifully obſerue and obey: for in trueth he had in his ſaid fleete 37. ſaile of ſhips, and in euery of them there was as good as 30. pipes of ſiluer one with another, beſides great ſtore of gold, Cochinilla, ſugars, hides, and Cana Fiſtula, with other Apothecary drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Guzman, did prouidently take order for, for their moſt ſtrength and defence, if neede ſhould be, to the vttermoſt of his power, and commanded vpon paine of death, that neither paſſenger nor ſouldier ſhould come aboord without his ſword and harquebuſh, with ſhot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Antonio, if they ſhould hap to meete with them, or any of them: and euer as the weather was faire, the ſaid general would himſelf go aboord from one ſhip to another, to ſee that euery man had his ful prouiſion according to the commandement giuen. Yet to ſpeake truely what I thinke, two good tall ſhips of warre would haue made a foule ſpoile amongſt them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were ſtrong and warlike appointed, ſauing only the Admiral, and Vice-admiral: And againe ouer and beſides the weakeneſſe and the ill furniſhing of the reſt, they were all ſo deeply laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to haue held out any long fight. Wel, thus we ſet ſaile, & had a very ill paſſage home, the weather was ſo contrary. We kept our courſe in maner Northeaſt, and brought our ſelues to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be ſure not to meete with Don Antonio his fleete, and were vpon our voyage from the 4 of Iune, vntill the 10. of September, and neuer ſaw land till we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none ſhould goe on ſhoare vntill he had licence: as for me, I was knowen by one in the ſhip, who told the Maſter that I was an Engliſhmã, which (as God would) it was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had coſt me my life. Notwithſtanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and ſeemed to be mery & pleaſant, that we were all come ſo wel in ſafety. Preſently after, licence came that we ſhould go on ſhoare, and I preſſed to be gone with the firſt: howbeit, the Maſter came vnto me, & ſaid, Sirra, you muſt goe with me to Siuil by water: I knew his meaning well inough, & that he meant there to offer me vp as a ſacrifice to the Holy houſe. For the ignorant zeale of a number of theſe ſuperſtitious Spaniards is ſuch, that they thinke that they haue done God good ſeruice, when they haue brought a Lutheran heretike to the fire to be burnt: for ſo do they account of vs. Wel, I perceiuing all this, tooke vpon me not to ſuſpect any thing, but was ſtill iocund & mery: howbeit, I knew it ſtood me vpon to ſhift for my ſelfe. And ſo wayting my time when the Maſter was in his cabbin aſleepe, I conueyed my ſelfe ſecretly downe by the ſhrowds into the ſhip boate, and made no ſtay but cut the rope wherewithal ſhe was moared, and ſo by the cable haled on ſhore, where I leapt on land, & let the boate goe whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I eſcaped that day, & then neuer ſtayed at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had ſeene other take toward Siuil: ſo that the next morning I came to Siuil, and ſought me out a workemaſter, that I might fall to my ſcience, which was weauing of taffataes; and being intertained I ſet my ſelfe cloſe to my worke, and durſt not for my life once to ſtirre abroad for feare of being knowen: and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my fellowes ſay, that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Engliſhman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, ſurely I would preſent him to the Holy houſe. And thus I kept ſtill within doores at my worke, and fained my ſelfe not well at eaſe, & that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the ſpace of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things new, different from the apparell that I did weare at ſea, and yet durſt not be ouerbold to walke abroad: and after vnderſtanding that there were certaine Engliſh ſhips at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boat and went aboord one of them, and deſired the Maſter that I might haue paſſage with him to goe into England, and told him ſecretly that I was one of thoſe which Captaine Hawkins did ſet on ſhore in the Indies: he very courteouſly prayed me to haue him excuſed, for he durſt not meddle with me, & prayed me therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceiued, with a ſorowful heart, God knoweth, I tooke my leaue of him, not without watry cheekes. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my ſelfe to be a ſouldier to goe in the king of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Maiorca, and comming thither in the end of the Chriſtmas holidayes, I found there two Engliſh ſhips, the one of London, and the other of the Weſt countrey, which were ready fraighted and ſtayed but for a faire wind. To the Maſter of the one, which was of the Weſt countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was now deſirous to goe home and ſee my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and ſo hauing agreed with him for my paſſage, I tooke ſhipping. And thus through the prouidence of Almighty God, after 16. yeeres abſence, hauing ſuſtained many and ſundry great troubles and miſeries, as by this diſcourſe appeareth, I came home to this my natiue countrey of England in the yeere 1582. in the moneth of February, in the ſhip called the Landret, and arriued at Poole.

He commeth home in an Engliſh ſhip from Maiorca.

The trauailes of *Iob Hortop*, which Sir *Iohn Hawkins* ſet on land within the Bay of *Mexico*, after his departure from the Hauen of *S. Iohn de Villa* in *Nueua Eſpanna*, the 8. of October 1568.

NOt vntruely nor without cauſe ſaid Iob the faithfull ſeruant of God (whom the ſacred Scriptures tell vs, to haue dwelt in the land of Hus) that man being borne of a woman, liuing a ſhort time, is repleniſhed with many miſeries: which ſome know by reading of hiſtories, many by the view of others calamities, and I by experience in my ſelfe, as this preſent Treatiſe inſuing ſhall ſhew.

It is not vnknowen vnto many, that I Iob Hortop pouder-maker was borne at Bourne, a towne in Lincolnſhire, from my age of twelue yeeres brought vp in Redriffe neere London with M. Francis Lee, who was the Queenes Maieſties powder-maker, whom I ſerued, vntill I was preſt to go on the 3. voyage to the Weſt Indies, with the right worſhipfull Sir Iohn Hawkins, who appointed me to be one of the Gunners in her Maieſties ſhip called the Ieſus of Lubeck, who ſet ſaile from Plimmouth in the moneth of October 1567. hauing with him another ſhip of her Maieſtie, called the Minion, and foure ſhips of his owne, namely the Angel, the Swallow, the Iudith, and the William and Iohn. He directed his Vice-admiral, that if foule weather did ſeparate them, to meete at the Iland of Tenerif. After which by the ſpace of ſeuen dayes and ſeuen nights, we had ſuch ſtormes at ſea, that we loſt our long boats and a pinneſſe, with ſome men: comming to the Iſle of Tenerif, there our Generall heard that his Vice-admirall with the Swallow, and the William and Iohn were at the Iland called Gomera, where finding his Vice-admirall, he anchored, tooke in freſh water, and ſet ſaile for Cape Blank, where in the way wee tooke a Portugal carauel, laden with fiſh called Mullets: from thence we ſailed to cape Verde. In our courſe thither we met a Frenchman of Rochel called captaine Bland, who had taken a Portugal carauel, whom our vice admiral chaſed and tooke. Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake was made maſter & captaine of the Carauel, and ſo we kept our way till we came to Cape Verde, and there we anchored, tooke our boates, & ſet ſouldiers on ſhore. Our Generall was the firſt that leapt on land, & with him Captaine Dudley: there we tooke certaine Negroes, but not without damage to our ſelues. For our Generall, Captaine Dudley, & 8. other of our company were hurt with poyſoned arrowes: about nine dayes after, the 8. that were wounded died. Our general was taught by a Negro, to draw the poyſon out of his wound with a cloue of garlike, whereby he was cured. From thence wee went to Sierra Leona, where be monſtrous fiſhes called Sharkes, which will deuoure men. I amongſt others was ſent in the Angell with two Pinneſſes into the riuer called Callouſa, to ſeeke two Carauels that were there trading with the Negros: wee tooke one of them with the Negros, and brought them away.

A remedie againſt poyſoned arrowes.

The riuer of Calouſa.

In this riuer in yͤ night time we had one of our pinneſſes bulged by a ſea-horſe, ſo that our men ſwimming about the riuer, were all taken into the other pinneſſes, except two that tooke hold one of another, and were caried away by the ſea-horſe. This monſter hath the iuſt proportion of a horſe, ſauing that his legs be ſhort, his teeth very great, and a ſpan in length: hee vſeth in the night to goe on land into the woods, ſeeking at vnawares to deuoure the Negroes in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie preuent, and kill him in this maner. The Negroes keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree ouerthwart the way, ſo that at their returne, for that their legs be ſo ſhort, they cannot goe ouer it: then the Negroes ſet vpon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and ſo deſtroy them.

From thence we entred the riuer called the Caſſerroes, where there were other Carauels trading with the Negroes, and them we tooke. In this Iland betwixt the riuer and the maine, trees grow with Oiſters vpon them. There grow Palmito trees, which bee as high as a ſhips maine maſt, and on their tops grow nuts, wine and oyle, which they call Palmito wine and Palmito oyle. The Plantan tree alſo groweth in that countrey; the tree is as bigge as a mans thigh, and as high as a firre pole, the leaues thereof be long and broad, and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantanos: they are crooked, and a cubite long, and as bigge as a mans wriſt, they growe on the ſters: when they be ripe, they be very good and daintie to eate: Sugar is not more delicious in taſte then they be.

The riuer of Taggarin.

500. Negroes taken.

From thence with the Angel, the Iudith, and the two pinneſſes, we ſailed to Sierra leona, where our Generall at that time was, who with the captaines and ſouldiers went vp into the riuer called Taggarin, to take a towne of the Negroes, where he found three kings of that countrey with fifty thouſand Negroes beſieging the ſame towne, which they could not take in many yeeres before, when they had warred with it. Our General made a breach, entred, & valiantly tooke the towne, wherein were found fiue Portugals which yeelded themſelues to his mercy, and hee ſaued their liues: we tooke & caried thence for traffique to the Weſt Indies 500. Negroes. The three kings droue 7000. Negroes into yͤ ſea at low water, at the point of the land, where they were all drowned in the Oze, for that they could not take their canoas to ſaue themſelues. Wee returned backe againe in our pinneſſes to the ſhips, and there tooke in freſh water, and made ready ſayle towards Rio grande. At our comming thither we entred with the Angel, the Iudith, and the 2. pinneſſes, and found there ſeuen Portugal Caruels, which made great fight with vs. In the ende by Gods helpe wee wonne the victory, and droue them to the ſhore, from whence with the Negroes they fled, and we fetcht the caruels from the ſhore into the riuer. The next morning M. Francis Drake with his caruel, the Swallow, and the William and Iohn came into the riuer, with captaine Dudley and his ſouldiers, who landed being but a hundred ſouldiers, and fought with ſeuen thouſand Negroes, burned the towne, and returned to our Generall with the loſſe of one man.

Rio grande.

In that place there be many muske-cats, which breed in hollow trees: the Negroes take them in a net, & put them in a cage, & nouriſh them very daintily, & take the muſke from them with a ſpoone.

Now we directed our courſe from Guinea towards the Weſt Indies.

And by the way died Captaine Dudley.

Dominica.

Margarita.

In ſayling towards the Indies, the firſt land that we eſcryed, was the Iland called Dominica, where at our comming we ancored, & tooke in freſh water and wood for our prouiſion: which done, we ſayled towards the Iland called Margarita, where our Generall in deſpite of the Spaniards anchored, landed, & tooke in freſh victuals. A mile off the Iland there is a rocke in the ſea, wherein doe breede many fowles like vnto Barnacles: in the night we went out in our boates, and with cudgels we killed many of them, and brought them with many of their egs aboord with vs: their egges be as bigge as Turkies egges, and ſpeckled like them. We did eate them, and found them very good meate.

Burboroata.

From thence wee ſayled to Burboroata, which is in the maine land of the Weſt Indies: there we came in, mored our ſhips, and taried two moneths trimming and dreſſing our ſhips, and in the meane time traded with certaine Spanyards of that countrey. There our Generall ſent vs vnto a towne called Placencia, (which ſtood on a high hil) to haue intreated a Biſhop that dwelt there for his fauour & friendſhip in their lawes, who hearing of our comming, for feare forſooke yͤ town.

Placencia in the maine.

In our way vp the hil to Placencia, wee found a monſtrous venemous worme with two heads: his body was as bigge as a mans arme, and a yard long: our maſter Robert Barret did cut him in ſunder with his ſword, and it made it as blacke as if it were coloured with ynke.

Heere be many Tygers, monſtrous and furious beaſts, which by ſubtiltie deuoure and deſtroy many men: they vſe the traded wayes, & will ſhew themſelues twiſe or thriſe to the trauellers, and ſo depart ſecretly, lurking till they be paſt, then ſuddenly & at vnawares they leape vpon them and deuoure them: they had ſo vſed two of our company, had not one of them looked behind. Our Generall ſent three ſhips vnto the Iland called Coraçao, to make prouiſion for the reſt, where they remayned vntill his comming. Hee ſent from thence the Angel and the Iudith to Rio de Hacha, where we anchored before the town. The Spaniards ſhot three pieces at vs from the ſhore, whom we requited with two of ours, and ſhotte through the Gouernours houſe: we wayed anchor, & anchored againe without ſhot of the towne, where wee rid fiue dayes in deſpite of the Spanyards and their ſhot. In the meane ſpace there came a Caruel of aduiſe from S. Domingo, whom with the Angel, and the Iudith wee chaſed and droue to the ſhore: we fetcht him from thence in ſpite of 200. Spaniards hargubuſh ſhot, and anchored againe before the towne, and rid there with them, till our Generals comming, who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly tooke the Towne, with the loſſe of one man, whoſe name was Thomas Surgeon: wee landed and planted on the ſhore for our ſafeties, our field ordinance: we droue the Spaniards vp into the country aboue two leagues, whereby they were inforced to trade with our General, to whom he ſold moſt part of his Negros. Rio de la Hacha taken.

In this riuer we killed a monſtrous Lagarto or Crocodile in this port at ſunne ſet: ſeuen of vs went in the pinneſſe vp into the Riuer, carying with vs a dogge, vnto whom with rope-yarne we bound a great hooke of ſteele, with a chaine that had a ſwiuel, which we put vnder the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming ouer his back faſt bound, as aforeſaid: we put him ouer boord, and vered out our rope by litle and litle, rowing away with our boate: the Lagarto came & preſently ſwallowed vp the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him: he plunged and made a wonderful ſtirre in the water: we leapt on ſhore, and haled him on land: he was 23. foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in body like a ſerpent, full of ſcales as broad as a ſawcer: his taile long and full of knots as bigge as a fawcon ſhotte: he hath foure legs, his feete haue long nailes like vnto a dragon: we opened him, tooke out his guts, flayed him, dried his ſkinne, and ſtuffed it with ſtraw, meaning to haue brought it home, had not the ſhip bin caſt away. This monſter will cary away and deuoure both man and horſe.

From hence we ſhaped our courſe to Santa Martha, where we landed, traded, and ſold certaine Negroes: there two of our company killed a monſtrous adder, going towards his caue with a Conie in his mouth: his body was as bigge as any mans thigh, and ſeuen foote long: vpon his tayle he had ſixteene knottes, euery one as bigge as a great walnut, which they ſay, doe ſhew his age: his colour was greene and yellow: they opened him, and found two conies in his belly. Santa Martha.

From thence wee ſayled to Cartagena, where we went in, mored our Shippes, and would haue traded with them, but they durſt not for feare of the King: wee brought vp the Minion againſt the Caſtle, and ſhotte at the Caſtle and Towne: then we landed in an Iland, where were many gardens: there in a caue we found certaine Botijos of wine, which wee brought away with vs, in recompence whereof, our Generall commanded to be ſet on ſhore woollen and linnen cloth, to the value thereof. From hence by foule weather wee were forced to ſeeke the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua. In our way thwart of Campeche we met with a Spaniard, a ſmall ſhip, who was bound for Santo Domingo: he had in him a Spaniard called Auguſtin de villa nueua, who was the man that betrayed all the Noble men in the Indies, and cauſed them to be beheaded, wherefore he with two Friers fled to S. Domingo: them we tooke and brought with vs into the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua. Our Generall made great account of him, and vſed him like a Noble man: howbeit in the ende he was one of them that betrayed vs. When wee had mored our ſhips, and landed, wee mounted the Ordinance that wee found there in the Ilande, and for our ſafeties kept watch and warde. The next day after wee diſcouered the Spaniſh fleete, whereof Luçon a Spanyard was Generall: with him came a Spanyard called Don Martin Henriquez, whom the king of Spaine ſent to be his Vice-roy of the Indies. He ſent a Pinneſſe with a flagge of truce vnto our Generall, to knowe of what Countrey thoſe Shippes were that rode there in the King of Spaines Port; who ſayd, they were the Queene of Englands ſhips, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your Generall will come in here, he ſhall giue me victuals and all other neceſſaries, and I will goe out on the one ſide of the Port, and he ſhall come in on the other ſide. The Spanyard returned for anſwere, that he was a Vice-roy, and had a thouſand men, & therefore he would come in. Our Generall ſayd, If he be a Vice-roy, I repreſent my Queenes perſon, & I am a Vice-roy as well as he: and if he haue a thouſand men, my powder and ſhot will take the better place. Then the Vice-roy after counſell among themſelues, yeelded to our Generals demaund, ſwearing by his King and his Crowne, by his commiſſion and authority that he had from his King, that hee would performe it, and thereupon pledges were giuen on both partes. Our Generall bearing a godly and Chriſtian minde, voyde of fraude and deceit, iudged the Spanyards to haue done the like, deliuered to them ſixe gentlemen, not doubting to haue

Cartagena.

Campeche.

Don Martin de Henriquez the trecherous Vice-roy.

receiued the like from them: but the faithleſſe Spanyardes, in coſtly apparell gaue of the baſeſt of their company, as afterwardes it was well knowen. Theſe things finiſhed, proclamation was made on both ſides, that on payne of death no occaſion ſhould be giuen, whereby any quarel ſhould grow to the breach of the league, and then they peaceably entred the port, with great triumph on both ſides.

The Spaniards preſently brought a great Hulke, a ſhip of ſixe hundred, and mored her by the ſide of the Minion, and they cut out ports in their other ſhips, planting their ordinance towards vs, in the night they filled the Hulke with men, to lay the Minion aboord, as the ſequel did ſhew, which made our General doubtful of their dealings: wherefore, for that he could ſpeake the Spaniſh tongue, he ſent Robert Barret aboord the Vice-roy, to knowe his meaning in thoſe dealings, who willed him with his company to come in to him, whom he commanded preſently to be ſet in the bilbowes, and forthwith a Cornet (for a watchword among the falſe Spaniards) was ſounded for the enterpriſing of their pretended treaſon againſt our Generall, whom Auguſtine de villa noua ſitting at dinner with him, ſhould then preſently haue killed with a poynado which hee had priuily in his ſleeue, which was eſpyed and preuented by one Iohn Chamberlayne, who tooke the poynado out of his ſleeue. Our General haſtily roſe vp, and commanded him to be put priſoner in the Stewards roome, & to be kept with two men. The faithleſſe Spanyards, thinking all things to their deſire had bene finiſhed, ſuddenly ſounded a Trumpet, and therewith three hundred Spaniards entred the Minion, whereat our General with a loude and fierce voyce called vnto vs, ſaying, God and Saint George, vpon thoſe traiterous villaines, and reſcue the Minion, I truſt in God the day ſhalbe ours: and with that the Mariners & ſouldiers leapt out of the Ieſus of Lubeck into the Minion, and beat out the Spanyards, and with a ſhot out of her fiered the Spaniards Viceadmirall, where the moſt part of 300. Spanyards were ſpoyled, and blowen ouer boord with powder. Their Admirall alſo was on fire halfe an houre: we cut our cables, wound off our ſhips, and preſently fought with them: they came vpon vs on euery ſide, and continued the fight from ten of the clocke vntil it was night: they killed all our men that were on ſhore in the Iland, ſauing three, which by ſwimming got aboord the Ieſus of Lubeck. They ſunke the Generals ſhip called the Angel, and tooke the Swallow: the Spaniards Admirall had aboue threeſcore ſhot through her: many of his men were ſpoyled: foure other of their ſhips were ſunke. There were in that fleete, and that came from the ſhore to reſcue them, fifteene hundred: we ſlew of them fiue hundred and fourtie, as we were credibly informed by a note that came to Mexico. In this fight the Ieſus of Lubeck had fiue ſhotte through her mayne Maſt: her fore-maſt was ſtrooke in ſunder vnder the hounds with a chayne ſhotte, and her hull was wonderfully pearced with ſhotte, therefore it was vnpoſſible to bring her away. They ſet two of their owne Shippes on fire, intending therewith to haue burnt the Ieſus of Lubeck, which we preuented by cutting our cables in the halſe, and winding off by our ſternefaſt.

Auguſtine de villa nueua a moſt thankeleſſe traytour.

The Spaniſh vice-admirall fiered.

One of thoſe three was Iob Hortop the reporter hereof.

Foure Spaniſh ſhips ſunke.

The Minion was forced to ſet ſaile and ſtand off from vs, and come to an anker without ſhot of the Iland. Our Generall couragiouſly cheered vp his ſouldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of Beere, who brought it him in a ſiluer cup, and hee drinking to all men willed the gunners to ſtand by their Ordinance luſtily like men. He had no ſooner ſet the cup out of his hand, but a demy Culuerin ſhot ſtroke away the cup and a Coopers plane that ſtood by the maine maſt, and ranne out on the other ſide of the ſhip: which nothing diſmaid our Generall, for he ceaſed not to incourage vs, ſaying, feare nothing, for God, who hath preſerued me from this ſhot, will alſo deliuer vs from theſe traitours and villaines. Then Captaine Bland meaning to haue turned out of the port, had his maine maſt ſtroke ouer boord with a chaineſhot that came from the ſhore, wherefore he ankered, fired his ſhip, tooke his pinneſſe with all his men, and came aboord the Ieſus of Lubek to our Generall, who ſaid vnto him, that he thought he would not haue runne away from him: he anſwered, that he was not minded to haue run away from him, but his intent was to haue turned vp, and to haue laid the weathermoſt ſhip of the Spaniſh fleete aboord, and fired his ſhip in hope therewith to haue ſet on fire the Spaniſh fleete, hee ſaid if he had done ſo he had done well. With this, night came on. Our Generall commanded the Minion, for ſafegard of her maſts to be brought vnder the Ieſus of Lubecks lee: he willed M. Francis Drake to come in with the Iudith, and to lay the Minion aboord, to take in men and other things needefull, and to goe out, and ſo he did.

At night when the wind came off the ſhore, wee ſet ſayle, and went out in deſpite of the Spanyards and their ſhot, where wee ankered, with two ankers vnder the Iland, the wind being Northerly, which was wonderfull dangerous, and wee feared euery houre to be driuen with the lee ſhore. In the end when the wind came larger, we waied anker, and ſet ſaile, ſeeking the riuer of Panuco for water,whereof we had very little,and victuals were ſo ſcarce,that we were driuen to eate hides,cats,rats,parrats,munkies, and dogges: wherefore our Generall was forced to diuide his company into two parts, for there was a mutinie among them for want of victuals: and ſome ſaid that they had rather be on the ſhore to ſhift for themſelues amongſt the enemies, then to ſterue on ſhip-boord. He asked them who would go on ſhore,and who would tarry on ſhip-boord, thoſe that would goe on ſhore, he willed to goe on foremaſt, and thoſe that would tarrie, on baſe maſt: fourеſcore and ſixteene of vs were willing to depart. Our Generall gaue vnto euery one of vs ſixe yards of Roane cloth,and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed, he came vnto vs,where friendly imbracing euery one of vs,he was greatly grieued that he was forced to leaue vs behind him,he counſelled vs to ſerue God,and to loue one another, and thus courteouſly he gaue vs a ſorowful farewell,and promiſed if God ſent him ſafe home,he would do what he could, that ſo many of vs as liued ſhould by ſome means be brought into England, & ſo he did.

About an hundred Engliſhmen landed.

Since my returne into England I haue heard that many miſliked that he left vs ſo behind him, and brought away Negros: but the reaſon is this,for them he might haue had victuals,or any other thing needfull,if by foule weather hee had bene driuen vpon the Iſlands, which for gold nor ſiluer he could not haue had.

And thus our Generall departed to his ſhip,and we remained on land, where for our ſafeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about vs,we kept watch all night, and at Sunne riſing wee marched on our way, three and three in a ranke, vntill that we came into a fielde vnder a groue, where the Indians came vpon vs,asking vs what people we were,and how we came there. Two of our company, namely Anthony Goddard, and Iohn Corniſh, for that they could ſpeake the Spaniſh tongue, went to them, and ſaid wee were Engliſhmen, that neuer came in that countrey before,and that we had fought with the Spaniards,and for that we lacked victuals,our Generall ſet vs on ſhore: they asked vs whither we intended to goe, we ſaid to Panuco. The Captaine of the Indians willed vs to giue vnto them ſome of our clothes & ſhirts, which we did: then he bad vs giue them all,but we would not ſo doe,whereupon Iohn Corniſh was then ſlaine with an arrow, which an Indian boy that ſtoode by the Captaine ſhot at him, wherefore hee ſtroke the boy on the necke with his bow,that he lay for dead, and willed vs to follow him, who brought vs into a great fielde, where we found freſh water: hee bad vs ſit downe about the pond and drinke, and he with his company would goe in the meane ſpace to kill fiue or ſixe Deere, and bring them vs. We taryed there till three of the clocke,but they came not: there one of our company whoſe name was Iohn Cooke,with foure other departed from vs into a groue to ſeeke reliefe, where preſently they were taken by the Indians, and ſtript as naked as euer they were borne, and ſo returned to vs.

Iohn Corniſh ſlaine.

Then we diuided our ſelues into two parts,halfe to Anthony Goddard, and the reſt to Iames Collier,and thus ſeuerally we ſought for Panuco. Anthony Goddard with his company,bid vs farewell,they paſſed a riuer, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes, and ſo paſſing on their way,came to a ſtony hill,where they ſtayed. Iames Collier with his company that day paſſed the ſame riuer,and were alſo robbed, and one of them ſlaine by chance: wee came that night vnto the hill,where Anthony Goddard and his company reſted,there we remained til morning,and then we marched altogether from thence, entring betweene two groues, where the Indians robbed vs of all our clothes, and left vs naked, they hurt many, and killed eight of vs. Three dayes after we came to another riuer,there the Indians ſhewed vs the way to Panuco,and ſo left vs: we paſſed the riuer into the wildernes,where we made wreaths of greene graſſe,which we wound about our bodies,to keepe vs from the Sunne,and gnats of that Countrey. We trauelled there ſeuen dayes, and ſeuen nights,before wee came to Panuco, feeding on nothing but roots,and Guiauos,a fruit like figs. At our comming to the riuer of Panuco two Spaniſh horſemen came ouer vnto vs in a Canowe: they asked vs how long we had bene in the wilderneſſe,and where our generall was,for they knewe vs to be of the company that had fought with their countrimen: we told them ſeuen dayes and ſeuen nights,and for lacke of victuals our Generall ſet vs on ſhore,& he was gone away with his ſhips. They returned to their Gouernour, who ſent them with fiue Canowes to bring vs all ouer. Which done,they ſet vs in aray,where a hundred horſemen with their lances, came forceably vpon vs, but did not hurt vs, they carried vs priſoners to Panuco,where we remained one night. In the riuer of Panuco there is a fiſh like a calfe, the Spaniards call it a Mallatin,hee hath a ſtone in his head, which the Indians vſe for the diſeaſe of the Collicke, in the night he commeth on land,and eateth graſſe. I haue eaten of it, and it eateth not much vnlike to bacon. From thence we were ſent to Mexico,which is 90 leagues from Panuco. In our way thither, 20 leagues from the ſea ſide, I did ſee white Crabs running vp & downe the

Anthony Goddard.

A riuer.

Iames Collier.

8. Engliſhmen ſlaine.

Another riuer.

Seuen dayes trauell to Panuco.

ſands,

The manifold vſe of Magueis.

ſands, I haue eaten of them, and they be very good meat. There groweth a fruit which the Spanyards call Auocottes, it is proportioned like an egge, and as blacke as a cole, hauing a ſtone in it, and it is an excellent good fruit. There alſo groweth a ſtrange tree which they call Magueis, it ſerueth them to many vſes, below by the root they make a hole, wherat they do take out of it twiſe euery day a certaine kind of licour, which they ſeeth in a great kettle, till the third part be conſumed, & that it waxe thick, it is as ſweet as any hony, and they do eat it. Within 20. daies after that they haue taken al the licour from it, it withereth, & they cut it down, & vſe it as we vſe our hempe here in England, which done, they conuert it to many vſes: of ſome part they make mantles, ropes, and threed: of the ends they make needles to ſow their ſaddles, pannels, & other furniture for their horſes: of the reſt they make tyles to couer their houſes, and they put it to many other purpoſes.

Mexico.

And thus we came to Mexico, which is ſeuen or eight miles about, ſeated in a great fen, inuironed with 4 hils, it hath but two wayes of entrance, and it is full of creeks, in the which in their Canowes they paſſe from place to place, & to the Ilands there within. In the Indies ordinarily three times a yeere bee wonderfull earthquakes, which put the people in great feare and danger: during the time of two yeeres that I was in Mexico, I ſaw them ſixe times: when they come they throw downe trees, houſes, and Churches. There is a citie 25. leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcalla, which is inhabited with a hundred thouſand Indians, they goe in white ſhirts, linnen breeches, and long mantles, and the women weare about them a garment much like vnto a flanneil petticote. The kings pallace was the firſt place that wee were brought vnto in Mexico, where without we were willed to ſit downe. Much people, men, women, and children came wondring about vs, many lamented our miſery, & ſome of their clergy aſked vs if we were Chriſtians, we ſaid, we praiſed God, we were as good Chriſtians as they: they aſked how they might know that, we ſaid, by our confeſſions. From thence we were carried in a Canow to a Tanners houſe, which ſtandeth a little from the citie: the next morning two friers and two prieſts came thither to vs, and willed vs to bleſſe our ſelues, and ſay our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might vnderſtand vs, many of our company did ſo, whereupon they returned to the viceroy, and told him that we were good Chriſtians, and that they liked vs well, and then they brought vs much reliefe, with clothes, our ſicke men were ſent to their Hoſpitals, where many were cured, and many died. From the Tanners houſe we were led to a gentlemans place, where vpon paine of death we were charged to abide, and not to come into the citie, thither we had all things neceſſary brought vs: on Sundayes and holy dayes much people came, and brought vs great reliefe.

The viceroy practiſed to hang vs, and cauſed a paire of new gallowes to be ſet vp, to haue executed vs, wherunto the noblemen of that countrey would not conſent, but prayed him to ſtay vntil the ſhip of aduiſe brought newes from the king of Spaine, what ſhould be done with vs, for they ſaid they could not find any thing by vs, whereby they might lawfully put vs to death.

The viceroy then commanded vs to be ſent to an Iſland there by, and he ſent for the Biſhop of Mexico, who ſent foure prieſts to the Iſland, to examine and confeſſe vs, who ſaid, that the viceroy would burne vs, when wee were examined and confeſſed according to the lawes of the countrey. They returned to the Biſhop, and told him that we were very good Chriſtians. The Biſhop certified the viceroy of our examinations and confeſſions, and ſaid that wee were good Chriſtians, therefore he would not meddle with vs. Then the viceroy ſent for our maſter R. Barret, whom he kept priſoner in his pallace, vntill the fleete was departed for Spayne. The reſt of vs he ſent to a towne ſeuen leagues from Mexico called Teſcuco, to card wooll among the Indian ſlaues, which drudgery we diſdained, and concluded to beat our maſters, and ſo wee did: wherefore they ſent to the viceroy, deſiring him for Gods ſake and our Ladies, to ſend for vs, for they would not keepe vs any longer, they ſaid that we were deuils and no men.

The viceroy ſent for vs, and impriſoned vs in a houſe in Mexico, from thence he ſent Anthony Goddard, & ſome other of our company with him into Spaine, with Luçon, the General that tooke vs: the reſt of vs ſtaied in Mexico two yeres after, and then were ſent priſoners into Spaine, with Don Iuan de Velaſco de Varre, admirall and generall of the Spaniſh fleet, who caried with him in his ſhip, to be preſented to the K. of Spaine, the anatomie of a giant, which was ſent from China to Mexico, to the viceroy Don Martin Henriquez, to bee ſent to the king of Spaine for a great wonder. It did appeare by the anatomie, that he was of a monſtrous ſize, the ſkull of his head was neere as bigge as halfe a buſhel, his necke-bones, ſhoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments of his other partes, were huge and monſtrous to behold, the ſhanke of his legge from the ankle to the knee was as long as from any mans ankle vp to his waſt, and of bigneſſe accordingly.

At this time, and in this ſhip, were alſo ſent to be preſented to the king of Spaine, two cheſtes full of earth with ginger growing in them, which were alſo ſent from China, to be ſent to the king of Spaine. The ginger runneth in the ground like to liccoras, the blades grow out of it in length and proportion like vnto the blades of wild garlicke, which they cut euery fifteene dayes, they vſe to water them twiſe a day, as we doe our herbes here in England, they put the blades in their pottage, and vſe them in their other meates, whoſe excellent ſauour and taſt is very delightfull; and procureth a good appetite.

A deſcription of ginger.

When we were ſhipped in the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua, the Generall called our maſter Robert Barret and vs with him into his cabbin, & asked vs if wee would fight againſt Engliſhmen, if we met them at the ſea, we ſaid that we would not fight againſt our Crowne, but if we met with any other, we would do what we were able. He ſaid if we had ſaid otherwiſe, he would not haue beleeued vs, and for that we ſhould be the better vſed, and haue allowance as other men had: and he gaue a charge to euery one of vs, according vnto our knowledge. Robert Barret was placed with the pilote, I was put in the gunners roome, William Cawſe with the boat-ſwaine, Iohn Beare with the quarter-maſters, Edward Rider, & Geffrey Giles, with the ordinary mariners, Richard the maſters boy attended on him and the pilote: ſhortly after we departed from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua with all the fleete of Spaine, for the port called Hauana: wee were 26. dayes ſayling thither. There wee came in, ankered, tooke in freſh water, and ſtayed 16. dayes for the fleete of Nombre de Dios, which is the fleet that brings the treaſure from Peru.

1570

Hauana.

The Generall of that fleet was called Diego Flores de Valdes. After his comming, when he had watred his ſhips, both the fleetes ioyned in one, and Don Iuan de Velaſco de Varre was the firſt fifteen daies Generall of both the fleets, who turning through the chanell of Bahama, his pilote had like to haue caſt away all the fleet vpon the Cape called Cannaueral, which was preuented by me Iohn Hortop, & our maſter Robert Barret: for I being in the ſecond watch eſcried land, and called to Robert Barret, bidding him looke ouer boord, for I ſaw land vnder the lee-bow of the ſhip: he called to the boat-ſwaine, & bid him let flie the fore ſaile ſheat, and lay the helm vpon the lee, and caſt the ſhip about. When we were caſt about, we were but in ſeuen fathome water: we ſhot off a piece, giuing aduice to the fleet to caſt about, and ſo they did. For this we were beloued of the Generall, and all the fleet. The Generall was in a great rage, and ſwore by the king, that he would hang his pilote: for he ſaid, that twiſe before he had almoſt caſt away the Admirall. When it was day, he commanded a piece to be ſhot off, to call to councill: the other Admirall in his ſhip came vp to him, and asked what the matter was, he ſaid, that his pilote had caſt away his ſhip and all the fleet, had it not bene for two of the Engliſhmen, and therefore he would hang him. The other Admirall with many faire words perſwaded him to the contrary.

When we came in the height of Bermuda, we diſcouered a monſter in the ſea, who ſhewed himſelfe three times vnto vs from the middle vpwards, in which parts hee was proportioned like a man, of the complection of a Mulato or tawny Indian. The Generall did commaund one of his clearks to put it in writing, and hee certified the King and his Nobles thereof. Preſently after this, for the ſpace of ſixteene dayes we had wonderful foule weather, and then God ſent vs a faire wind, vntill ſuch time as we diſcouered the Iland called Faial.

A ſea-monſter in the ſhape of a man.

On S. Iames day we made rackets, wheeles, and other fire-workes, to make paſtime that night, as it is the order of the Spanyards. When we came neere the land, our maſter R. Barret conferred with vs, to take the pinneſſe one night, when we came on the Iland called Terçera, to free our ſelues from the danger and bondage that we were going into, whereunto we agreed: none had any pinneſſe aſterne then but our ſhip, which gaue great courage to our enterpriſe: we prepared a bagge of bread, and a Botijo of water, which would haue ſerued vs nine dayes, and prouided our ſelues to goe: our Maſter borrowed a ſmall compaſſe of the Maſter gunner of the ſhip, who lent it him, but ſuſpected his intent, and cloſely made the Generall priuy to it, who for a time diſſembled the matter. In the ende ſeeing our pretenſe, he called R. Barret, commanding his head to bee put in the ſtocks, and a great payre of yron bolts on his legs, & the reſt of vs to be ſet in the ſtocks by the legs. Then he willed a peece to be ſhot off, and hee ſent the pinneſſe for the other Admirall, and all the captaines, maſters and pilots of both fleetes to come aboord of him. He commanded the mayne-yard to be ſtrooke downe, and to put 2. pullies, on euery yard-arme one; the hangman was called, and we were willed to confeſſe our ſelues, for he ſwore by the king that he would hang vs.

When the other Admiral, and the reſt were come aboord, he called them into his counſel-chamber, and told them that he would hang the maſter of the Engliſhmen, and all his company. The Admirall, whoſe name was Diego Flores de Valdes, asked him wherefore: he ſayd, that we had determined to riſe in the night with the pinneſſe, and with a ball of fire-worke to ſet the ſhip on fire, and goe our wayes: therefore, ſayd he, I will haue you the Captaines, Maſters, and Pilotes, to ſet your hands vnto that, for I ſweare by the king that I will hang them. Diego Flores de Valdes anſwered, I nor the Captaines, Maſters, and Pilotes wil not ſet our hands to that, for hee ſaid, if he had bin priſoner as we were, he would haue done the like himſelfe. He counſelled him to keepe vs faſt in priſon, till he came into Spaine, & then ſend vs to the Contratation houſe in Siuil, where, if we had deſerued death the law would paſſe on vs, for hee would not haue it ſaid that in ſuch a fleet as that was, ſixe men and a boy ſhould take the pinneſſe, and goe away, and ſo he returned to his ſhip againe.

When he was gone, the Generall came to the maine maſt to vs, and ſwore by the King, that we ſhould not come out of the ſtocks til we came into Spaine: within 16. dayes after we came ouer the Bar of S. Lucar, and came vp to the Hurcados, then he put vs into a pinneſſe in the ſtocks, and ſent vs priſoners to the Contratation houſe in Siuill. From thence after one yere we brake priſon, on S. Steuens day at night, 7. of our company eſcaped, Robert Barret, I Iob Hortop, Iohn Emerie, Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Gilbert were taken, and brought backe to the contratation houſe, where we remained in the ſtocks till twelfe tide was paſt. Then our keeper put vp a petition to the Iudge of the contratation houſe, that we might be ſent to the great priſon houſe in Siuill, for that we broke priſon, whereupon we were preſently led thither, where we remained one moneth, and then from thence, to the caſtell of the Inquiſition houſe in Triana, where wee continued one yere: which expired, they brought vs out in proceſſion, euery one of vs hauing a candle in his hand, and the coate with S. Andrewes croſſe on our backs: they brought vs vp on an high ſcaffold, that was ſet vp in the place of S. Francis, which is in the chiefe ſtreet of Siuill: there they ſet vs downe vpon benches, euery one in his degree, and againſt vs on another ſcaffold ſate all the Iudges, and the Clergy on their benches: the people wondered, and gazed on vs, ſome pittying our caſes, other ſaid, burne thoſe heretikes. When we had ſit there two houres, we had a ſermon made to vs: after which one called Breſinia, ſecretarie to the Inquiſition, went vp into the pulpit with the proceſſe, and called Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert, whom two familiars of the Inquiſition brought from the ſcaffold before the Iudges, where the ſecretarie read the ſentence, which was that they ſhould be burnt, and ſo they returned to the ſcaffold, and were burnt.

Robert Barret and Iohn Gilbert burned.

Iob Hortop his condemnation.

Then I Iob Hortop, and Iohn Bone were called, and brought to the place, as before, where we heard our ſentence, which was, that we ſhould go to the Gallies, and there row at the oares ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquiſition houſe, to haue the coate with S. Andrewes croſſe put on our backs, and from thence to goe to the euerlaſting priſon remedileſſe, and ſo we were returned from the ſcaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, & Thomas Ellis were called, and had ſentence to ſerue in the Galleys eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Emery to ſerue fiue yeeres, & ſo were returned to the benches on the ſcaffold, where we ſate till foure of clocke in the afternoone. Then we were led againe to the Inquiſition houſe, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning Breſinia the treaſurer came thither to vs, and deliuered to euery one of vs his ſentence in writing. I with the reſt were ſent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together: euery mans daily allowance was 26. ounces of courſe blacke biſket and water, our clothing for the whole yeere two ſhirts, two paire of breeches of courſe canuas, a red coat of courſe cloth, ſoone on, and ſoone off, and a gowne of haire with a friers hood: our lodging was on the bare boords, and banks of the Gallies, our heads and beards were ſhauen euery month, hunger, thirſt, cold, and ſtripes we lacked none, til our ſeueral times expired. And after the time of 12. yeeres, for I ſerued two yeeres aboue my ſentence, I was ſent backe to the Inquiſition houſe in Siuill, and there hauing put on the coat with S. Andrewes croſſe, I was ſent to the euerlaſting priſon remedileſſe, where I wore the coat 4. yeres, & then vpon great ſuit, I had it taken off for 50. duckets, which Hernando de Soria treaſurer of the kings mint lent me,
1590 whom I ſerued for it as a drudge 7. yeres, and vntil the moneth of October laſt, 1590, and then I came from Siuill to S. Lucar, where I made meanes to come away in a flie-boat, that was laden with wines and ſalt, which were Flemings goods, the king of Spaines ſubiects, dwelling in Siuil, maried to Spaniſh women, and ſworne to their king. In this moneth of October laſt, departing from S. Lucar, at ſea, off the ſouthernmoſt Cape, we met an Engliſh ſhip, called the Galeon Dudley, who took the Flemming, & me out of him, & brought me to Portſmouth, where they ſet me on land, the 2. day of December laſt paſt, 1590. From thence I was ſent by M. Muns the lieutenant
1590 of Portſmouth, with letters to the R. honorable the Earle of Suſſex, who commanded his ſecretary to take my name and examination, how long I had bene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Chriſtmas euen I took my leaue of his honor, and came to Redriffe.

The Computation of my impriſonment.

I ſuffered impriſonment in Mexico two yeeres.

In the Contratation houſe in Siuill one yeere.

In the Inquiſition houſe in Triana one yeere.

I was in the Gallies twelue yeeres.

In the euerlaſting priſon remedileſs, with the coat with S. Andrews croſſe on my back 4. yeres.

And at libertie I ſerued as a drudge Hernando de Soria 3. yeeres, which is the full complement of 23. yeeres.

Since my departure from England, vntill this time of my returne, I was fiue times in great danger of death, beſides the many perils I was in, in the Gallies.

Firſt in the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where being on ſhore, with many other of our company, which were all ſlaine ſauing I, and two other that by ſwimming got aboord the Ieſus of Lubek.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the viceroy would haue hanged vs.

Fourthly, becauſe he could not haue his mind to hang vs, he would haue burnt vs.

Fiftly, the Generall that brought vs into Spaine, would haue hanged vs at ſea.

Thus hauing truely ſet downe vnto you my trauels, miſery and dangers, endured the ſpace of 23. yeeres, I ende.

A relation of the Hauen of *Tecuanapa*, a moſt conuenient place for building of ſhips, ſituate vpon the South ſea not farre from *Nicaragua*, which was ſent vnto the viceroy of *Mexico* or to the king of *Spaine*: wherein are deſcribed the riuers of *Ometepec*, *Tlacamama*, and *Tlacolula* falling into the ſaid Hauen, with the townes, people, and mountaines adioyning to the ſaid riuers, and other things fit for the building and victualling of ſhips.

The Port and ſmall harbour of Tecuanapa hath in the drieſt time of Sommer in the chanell little leſſe then one fathome at low water, and at full ſea one fathome and an halfe: in the time of raine, with the increaſing of the land-water it hath three fathoms and more. It lyeth toward the Weſt, and there the Biſhopricks of Guaxacan and Tlarcali are ſeparated. From hence toward the point called Punta de Intla and Dordaci there is a Bay 2. leagues diſtant, which though it be no ſpecial harbour, yet vpon an extremity ſhips may come and ride there, as in times paſt they haue done. This Bay on the right hand toward the North maketh a lake ſomewhat large towards the midſt of the chanell, and in ſome parts deepe, but ſpecially on the ſide of Cuahintla, but on either ſide it is but ſhallow. As you paſſe betweene the ſea & certaine great and large woods of orenge trees, and trees of other nature which grow along the ſea coaſt, which are of no great bredth, al the countrey appeareth very open: howbeit on the ſide of Cuahintla the mountaines haue many creeks and a ſmall lake called Tulaningo, and the countrey cannot be trauelled, except you take the way betweene the ſea and the end of this lake, which may be about two leagues of ſandy way. And on the North ſide there is another ſmall creeke. And going by the ſands ſide one quarter of a league, you come to the way that leadeth vnto Quacapotla a manſion of Intla.

The Port of Tecuanapa.

The Biſhopricks of Guaxacan, & Tlarcali.

Cuahintla.

Tulaningo a ſmall lake.

Quacapotla.

The riuer of Ometepec being the principal riuer which commeth to this hauen hath his head in the mountaines of Xicayan de Touer about 24. leagues frō this hauen, from diuers brooks which come out of the mountaines of Cacatepec, and beneath a towne called Suchiſtlahuaca litle more then 3. leagues all the brooks ioyne together: and from that place you may paſſe downe to the ſea with Canoas and Lighters; and you might come farther but for the fall of a furious ſtreame or current which runneth between two great rocks, paſſing from Cocahulapa a manſion of Ometepec vnto Yanguitle a manſion of the ſaid Ometepec. These inconueniences being paſt (which in my iudgement may be about one league) the riuer is more nauigable, ſo that you may ſayle in the ſame about 12. leagues. During the ſpace of which 12. leagues, about a league and a halfe diſtance from the waters ſide, and in many other parts of the ſame riuer it hath great quantitie of woods which vſe to grow in hot ſoiles, fit for ſhip-timber, as Huber trees, & Suchicuhitil, whereof they of Nicaragua make great profit. Alſo there be white okes and Tehegurtes in great quantitie, and many other kinds of timber: and in the mountaines there be firre-trees, okes, and cork-trees, which eaſily may bee caried downe the riuer, becauſe they may be cut ſome 2, 3, 4, and 5. leagues from the riuer, and may be brought downe to the waters ſide with the ſeruice and helpe of thoſe that dwell in the townes thereabout.

The riuer of Ometepec.

Nicaragua.

At the head of theſe brooks where the riuer beginneth is the towne which is called Xicaian, belonging to the heires of Francis de Touer y de Guillen, containing about 350. Indians of rude ſpeech and of little policie, being 24. leagues from the ſea, little more or leſſe. The place it ſelfe is hot, although the mountaines round about be cold.

Xicaian.

Aioanapa.

A little from this is the towne of Aioanapa poſſeſſed by the heires of Perez Gomez, hauing in it about 300. Indians of the ſelfe ſame ſpeach and qualitie. The countrey is more ſubiect to heate then cold; yet hath it neere it cold countreys and mountaines. It is diſtant from Xicaian de Touer 4.leagues, and from the ſea 20.leagues.

Suchiſtlahuaca.

Sixe leagues downeward toward the South is the towne of Suchiſtlahuaca on the ſaid riuer, and the inhabitants are of the ſame ſpeach and qualities. The countrey is more ſubiect to heate then cold. It is in the charge of Gonzaluo Fernandez a citizen of Mexico, and hath about 150. Indians, and is 15.leagues diſtant from the ſea.

Ometepec.

From this towne vnto the towne of Ometepec are 6.leagues. The place is very hoat, and in the ſame gouernment, and is ſituate betweene certaine hils one league from the riuer: he and his followers haue vnder them about 700. Indians, which ſpeake the Ayacaltecan, Amuſgan, and Niciecan tongues, and this place is from the ſea nine leagues.

Ihualapa.

From this towne vnto Ihualapa are two great leagues: it is in the gouernment of the heires of Laurence de Caſtro, of the foreſaid temperature, and the people vſe the ſaid language, and are of the like ſtature: and it ſtandeth three leagues from the riuer, and from the ſea ten leagues.

Niciecan.

Theſe are the beſt townes, and of the beſt traffique that are vpon all this coaſt. The Indians are rich in Cacao and victuals, and in theſe townes doe the Indians of Niciecan principally trade. And in the towne of Ihualapa the chiefe Alguazil of the prouince is reſident for the moſt part of the yeere.

Pio a frontier towne againſt the Mexicans.

More lowe beneath the riuer of Tlacolula, about a league or a league and an halfe from the towne of Ometepec is the towne called Pio, which was wont to be a towne of Tlacolula, and was a frontier towne againſt the Mexicans. There be in it about 50. Indians of the ancient inhabitants: one Grauiel de Chiauez a citizen of Mexico hath the gouernement thereof: it is 4. leagues from Ihualapa, and 6. from the ſea.

Huehuatlan.

A little below this is the towne of Huehuatlan in the ſelfe ſame gouernement ſtanding one league from the riuer on certaine high hils: it hath 10. Indians, and is from the ſea 5.leagues.

Cuahucapotla.

And one league from this towne ſtands the towne of Cuahucapotla a manſion of Antla or Intla: it hath to the number of 15. Indians; it ſtandeth one league and a halfe from the riuer, and 4. leagues from the mouth thereof.

Cacatepec.

At the fountaines or heads of the reſt of the brooks is the towne of Cacatepec being in the gouernment of Raphael de Treyo: he and his tenants haue vnder them ſome 700. Indians of Niciecan: it is from the ſea ſome 22.leagues.

The riuer of Tlacamama.

The riuer which is called Tlacamama commeth from the mountains of Atoyaque and Amuſgos, which are ſome 17.leagues from the ſea. There it maketh a formed riuer, ſo big, that it is nauigable to the ſea with canoas and lighters: I ſay from a litle below Toliſtlahuaca a manſion of Xicaian. It is nauigable 8. moneths in the yeere, and the other 4. not, becauſe that the ſands of the plaines do ſoke and drink vp the water in ſuch wiſe, that there remaineth ſo little, that there is no paſſage: howbeit in ſmall lighters timber may bee brought downe this riuer one league from the place where it is cut, vnto the place that I haue ſpoken of; whereas bigger veſſels may bee made; for nigh vnto that place other brooks and running waters doe ioyne and meet, which make it a maine riuer. It hath nigh vnto it in the mountaines of Atoyaque, Cacatepec, and Amuſgos many woods of pine-trees, cork-trees, and okes of great bigneſſe: and beneath thoſe mountaines in the warme countrey, neere vnto the riuers there is much timber of thoſe ſorts which I mentioned before to be about the riuer of Ometepec, which may eaſily be cut and carried downe vnto Tecuanapa in the time before ſpecified.

Atoiaque.

This riuer hath likewiſe townes adioyning to it; the firſt at the foote of the mountaines is the town of Atoiaque belonging to the king, & to the heires of Pronetto: their language is Niciecan, the countrey hot, the people politique, & it is from the ſea 15.leagues. It hath about 200. Indians.

Xicaian.

One league from this towne, and 14. from the ſea is the towne of Xicaian belonging likewiſe to the king, and to the heires of Pronetto. They are Niciecan people and very comely, and in a hot countrey. It hath by account 300. Indians. There are reſident in it the Vicar and Iuſtice; it is from the riuer a league and a halfe.

Pinoteſpan.

A league from this towne, and 14. from the ſea is ſituate the manſion of Pinoteſpan ſubiect to Tututepec, which hath with the manors ſubiect vnto it 500. Indians.

The towne of Tlacamama.

Two leagues from the towne, and one from Xicayan, and 13. from Tecuanapa, and 3. from the riuer is the towne of Tlacamama: the people are very comely and politique. It containeth ſome 100. Indians, and belongeth to the king.

More toward the South 5. leagues from the riuer, and two from this towne, and 14. from the ſea is the towne called Pinoteſpan del Rey. They are handſome people, but of ſlow ſpeach: this towne conteineth about 100. Indians like vnto the former. They be wealthie, becauſe they make great quantitie of ſalte; for they haue a lake in which ſalte groweth vnder the water, (a thing repugnant to nature, that two contraries doe grow and are conſerued together) whereout they take it in breaking it with ſtones vpon the ground vnder the water.

A lake hauing hard ſalt growing vnder the water.

It hath alſo the towne of Amuſgos, which is in the gouernment of Fernando de Auila, which may be from Tecuanapa 18. leagues. They ſpeake the Amuſgan tongue. The countrey is hotter it ſtandeth on the high way from Nicieca: it hath 400. Indians, few more or leſſe.

Theſe are all the townes of account ſituate neere this riuer.

Neere vpon this riuer are two farmes, the one belonging to Pedro Brauo, and the other to him that maketh this relation vnto your Excellencie, which may be from the ſea ſome 8. or 9. leagues all plaine ground. And in this territorie there is but one towne called Queſala ſituate vpon the riuer, and 6. leagues from the ſea; which in times paſt hath beene a great towne, and nowe hath but three Indians onely, and it is from the farmes 3. leagues.

Queſala.

The manſion houſe of Don Mattheo is more toward the South, ſtanding in a large mountainous and waſte countrey, which aboundeth with cattell, being 3. leagues from the riuer; and as farre from Tecuanapa, as from the place where all the cattell is; and the ſea that way is from it but one league.

A little below this manſion about 4. leagues, and 7. leagues from the ſea, is a garden of Alonſo Pedraza which beareth Cacao.

And 2. leagues from this garden, and 6. leagues from the ſea ſtandeth the towne of Cuahintlan belonging to the king, a towne of 19. houſholds, but very rich, for they gather much Cacao and the beſt in that countrey. They ſpeake the Tlapanecan tongue. This towne hath the ſea that way within halfe a league.

Cuahintlan del Rey.

And this coaſt from Cuahintlan to Tecuanapa, and the coaſt which runneth to Huatulco is a coaſt of much pearle, for in olde time the Indians gathered much pearle there.

And 2. leagues from Cuahintlan and 4. from Tecuanapa is the garden of Cacao in the landes of Franciſco Maldonado, which is called Cacahu-Atoyaque.

Huatulco or Guatulco in 15. deg. and 50. minutes.

Theſe are the things worthy of relation from the head-ſprings of this riuer of Tlacamama vnto the ſea: and this foreſaid riuer entreth into the riuer of Ometepec 5. leagues from Tecuanapa.

The riuer of Tlacolula ſpringeth within the boundes of Chilſiztlahuaca ſubiect to Comaſtlahuaca a towne of Suchiſtlahuaca, neere which are many mountaines. This riuer is nauigable little more then 2. leagues before it entreth into the riuer of Ometepec, where it is 5. leagues from the ſea.

The riuer of Tlacolula.

Hard by it is the towne of Tlacolula abouenamed; and 3. leagues from it is the towne of Azoyoque an olde manour of Tlapa. The towne of Chilſiztlahuaca hath but 3. Indians; and the towne of Azoyoque hath more then 300. Indians. But becauſe in this hauen muſt bee the builying of ſhips, the prouinces of Tlapa and Tututepec may ſtand them in great ſtead; the prouince of Tututepec being neighbour to the riuer of Tlacamama, and the prouince of Tlapa to the riuer of Tlacolula. For they may, as I haue ſayd, carrie the timber in lighters or rafts downe the riuers, and may vſe the Indians in the townes thereabout to fell, and draw the ſame out of the cold mountaines; for in the warme countreyes the moſt is plaine ground, whereas with very fewe men and oxen it may be brought vnto the place where it ſhould be imbarqued.

Azoyoque.

The prouinces of Tututepec and Tlapa.

There may come flat bottomes, and canoas vnto the townes thereabout, and lade themſelues with victuals: For they haue already come by that riuer to the rode of Ometepec, & made there prouiſion at the manſion of Don Mattheo, and at the farmes, at that time when his Maieſtie did people the plaines which are betweene theſe riuers, conteining a large and voyde countrey ſufficient for the erecting of 20. manours, being a countrey well furniſhed with water and paſture without any danger or perill, according to the deſcription hereunto annexed.

This ſmall harbour of Tecuanapa being ſeene and viewed, ſeemeth very commodious for to build ſhippes in, by reaſon of the great abundance of mountaines full of good timber for that purpoſe, with the commodities of riuers, and with the ſeruice and victuals from the townes thereabout, which be very good for coaſt townes.

Tecuanapa a moſt fit harborough to build ſhips for the South ſea.

The deſire of him that made this relation, hath bene with zeale to ſerue your excellencie; who therewithall deſireth the Lord God to giue the ſucceſſe.

THE PRINCIPAL VOYAGES OF the Engliſh Nation to the Iſles of *Trinidad, Margarita, Dominica, Deſeada, Monſerrate, Guadalupe, Martinino*, and all the reſt of the *Antilles*; As likewiſe to *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*, to *Hiſpaniola, Iamaica* and *Cuba*: and alſo to *Tierra firma*, and all along the coaſt and Iſlands therof, euen from *Cumana* and the *Caracos* to the neckland of *Dariene*, and ouer it to the Gulfe of *S. Michael* and the Iſle of *Perles* in the South ſea: and further to *Cabeça Catina, Nombre de dios*, and *Venta de cruzes*, to *Puerto Belo, Rio de Chagre*, and the Iſle of *Eſcudo*, along the maine of *Beragua*, to the Cape and Gulfe of the *Honduras*, to *Truxillo, Puerto de canallos*, and all other the principall Townes, Iſlands and harbours of accompt within the ſaid Gulfe, and vp *Rio dolce* falling into this Gulfe, aboue 30. leagues: As alſo to the Iſle of *Coçumel*, and to *Cape Cotoche*, the towne of *Campeche*, and other places vpon the land of *Iucatan*; and lower downe to *S. Iuan de Vllua, Vera Cruz, Rio de Panuco, Rio de Palmas*, &c. within the bay of *Mexico*: and from thence to the Iſles of the *Tortugas*, the port of *Hauana*, the Cape of *Florida*, and the Gulfe of *Bahama* homewards.

With the taking, ſacking, ranſoming, or burning of moſt of the principall Cities and townes vpon the coaſts of *Tierra firma, Nueua Eſpanna*, and all the foreſaid Iſlands; ſince the moſt traiterous burning of her Maieſties ſhip the *Ieſus* of *Lubec* and murthering of her Subiects in the port of *S. Iuan de Vllua*, and the laſt generall arreſt of her Highneſſe people, with their ſhips and goods throughout all the dominions of the King of *Spaine* in the moneth of Iune 1585. Beſides the manifold and tyrannicall oppreſſions of the Inquiſition inflicted on our nation vpon moſt light and friuolous occaſions.

The voyage of Sir *Thomas Pert*, and *Sebaſtian Cabot*, about the eight yeere of King *Henry* the eight, which was the yere 1516. *to Braſil, Santo Domingo*, and *S. Iuan de Puerto rico.*

That learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epiſtle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he tranſlated out of Munſter in the yeere 1553, called A treatiſe of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of diſcouerie undertaken out of England by ſir Thomas Pert and Sebaſtian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the ouerthrow thereof unto the cowardiſe and want of ſtomack of the ſaid Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, ſaith he, (like vnto that which hath bene ſeene & proued in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as alſo in this our countrey) had not bene wanting in other in theſe our dayes, at ſuch time as our ſoueraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the ſame yeere of his raigne, furniſhed and ſent out certaine ſhippes vnder the gouernance of *Sebaſtian Cabot* yet liuing and one ſir *Thomas Pert*, whoſe faint heart was the cauſe that the voyage tooke none effect; if, I ſay, ſuch manly courage, whereof wee haue ſpoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily haue come to paſſe, that that rich treaſurie called Perularia, (which is nowe in *Spaine* in the citie of *Siuill*, and ſo named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfound land of *Peru*) might long ſince haue beene in the tower of *London*, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that alſo is to bee referred which the worſhipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the ſayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambaſſadour ſent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whoſe wordes bee theſe. Now reſt to be diſcouered the North parts, the which it ſeemeth vnto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, becauſe the ſituation of this your realme is thereunto neereſt and apteſt of all other: and alſo, for that already you haue taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will

This ſir Thomas Pert was Vice-admirall of England, and dwelt in Poplar at Blackwall.

will not ſeeme well to leaue ſo great and profitable an enterpriſe, ſeeing it may ſo eaſily and with ſo litle coſt, labour and danger be followed and obteined. Though hitherto your grace haue made thereof a proofe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you truſted, at this time it ſhalbe none impediment: for there may be now prouided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cauſe your graces deſire tooke no full effect: which is, the courſes to be changed, and to follow the aforeſayd new courſes. And concerning the mariners, ſhips, and prouiſion, an order may be deuiſed and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto: by reaſon whereof, & by Gods grace, no doubt your purpoſe ſhall take effect. And whereas in the aforeſayd wordes M. Robert Thorne ſayth, that he would haue the old courſes to bee changed, and the new courſes (to the North) to be followed: It may plainely be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twiſe or thriſe he maketh mention, wherein it is like that ſir Thomas Pert and Sebaſtian Cabot were ſet foorth by the king, was made towarde Braſill and the South parts. Moreouer it ſeemeth that Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, a famous Spaniſh writer, alludeth vnto the ſayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foreſaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are theſe, as I finde them tranſlated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptiſta Ramuſius. *Nel 1517. Vn Corſaro Ingleſe, ſotto colore di venire á diſcoprire ſe ne venne con vna gran naue alla volta del Braſil nella coſtiera di Terra ferma, & indi attrauerſo á queſta iſola Spagnuola, & giunſe preſſo la bocca del porto di queſta città di S. Domenico, & mandò in terra il ſuo battello pieno di gente, & chieſe licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negotiare. Ma in quello inſtante il caſtellano Franceſco di Tapia fece tirare alla naue vn tiro d' artiglieria da queſto caſtello; perche ella ſe ne venina diritta al porto. Quando gli Ingleſi viddero queſto ſi ritirarono fuori, & quelli del battello toſto ſi raccolſero in naue. Et nel vero il Caſtellan fece errore: perche ſe ben foſſe la naue entrata nel porto, non ſarebbono le genti potuto ſmontare à terra ſenza volontà & della città & del caſtello. La naue adunque veggendo come vi era riceuuta, tirò la volta dell' iſola di San Giouanni, & entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Ingleſi con quelli della terra, & dimandarono vettouaglie & fornimenti per la naue, & ſi lamentarono di quelli di queſta città, dicendo che eſſi non veniuano per fare diſpiacere, ma per contrattare, & negotiare con ſuoi danari & mercantie. Hora quiui hebbero alcune vettouaglie, & in compenſa eſſi diedero & pagarono in certi ſtagni lauorati & altre coſe. Et poi ſi partirono alla volta d' Europa, doue ſi crede, che non giungeſſero, perche non ſe ne ſeppe piu nuoua mai.* This extract importeth thus much in Engliſh, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an Engliſh Rouer vnder the colour of trauelling to diſcouer, came with a great ſhippe vnto the parts of Braſill on the coaſt of the firme land, and from thence he croſſed ouer vnto this Iland of Hiſpaniola, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this citie of S. Domingo, and ſent his ſhipboate full of men on ſhoare, and demaunded leaue to enter into this hauen, ſaying that hee came with marchandiſe to traffique. But at that very inſtant the gouernour of the caſtle Francis de Tapia cauſed a tire of ordinance to be ſhot from the caſtle at the ſhip, for ſhe bare in directly with the hauen. When the Engliſhmen ſawe this, they withdrew themſelues out, and thoſe that were in the ſhipboate, got themſelues with all ſpeede on ſhipboord. And in trueth the warden of the caſtle committed an ouerſight: for if the ſhippe had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on lande without leaue both of the citie and of the caſtle. Therefore the people of the ſhip ſeeing how they were receiued, ſayled toward the Iland of S. Iohn, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the Engliſh men parled with thoſe of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furniſh their ſhip, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, ſaying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandiſe. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gaue and paid them with certain veſſell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for wee neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, who though it pleaſe him to call the captain of this great Engliſh ſhip a rouer, yet it appeareth by the Engliſhmens owne words, that they came to diſcouer, and by their traffique for pewter veſſell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. Iohn de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furniſhed with wares for honeſt traffique and exchange. But whoſoeuer is conuerſant in reading the Portugall and Spaniſh writers of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, ſhall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rouers and theeues, which viſite any heathen coaſt that they haue once ſayled by or looked on. Howbeit their paſſionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee preiudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterpriſes and honourable trauels in diſcouerie.

Note.

An Engliſh great ſhippe at Braſil 1517.

San Iuan de puerto Rico.

A briefe note concerning a voyage of one *Thomas Tiſon* an Engliſh man, made before the yeere 1526. to the Weſt *Indies*,& of his abode there in maner of a ſecret factor for ſome Engliſh marchants, which vnder hand had trade thither in thoſe dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. *Nicolas Thorne* the elder, a worſhipfull marchant of *Briſtol*.

IT appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the cuſtodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by maſter Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Briſtol, vnto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his ſeruant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the ſayd yeere one Thomas Tiſon an Engliſhman had found the way to the Weſt Indies, and was there reſident: vnto whom the aforeſayd M. Nicolas Thorne ſent armour and other commodities ſpecified in the letter aforeſayd. This Thomas Tiſon (ſo farre as I can coniecture) may ſeeme to haue bene ſome ſecret factour for M. Thorne and other Engliſh marchants in thoſe remote partes; whereby it is probable that ſome of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the Weſt Indies euen in thoſe ancient times and before alſo: neither doe I ſee any reaſon why the Spaniards ſhould debarre vs from it at this preſent.

The firſt voyage of the right worſhipfull and valiant knight ſir *Iohn Hawkins*, ſometimes treaſurer of her Maieſties nauie Roial, made to the Weſt *Indies* 1562.

MAſter Iohn Haukins hauing made diuers voyages to the Iles of the Canaries, and there by his good and vpright dealing being growen in loue and fauour with the people, informed himſelfe amongſt them by diligent inquiſition, of the ſtate of the Weſt India, whereof hee had receiued ſome knowledge by the inſtructions of his father, but increaſed the ſame by the aduertiſments and reports of that people. And being amongſt other particulars aſſured, that Negros were very good marchandiſe in Hiſpaniola, and that ſtore of Negros might eaſily bee had vpon the coaſt of Guinea, reſolued with himſelfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that deuiſe with his worſhipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, ſir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunſon his father in law, ſir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which perſons liked ſo well of his intention, that they became liberall contributers and aduenturers in the action. For which purpoſe there were three good ſhips immediatly prouided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himſelfe went as Generall: The ſecond the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the Ionas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Maſter ſupplied the Captaines roome: in which ſmall fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not aboue 100. men, for feare of ſickneſſe and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly ſubiect.

M. Thomas Hampton.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coaſt of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his courſe touched firſt at Teneriffe, where hee receiued friendly intertainement. From thence he paſſed to Sierra Leona, vpon the coaſt of Guinea, which place by the people of the countrey is called Tagarin, where he ſtayed ſome good time, and got into his poſſeſſion, partly by the ſworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the leaſt, beſides other merchandiſes which that countrey yeeldeth. With this praye hee ſayled ouer the Ocean ſea vnto the Iland of Hiſpaniola, and arriued firſt at the port of Iſabella: and there hee had reaſonable vtterance of his Engliſh commodities, as alſo of ſome part of his Negros, truſting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne ſtrength he was able ſtill to maſter them. From the port of Iſabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like ſales, ſtanding alwaies vpō his guard: from thence alſo hee ſayled to Monte Chriſti another port on the North ſide of Hiſpaniola, and the laſt place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he receiued in thoſe 3. places by way of exchange ſuch quantitie of merchandiſe, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. ſhippes with hides, ginger, ſugars, and ſome quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted alſo two other hulkes with hides and other like commodities, which hee ſent into Spaine. And thus leauing the Iland, he returned and diſemboqued, paſſing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his firſt voyage to the Weſt India. And ſo with proſperous ſucceſſe and much gaine to himſelfe and the aforeſayde aduenturers, he came home, and arriued in the moneth of September 1563.

Sierra Leona called Tagarin.

The Iles of Caycos.

The voyage made by *M. Iohn Hawkins* Eſquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the *Ieſus* of *Lubek*, one of her Maieſties ſhippes, and Generall of the *Salomon*, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coaſt of *Guinea*, and the *Indies* of Noua Hiſpania, begun in *An. Dom.* 1564.

MAſter Iohn Hawkins with the Ieſus of Lubek, a ſhippe of 700. and the Salomon a ſhippe of 140. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furniſhed with men to the number of one hundreth threeſcore and tenne, as alſo with ordinance and victuall requiſite for ſuch a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a proſperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foreſaile, a marueilous miſfortune happened to one of the officers in the ſhippe, who by the pullie of the ſheat was ſlaine out of hand, being a ſorowfull beginning to them all. And after their ſetting out ten leagues to the ſea, he met the ſame day with the Minion a ſhip of the Queenes Maieſtie, whereof was Captaine Dauid Carlet, and alſo her conſort the Iohn Baptiſt of London, being bounde to Guinea alſo, who hailed one the other after the cuſtome of the ſea with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to ſeeke her other conſort the Merlin of London, which was a ſterne out of ſight, leauing in M. Hawkins companie the Iohn Baptiſt her other conſort.

October 18.

The Minion, the Iohn Baptiſt, and the Merline bound for Guinea.

Thus ſayling forwards on their way with a proſperous winde vntill the 21. of the ſame moneth, at that time a great ſtorme aroſe, the winde being at Northeaſt about nine a clocke in the night, and continued ſo 23. houres together, in which ſtorme M. Hawkins loſt the companie of the Iohn Baptiſt aforeſayd, and of his pinneſſe called the Swallow, his other 3. ſhippes being ſore beaten with a ſtorme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no ſmall reioycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finiſter, he hauing put roomer, not being able to double the Cape, in that there roſe a contrary winde at Southweſt. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in Galicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained fiue dayes, and appointed all the Maſters of his ſhippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The ſmall ſhippes to bee alwayes ahead and aweather of the Ieſus, and to ſpeake twiſe a day with the Ieſus at leaſt: if in the day the Enſigne bee ouer the poope of the Ieſus, or in the night two lights, then ſhall all the ſhippes ſpeake with her: If there bee three lights aboord the Ieſus, then doeth ſhe caſt about: If the weather bee extreme, that the ſmall ſhippes cannot keepe companie with the Ieſus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes; If any happen to any miſfortune, then to ſhew two lights, and to ſhoote off a piece of ordinance. If any loſe companie, and come in ſight againe, to make three yawes, and ſtrike the Myſon three times: Serue God daily, loue one another, preſerue your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

Good orders for a fleete in a long voyage.

The 26. day the Minion came in alſo where hee was, for the reioycing whereof hee gaue them certaine pieces of ordinance, after the courteſie of the ſea for their welcome: but the Minions men had no mirth, becauſe of their conſort the Merline, whome at their departure from Maſter Hawkins vpon the coaſt of England they went to ſeeke, and hauing met with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at laſt by miſfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was ſet on fire, which with the firſt blaſt ſtrooke out her poope, and therewithall loſt three men, beſides many ſore burned (which eſcaped by the brigandine being at her ſterne) and immediatly, to the great loſſe of the owners, and moſt horrible ſight to the beholders, ſhe ſunke before their eyes.

A dreadfull miſchance by fire.

The 20. day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his conſorts and companie of the Minion, hauing nowe both the brigandines at her ſterne, wayed anker, and ſet ſaile on their voyage, hauing a proſperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of Nouember they had ſight of the Iland of Madera, and the ſixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to haue beene the Canarie, in that they ſuppoſed themſelues to haue beene to the Eaſtward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Minion being three or foure leagues ahead of vs, kept on her courſe to Teneriffe, hauing better ſight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the Weſt, vpon which courſe hauing ſayled a while, hee eſpied another Iland, which hee thought to bee Teneriffe, and being not able by meanes of the fogge vpon the hils, to diſcerne the ſame, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer vntill the morning, being the ſeuenth of Nouember, which as yet hee could not diſ-

The Ile of Palmes. Gomera and Teneriffe.

Santa Cruz.

A briefe deſcription of the commodities of the Canarie Ilands.

Fierro.

Trees dropping water in Guinie.

The pike of Teneriffe.

cerne, but ſayled along the coaſt the ſpace of two houres, to perceiue ſome certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelyhood thereof at all, accompting that to bee, as it was in deede, the Ile of Palmes: and ſo ſayling forwards, eſpied another Iland called Gomera, and alſo Teneriffe, with the which hee made, and ſayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinneſſe which had departed from him the ſixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and eſpying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arriuall ſomewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoyſed out his ſhippes pinneſſe rowing a ſhoare, intending to haue ſent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the gouernours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the ſhoare: but as hee pretended to haue landed, ſuddenly there appeared vpon the two points of the roade, men leuelling of baſes and harguebuzes to them, with diuers others to the number of foureſcore, with halberds, pikes, ſwordes and targets, which happened ſo contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, becauſe hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to auoyde it without ſome miſchiefe. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeaſing of the matter, declaring his name, and profeſſing himſelfe to bee an eſpeciall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had ſundry things for him which he greatly deſired. And in the meane time, while hee was thus talking with them, whereby hee made them to holde their hands, hee willed the marriners to rowe away, ſo that at laſt he gat out of their danger: and then aſking for Peter de ponte, one of his ſonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiuing, deſired to put his men aſide, and hee himſelfe would leape a ſhoare, and commune with him, which they did: ſo that after communication had betweene them of ſundry things, and of the feare they both had, maſter Hawkins deſired to haue certaine neceſſaries prouided for him. In the meane ſpace, while theſe things were prouiding, hee trimmed the maine maſt of the Ieſus which in the ſtorme aforeſayd was ſprung: here he ſoiourned 7. dayes, refreſhing himſelfe and his men. In the which time Peter de ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gaue him as gentle intertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To ſpeake ſomewhat of theſe Ilands, being called in olde time Inſulæ fortunatæ, by the meanes of the flouriſhing thereof, the fruitfulneſſe of them doeth ſurely exceede farre all other that I haue heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they haue grapes of ſuch bigneſſe, that they may bee compared to damſons, and in taſte inferiour to none: for ſugar, ſuckets, raiſins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for roſine & raw ſilke, there is great ſtore, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule: they haue many Camels alſo, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are vſed for carryage of neceſſaries: whoſe propertie is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and vnlading againe: his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beaſtes: of vnderſtanding very good, but of ſhape very deformed, with a little bellie, long miſhapen legges, and feete very broad of fleſh, without a hoofe, all whole, ſauing the great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard fleſh, which nature hath giuen him in his breaſt to leane vpon. This beaſt liueth hardly, and is contented with ſtrawe and ſtubble, but of force ſtrong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of theſe Ilands called Fierro, there is by the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are ſatiſfied with water, for other water haue they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in ſuch abundance, that it were incredible vnto a man to beleeue ſuch a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowen to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whoſe power therein wee ought not to maruell, ſeeing he did by his prouidence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Iſrael were going into the land of promiſe, feede them with Manna from heauen, for the ſpace of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforeſaid wee ſaw in Guinie many, being of great height, dropping continually, but not ſo abundantly as the other, becauſe the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a peare tree. About theſe Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which haue beene oftentimes ſeene, and when men approched neere them, they vaniſhed: as the like hath bene of theſe Ilands nowe knowen by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it ſhould ſeeme hee is not yet borne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Teneriffe there is a hill called The Pike, becauſe it is piked, which is in heigth by their reports twentie leagues, hauing both winter and ſummer abundance of ſnowe in the top of it: this Pike may bee ſeene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it ſheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great heigth in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in heigth, but in the Indias I haue ſeene many, and in my iudgement not inferiour to the Pike, and ſo the Spaniards write.

The 15. of Nouember at night we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the ſame wee had ſight of ten Carauels, that were fiſhing at ſea, with whome we would haue ſpoken, but they fearing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

Cape de las Barbas.

The twentieth, the ſhips pinneſſe with two men in her, ſayling by the ſhip, was ouerthrowen by the ouerſight of them that went in her, the winde being ſo great, that before they were eſpied, and the ſhip had caſt about for them, ſhe was driuen halfe a league to leeward of the pinneſſe, and had loſt ſight of her, ſo that there was ſmall hope of recouerie, had not Gods helpe and the Captaines deligence bene, who hauing wel marked which way the pinneſſe was by the Sunne, appointed 24 of the luſtieſt rowers in the great boate, to rowe to the wind-wardes, and ſo recouered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinneſſe and the men ſitting vpon the keele of her.

Cape Blanco.

The 25 he came to Cape Blanco, which is vpon the coaſt of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fiſh there in the moneth of Nouember eſpecially, and is a very good place of fiſhing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fiſh. In this place the Portugals haue no holde for their defence, but haue reſcue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their ſouldiers, for the time of their being there and for their fiſhing vpon that coaſt of Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, hauing long haire without any apparell, ſauing before their priuie members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

Cape Verde in 14 degrees.

The 26 we departed from S. Auis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreſhed our ſelues with fiſh, and other neceſſaries: and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. Theſe people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, ſauing before their priuities: of ſtature goodly men, and well liking by reaſon of their food, which paſſeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, riſe, fruits, and fiſh. Here wee tooke fiſhes with heades like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a iolly thickeneſſe, but not paſt a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To ſpeake ſomewhat of the ſundry ſortes of theſe Guyneans: the people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodlieſt men of all other, ſauing the Congoes, which do inhabite on this ſide the cape de Buena Eſperança. Theſe Leophares haue warres againſt the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and ſhort daggers, darts alſo, but varying from other Negros: for whereas the other vſe a long dart to fight with in their hands, they cary fiue or ſixe ſmall ones a peece, which they caſt with. Theſe men alſo are more ciuill then any other, becauſe of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and louing: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Braſile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a ſea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the plankes of their Barke with a ſea brake out vpon them ſo ſuddenly, that much a doe they had to ſaue themſelues in their boats: but by Gods prouidence, the wind being Weſterly, which is rarely ſeene there, they got to the ſhore, to the Iſle Braua, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained ſixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the ſame people. The ſaid Frenchman hauing forſaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the ſhore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortuned to come to the waters ſide: and communing with certaine of his countreymen, which were in our ſhip, by their perſwaſions came away with vs: but his entertainement amongſt them was ſuch, that he deſired it not: but through the importunate requeſt of his Countreymen, conſented at the laſt. Here we ſtayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gaue them there to vnderſtand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoyde the ſnares we had layd for them.

Leophares.

Ieloffes.

The trafficke of the French men at Cape Verde.

The 8 of December wee ankered by a ſmall Iſland called Alcatrarſa, wherein at our going a ſhore, we found nothing but ſea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals called Alcatrarſes, who for that cauſe gaue the ſaid Iſland the ſame name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being vſed to the ſight of men, flew ſo about vs, that we ſtroke them downe with poles. In this place the two ſhippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Iſland of the Sapies, called La Formio, to ſee if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and eſpying certaine made to them, but they fled in ſuch order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: ſo going on their way forward till they came to a riuer which they could not paſſe ouer, they eſpied on the other ſide two men, who with their bowes and arrowes ſhot terribly at them. Whereupon we diſcharged certaine harquebuzes to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, becauſe they knewe not the danger thereof: but vſed a marueilous crying in their fight with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was moſt ſtrange to ſee, and gaue vs great pleaſure to beholde them. At the laſt, one being hurt

Alcatrarſes or Ganets.

The Sapies.

with

Rio grande

The Idols

with a harquebuz vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound and wiſt not howe it came, becauſe hee could not ſee the pellet. Here Maſter Hawkins perceiuing no good to be done amongſt them, becauſe we could not finde their townes, and alſo not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occaſion of our comming thither: and finding ſo many ſholes, feared with our great ſhips to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The Iſland called Sambula

The Samboſes.

Sapies

The Samboſes man-eaters

The Sapies burie their dead with golde.

The Canoas of Affrica

The 10 of December, we had a Northeaſt winde, with raine and ſtorme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occaſion that the Salomon, and Tygre loſte our companie: for whereas the Ieſus, and pinneſſe ankered at one of the Iſlands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Iſland we ſtayed certaine dayes, going euery day on ſhore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and ſpoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboſes, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. Theſe Samboſes had inhabited there three yeres before our comming thither, and in ſo ſhort ſpace haue ſo planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Riſe, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of ſmall frye dried, euery houſe full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods prouidence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and ſundry other in no place in all that Countrey ſo aboundantly, whereby they liued more deliciouſly then other. Theſe inhabitants haue diuerſe of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their ſlaues, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themſelues, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboſes none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboſes haue white teeth as we haue, farre vnlike to the Sapies which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a brauerie, to ſet out themſelues, and doe jagge their fleſh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Ierkinmaker with vs pinketh a ierkin. Theſe Sapies be more ciuill then the Samboſes: for whereas the Samboſes liue moſt by the ſpoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them alſo, The Sapies doe not eate mans fleſh, vnleſſe in the warre they be driuen by neceſſitie thereunto, which they haue not vſed, but by the example of the Samboſes, but liue onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they haue great ſtore. This plentie is the occaſion that the Sapies deſire not warre, except they be thereunto prouoked by the inuaſions of the Samboſes, whereas the Samboſes for want of foode are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not woont onely to take them that they kill, but alſo keepe thoſe that they take, vntill ſuch time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is alſo another occaſion that prouoketh the Samboſes to warre againſt the Sapies, which is for couetouſnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies haue an order to burie their did in certaine places appointed for that purpoſe, with their golde about them, the Samboſes digge vp the ground, to haue the ſame treaſure: for the Samboſes haue not the like ſtore of golde, that the Sapies haue. In this Iſland of Sambula we found about 50 boates called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough, but of a good proportion, being about 8 yards long, and one in breadth, hauing a beak-head and a ſterne very proportionably made, and on the out ſide artificially carued, and painted red and blewe: they are able to cary twenty or thirty men, but they are about the coaſt able to cary threeſcore and vpward. In theſe canoas they rowe ſtanding vpright, with an oare ſomewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largeſt ſort. They row very ſwift, and in ſome of them foure rowers and one to ſteere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London.

The forme of their townes.

The Conſultation houſe or towne-houſe.

Their Townes are pretily diuided with a maine ſtreete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another ouerthwart ſtreet, which maketh their townes croſſe wayes: their houſes are built in in a ranke very orderly in the face of the ſtreet, and they are made round, like a douecote, with ſtakes ſet full of Palmito leaues, in ſtead of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of heigth, & thatched with Palmito leaues very cloſe, other ſome with reede, and ouer the roofe thereof, for the better garniſhing of the ſame, there is a round bundle of reede, pretily contriued like a louer: in the inner part they make a loft of ſtickes, whereupon they lay all their prouiſion of victuals: a place they reſerue at their enterance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is deuided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bedſteades are of ſmall ſtaues layd along, and rayſed a foote from the ground, vpon which is layde a matte, and another vpon them when they liſt: for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the towne there is a houſe larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adioyning vnto the which there is a place made of foure good ſtancions of woode, and a round roofe ouer it, the grounde alſo raiſed round with claye a foote high, vpon the which floore were ſtrawed many fine mats: this is the Conſultation houſe, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portugals affirme: in which place, when they ſitte in Counſell the King or Captaine ſitteth in the midſt, and in the Elders vpon the floore by him: (for they giue reuerence to their Elders) and the common ſorte ſitte round about them. There they ſitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to ſteale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is ſold to the Portugals for a ſlaue. They conſult alſo, and take order what time they ſhall goe to warres: and as it is certainely reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the ſeaſon of the yeere, and alſo of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourde ſet for the receiuing thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth freſh wine againe within a moneth, and this deuided part and portion-like to euery man, by the iudgement of the Captaine and Elders, euery man holdeth himſelfe contented: and this ſurely I iudge to be a very good order: for otherwiſe, whereas ſcarſitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the ſame, which might breed great ſtrife: but of ſuch things, as euery man doeth plant for himſelfe, the ſower thereof reapeth it to his owne vſe, ſo that nothing is common, but that which is vnſet by mans hands. In their houſes there is more common paſſage of Lizardes like Euats, and other greater, of blacke and blew colour, of neere a foote long, beſides their tailes, then there is with vs of Miſe in great houſes. The Sapies and Samboſes alſo vſe in their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads of yron poyſoned with the iuyce of a Cucumber, whereof I had many in my handes. In their battels they haue target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged ſworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the ſame length made to counterpeaſe it, that in caſting it might flie leuel, rather then for any other purpoſe as I can iudge. And when they eſpie the enemie, the Captaine to cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and they anſwere Heygre, and with that euery man placeth himſelfe in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will couer themſelues, and ſhoote as they ſee aduantage: and when they giue the onſet, they make ſuch terrible cryes, that they may bee heard two miles off. For their beliefe, I can heare of none that they haue, but in ſuch as they themſelues imagine to ſee in their dreames, and ſo worſhippe the pictures, whereof wee ſawe ſome like vnto deuils. In this Iſland aforeſayde wee ſoiourned vnto the one and twentieth of December, where hauing taken certaine Negros, and aſmuch of their fruites, riſe, and mill, as we could well cary away, (whereof there was ſuch ſtore, that wee might haue laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure diuers of our men being deſirous to goe on ſhore, to fetch Pompions, which hauing prooued, they found to bee very good, certaine of the Tygres men went alſo, amongſt the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his fellowes hauing fet many, and caryed them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, deſired his fellow to tary while he might goe vp to fetch a few which he had layed by for himſelfe, who being more licorous then circumſpect, went vp without weapon, and as he went vp alone, poſſibly being marked of the Negros that were vpon the trees, eſpying him what hee did, perceauing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupyed in binding his Pompions together, came behinde him, ouerthrowing him and ſtraight cutte his throate, as hee afterwardes was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

Palmito is a wilde date.

A venemous Cucumber.

Idoles like deuils.

The extreme negligence of one of the companie.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the Riuer, called Callowſa, with the two Barkes, and the Iohns Pinneſſe, and the Salomons boate, leauing at anker in the Riuers mouth the two ſhippes, the Riuer being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the fiue and twentieth, and diſpatched his buſineſſe, and ſo returned with two Carauels, loaden with Negros.

The riuer Calowſa.

The 27. the Captaine was aduertiſed by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but alſo that there were not aboue fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, ſo that if hee would giue the aduenture vpon the ſame, hee might gette an hundreth ſlaues: with the which tydings hee being gladde, becauſe the Portugals ſhoulde not thinke him to bee of ſo baſe a courage, but that hee durſt giue them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto alſo the more prouoked with the proſperous ſucceſſe hee had in other Iſlands adiacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to ſtay before the Towne three or foure houres, to ſee what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought ſome of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and diuers of our men ſcattering themſelues, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houſes, ranſacking the ſame, in the meane time the Negros came vpon them, and hurte many being thus ſcattered,

The Towne of Bimba.

Portugals not to be truſted.

Want of circumſpec in our

whereas if fiue or ſixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to giue the ouerthrow to 40 of them, and being driuen downe to take their boates, were followed ſo hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to purſue them to their boates, that not onely ſome of them, but others ſtanding on ſhore, not looking for any ſuch matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the firſt, and our companie remained in the towne, were ſuddenly ſo ſet vpon that ſome with great hurt recouered their boates; otherſome not able to recouer the ſame, tooke the water, and periſhed by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a doſen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters ſide, ſhooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whoſe comming, they ranne all away: ſo he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the ſhore, they returned againe, and ſhot very fiercely and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe ſome what diſcomforted, although the Captaine in a ſingular wiſe maner caried himſelfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the reſt, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, ſhould not preſume to reſiſt againſt him, nor take occaſion to put him to further diſpleaſure or hinderance for the death of our men: hauing gotten by our going ten Negros, and loſt ſeuen of our beſt men, whereof M. Field Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the ſame houre while this was doing, there happened at the ſame inſtant, a maruellous miracle to them in the ſhippes, who road ten leagues to ſea-ward, by many ſharkes or Tiburons, who came about the ſhips: among which, one was taken by the Ieſus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very ſore hurt eſcaped: and ſo it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Ieſus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift hauing twentie wounds, was reſcued, and ſcaped with much adoe.

M. Field Captaine of the Salomon ſlaine.

The 28 they came to their ſhips, the Ieſus, and the Salomon, and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin.

Taggarin.
The riuer of Caſſerroes.

The firſt of January the two barkes, and both the boates forſooke the ſhips, and went into a riuer called the Caſſerroes, and the 6 hauing diſpatched their buſineſſe, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin where the two ſhips were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two ſhips thither they put their water caſke a ſhore, and filled it with water, to ſeaſon the ſame, thinking to haue filled it with freſh water afterward: and while their men were ſome on ſhore, and ſome at their boates, the Negros ſet vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the caſkes, and cut of the hoopes of twelue buts, which loſt vs 4 or 5 dayes time, beſides great want we had of the ſame: ſoiourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went vp the riuer about her trafficke, where they ſaw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threeſcore men in a piece: there they vnderſtood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona ſide, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not paſt ſixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would haue ſeene, to the intent we might haue taken ſome of them, had it not bene for the death and ſickeneſſe of our men, which came by the contagiouſnes of the place, which made vs to make haſt away.

A new aſſault by the Negros.
Great townes
Very great Canoas.

The contagion of the countrey of Sierra Leona.

The 18 of Januarie at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the Weſt Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men went on ſhore to fill water in the night, and as they came on ſhore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them eſpied an Negro in a white coate, ſtanding vpon a rocke, being ready to haue receiued thẽ when they came on ſhore, hauing in ſight of his fellowes alſo eight or nine, ſome in one place leaping out, and ſome in another, but they hid themſelues ſtreight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and ſought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their ſhips, not thinking there had bene ſuch a miſchiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we vnderſtood of a Portugal that came downe to vs, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee vnderſtood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take ſome of vs, partly for the deſire he had to ſee what kinde of people we were, that had ſpoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I iudge alſo, vpon other occaſions prouoked by the Tangomangos, but ſure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the euening wee ſaw ſuch a monſtrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not ſeene, which fire is the onely marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If theſe men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great diſpleaſure, for that wee were on ſhore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the beſt, would not haue it ſo, and by him we eſcaped without danger, his name be prayſed for it.

Tangomangos.

The 29 of this ſame moneth we departed with all our ſhippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the Weſt Indies, and for the ſpace of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, hauing nowe and then contrary windes, and ſome Ternados amongſt the ſame calme, which happened to vs very ill, beeing but reaſonably watered, for ſo great a companie of Negros, and our ſelues, which pinched vs all, and that which was worſt, put vs in ſuch feare that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themſelues: but the Almightie God, who neuer ſuffereth his elect to periſh, ſent vs the ſixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Briſe, which is the Northweſt winde, which neuer left vs, till wee came to an Iſland of the Canybals, called Dominica, where wee arriued the ninth of March, vpon a Saturday: and becauſe it was the moſt deſolate place in all the Iſland, we could ſee no Canybals, but ſome of their houſes where they dwelled, and as it ſhould ſeeme forſooke the place for want of freſh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and ſuch as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros. The Canybals of that Iſland, and alſo others adiacent are the moſt deſperate warriers that are in the Indies, by the Spaniardes report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are moleſted by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of thoſe Iſlands: of very late, not two moneths paſt, in the ſaid Iſland, a Carauel being driuen to water, was in the night ſette vpon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halſer, whereby they were driuen a ſhore, and ſo taken by them, and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in Marche alſo, came to one of thoſe Iſlands, called Granada, and being driuen to water, could not doe the ſame for the Canybals, who fought with him very deſperatly two dayes. For our part alſo, if we had not lighted vpon the deſerteſt place in all that Iſland, wee could not haue miſſed, but ſhould haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them deuils in reſpect of me.

Dominica Iſland.

Canybals exceeding cruell, and to be auoyded.

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had ſight of nine Iſlands, called the Teſtigos: and the ſixteenth of an Iſland, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both Beeues and ſheepe giuen vs, for the refreſhing of our men: but the Gouernour of the Iſland, would neither come to ſpeake with our Captaine, neither yet giue him any licence to trafficke: and to diſpleaſe vs the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to haue gone with vs, they would not onely not ſuffer him to goe with vs, but alſo ſent word by a Carauel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth repreſent the kings perſon, of our arriuall in thoſe partes, which had like to haue turned vs to great diſpleaſure, by the meanes that the ſame Vice-roy did ſend word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coaſt, commanding them that by the vertue of their authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man ſhould trafficke with vs, but ſhould reſiſt vs with all the force they could. In this Iſland, notwithſtanding that wee were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they ſo afraid, that not onely the Gouernour himſelfe, but alſo all the inhabitants forſooke their Towne, aſſembling all the Indians to them and fled into the mountaines, as wee were partly certified, and alſo ſawe the experience our ſelues, by ſome of the Indians comming to ſee vs who by three Spaniards a horſebacke paſſing hard by vs, went vnto the Indians, hauing euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conuerſant with vs.

The Teſtigos Iſland.

Margarita Iſland.

Here perceiuing no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreſhing of our men, we were driuen to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinniſſe, ſpake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him anſwere, they were but ſouldiers newely come thither, and were not able to by on Negro: whereupon hee aſked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found maruellous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the freſh water came into the Sea, and ſo our ſhippes had aboord the ſhore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came downe to vs, preſenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Maiz, in bigneſſe of a peaſe, the eare whereof is much like to a teaſell, but a ſpanne in length, hauing thereon a number of granes. Alſo they brought downe to vs Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whiſtles, glaſſes, kniues, and other trifles.

Cumana.

Santa Fe.

Theſe Potatoes be the moſt delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our paſſeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bignes of two fiſts, the outſide whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is ſoft like the rinde of a Cucomber, and the inſide eateth like an apple, but it is

The deſcription of the Indians of Terra firma.

The uſe of Sorrell.

Armour of quilted canuas two ynches thicke.

The making of their poiſon.

more delicious then any ſweet apple ſugred. Theſe Indians being of colour tawnie like an Oliue, hauing euery one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the ſame hanging downe to their ſhoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women ſuffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but dayly pull it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their yard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made faſt with a thrid about their loynes, leauing the other parts of their members vncouered, whereof they take no ſhame. The women alſo are vncouered, ſauing with a cloth which they weare a hand-breath, wherewith they couer their priuities both before and behind. Theſe people be very ſmall feeders, for trauelling they cary but two ſmall bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the iuice of Sorrell whereof they haue great ſtore, and in the other flowre of their Maiz, which being moiſt, they eate, taking ſometime of the other. Theſe men cary euery man his bowe and arrowes, whereof ſome arrowes are poiſoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bigneſſe of a mans arme, other ſome with broad heades of iron wherewith they ſtricke fiſh in the water: the experience whereof we ſaw not once nor twiſe, but dayly for the time we taried there, for they are ſo good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themſelues and their horſes with quilted canuas of two ynches thicke, and leaue no place of their body open to their enemies, ſauing their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that ſo ſmall a ſcantling: their poyſon is of ſuch a force, that a man being ſtricken therewith dyeth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards do affirme, & in my iudgement it is like there can be no ſtronger poyſon as they make it, vſing thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a ſtrong poyſon, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other ſerpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the ſame.

The maners of the yong women.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, becauſe it maketh them haue hanging breaſtes which they account to bee great deforming in them, and vpon that occaſion while they bee yong, they deſtroy their ſeede, ſaying, that it is fitteſt for olde women. Moreouer, when they are deliuered of childe, they goe ſtraight to waſhe themſelues, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Goſſopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they cary about with them when they trauell, and making the ſame faſt to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people be ſurely gentle and tractable, and ſuch as deſire to liue peaceably, or els had it bene vnpoſſible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue now peaceably, they being ſo many in number, and the Spaniards ſo few.

The Iſle of Tortuga.

The crueltie of the Caribes.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we paſſed betwene the maine land, and the Iſland called Tortuga, a very lowe Iſland, in the yeere of our Lorde God one thouſande fiue hundred ſixtie fiue aforeſaide, and ſayled along the coaſt vntill the firſt of Aprill, at which time the Captaine ſayled along in the Ieſus pinneſſe to diſcerne the coaſt, and ſaw many Caribes on ſhore, and ſome alſo in their Canoas, which made tokens vnto him of friendſhip, and ſhewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he ſtayed to ſee the maners of them, and ſo for two or three trifles they gaue ſuch things as they had about them, and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to haue them come on ſhore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not haue denyed them, becauſe the Indians which we ſaw before were very gentle people, and ſuch as do no man hurt. But as God would haue it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would haue bene his confuſion: for theſe were no ſuch kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more deuiliſh a thouſand partes and are eaters and deuourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared vnto vs at Burboroata, by a Carauel comming out of Spaine with certaine ſouldiers, and a Captaine generall ſent by the king for thoſe Eaſtward parts of the Indians, who ſayling along in his pinneſſe, as our Captaine did to deſcry the coaſt, was by the Caribes called a ſhore with ſundry tokens made to him of friendſhippe, and golde ſhewed as though they deſired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard being mooued, ſuſpecting no deceite at all, went aſhore amongſt them: who was no ſooner a ſhore, but with foure or fiue more was taken, the reſt of his company being inuaded by them, ſaued themſelues by flight, but they that were taken, paied their ranſome with their liues, and were preſently eaten. And this is their practiſe to toll with their golde the ignorant to their ſnares: they are bloodſuckers both of Spaniards, Indians and all that light in their laps, not ſparing their own countreymen if they can conueniently come by them. Their policie in fight with the Spaniards is marueilous: for they chuſe for their refuge the mountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horſes cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horſeman may ouer-runne 100.of them, they haue a deuiſe of late practiſed by them to pitch ſtakes of wood in the ground, and alſo ſmall iron pikes to miſchiefe their horſes, wherein they ſhew themſelues politique warriers. They haue more abundance of golde then all the Spaniards haue, and liue vpon the mountaines where the Mines are in ſuch number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet ſometimes by aſſembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe ſure ynough.

Burboroata.

Thus hauing eſcaped the danger of them, wee kept our courſe along the coaſt, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ſhips came to an ancher, and hee himſelfe went a ſhore to ſpeake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himſelfe to be an Engliſhman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the ſame. Unto whom they made anſwere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therefore they deſired him not to moleſt them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, becauſe they were ſubiects and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his neceſſitie was ſuch, as he might not ſo do: for being in one of the Queenes Armadas of England, and hauing many ſouldiours in them, hee had neede both of ſome refreſhing for them, and of victuals, and of money alſo, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perſwaded them not to feare any diſhoneſt part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any ſuch thing to the diſhonour of his prince, nor yet for his honeſt reputation and eſtimation, vnleſſe hee were too rigorouſly dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it ſhould as well redound to their profite, as his owne, and alſo hee thought they might doe it without danger, becauſe their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spaine and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reaſon why he ſhould not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made anſwere, that it lay not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a gouernour to whom the gouernment of thoſe parts was committed, but if they would ſtay tenne dayes, they would ſend to their gouernour who was threeſcore leagues off, and would returne anſwere within the ſpace appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time they were contented hee ſhould bring his ſhips into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promiſe, the Captaine aduiſed himſelfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, ſpending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good anſwere from the gouernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make requeſt to haue licence for the ſale of certaine leane and ſicke Negros which hee had in his ſhippe like to die vpon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing little or no refreſhing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would bee recouered well ynough. And this requeſt hee was forced to make, becauſe he had not otherwiſe wherewith to pay for victuals & for neceſſaries which he ſhould take: which requeſt being put in writing and preſented, the officers and towne-dwellers aſſembled together, and finding his requeſt ſo reaſonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they cauſed the officers to view, to the intent they ſhould graunt to nothing but that were very reaſonable, for feare of anſwering thereunto afterwards. This being paſt, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made ſale, but the day paſt and none came to buy, who before made ſhewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wiſt not what to ſurmiſe of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Gouernour his anſwere becauſe they would keepe themſelues blameleſſe, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpoſe ſent them worde, maruelling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They anſwered, becauſe they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy thoſe Negros of ſmall price, and their money was not ſo ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as ſoone as euer they ſawe the ſhippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, & were not yet returned, & yet aſked two dayes to ſeeke their wiues and fetch their money. Notwithſtanding, the next day diuers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, becauſe they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confeſſe if hee had licence, that he might ſell at any reaſonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did ſend for the principals of the Towne, and made a ſhewe hee would depart, declaring himſelfe to be very ſory that he had ſo much troubled them, and alſo that he had ſent for the gouernour to come downe, ſeeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they maruelled much, and aſked him what cauſe mooued him thereunto, ſeeing by their working he was in poſſibilitie to haue his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a licence that he ſought, but profit, which he perceiued was not there to bee had, and therefore would ſeeke further, and withall ſhewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring alſo the great charge he was at in his ſhipping, and mens wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charges, hee muſt ſell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to ſell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence, that he ſhould not looſe his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promiſed them to ſtay, ſo that hee might make ſale of his leane Negros, which they granted vnto. And the next day did ſell ſome of them, who hauing bought and payed for them, thinking to haue had a diſcharge of the Cuſtomer for the cuſtome of the Negros, being the Kings duetie, they gaue it away to the poore for Gods ſake, and did refuſe to giue the diſcharge in writing, and the poore not truſting their wordes, for feare, leaſt hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, ſo that nothing elſe was done vntill the Gouernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a ſhippe of the Queenes Maieſties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driuen by winde and weather, ſo that being come thither, hee had neede of ſundry neceſſaries for the reparation of the ſaid Nauie, and alſo great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, vnto whom hee had promiſed paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, & for that purpoſe he requeſted licence for the ſale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to traffique with ſtrangers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing perteined to our Queenes highneſſe, he thought hee might doe their prince great ſeruice, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cauſe. The which allegations with diuers others put in requeſt, were preſented vnto the Gouernour, who ſitting in counſell for that matter, granted vnto his requeſt for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Cuſtome, being vpon euery ſlaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

An hundreth Engliſhmen in armour.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Cuſtome of that they offered, ſo that either he muſt be a great looſer by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the ſame kings Cuſtome which was too vnreaſonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the ſixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceiued by the Gouernour, he ſtraight with all expedition ſent meſſengers to knowe his requeſt, deſiring him to march no further forward vntill he had anſwere againe, which incontinent he ſhould haue. So our Captaine declaring how vnreaſonable a thing the Kings Cuſtome was, requeſted to haue the ſame abated, and to pay ſeuen and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Cuſtome for wares through his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, hee would diſpleaſe them. And this word being caried to the Gouernour, anſwere was returned that all things ſhould bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the ſouldiers and Mariners finding ſo little credite in their promiſes, demanded gages for the performance of the premiſſes, or els they would not depart. And thus they being conſtrained to ſend gages, wee departed, beginning our traffique, and ending the ſame without diſturbance.

Thus hauing made traffique in the harborough vntill the 28. our Captaine with his ſhips intended to goe out of the roade, and purpoſed to make ſhew of his departure, becauſe now the common ſort hauing imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no ſhew that they were come to buy, ſo that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eger, for feare leaſt we departed, and they ſhould goe without any at all.

The reports of the miſhaps of the Minion in Guinie.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ſhip called the Greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who ſaluted vs after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we reſaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make ſale of ſuch wares as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion: beſides the Captaine Dauie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their firſt arriuall thither, and remayning priſoners with the Portugals; and beſides other miſaduentures of the loſſe of their men, happened through the great lacke of freſh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ſhips: which was moſt ſorowfull for vs to vnderſtand.

Thus hauing ended our trafique here the 4. of May, we departed, leauing the Frenchman behinde vs, the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I haue made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroata, intending by night to haue burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant becauſe of our being there, then their cuſtome was, perceiuing them comming, raiſed the towne, who in a moment being a horſebacke, by meanes their cuſtome is for all doubts to keepe their horſes ready ſadled, in the night ſet vpon them, & tooke one, but the reſt making ſhift for themſelues, eſcaped away. But this one, becauſe he was their guide, and was the occaſion that diuers times they had made inuaſion vpon them, had for his trauelle a ſtake thruſt through his fundament, and ſo out at his necke.

May.

Horſes kept ready ſadled.

The ſixt of May aforeſaide, wee came to an yland called Curaçao, where wee had thought to haue ankered, but could not find ground, and hauing let fal an ancker with two cables, were faine to weigh it againe: and the ſeuenth ſayling along the coaſt to ſeeke an harborow, and finding none, wee came to an ancker where we rode open in the Sea. In this place we had trafique for hides, and found great refreſhing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was ſuch plentie, that ſauing the ſkinnes, we had the fleſh giuen vs for nothing, the plentie whereof was ſo abundant, that the worſt in the ſhip thought ſcorne not onely of mutton, but alſo of ſodden lambe, which they diſdained to eate vnroſted.

Exceeding plentie of cattell in Curaçao.

The increaſe of cattell in this yland is maruellous, which from a doozen of each ſort brought thither by the gouernour, in 25. yeres he had a hundreth thouſand at the leaſt, & of other cattel was able to kill without ſpoile of the increaſe 1500. yeerely, which hee killeth for the ſkinnes, and of the fleſh ſaueth onely the tongues, the reſt hee leaueth to the foule to deuoure. And this I am able to affirme, not onely vpon the Gouernours owne report, who was the firſt that brought the increaſe thither, which ſo remaineth vnto this day, but alſo by that I ſaw my ſelfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, ſauing the ſkinne and tongue taken away. And it is not ſo maruellous a thing why they doe thus caſt away the fleſh in all the ylands of the Weſt Indies, ſeeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate fruites and meates ynough beſides to feede vpon, which they rather deſire, and the increaſe which paſſeth mans reaſon to beleeue, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an yland called by the finders thereof Hiſpaniola, is ſo great quantitie of cattell, and ſuch increaſe thereof, that notwithſtāding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not poſſible to aſſwage the number of them, but they are deuoured by wilde dogs, whoſe number is ſuch by ſuffering them firſt to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and deſtroy 60000. a yeere, and yet ſmall lacke found of them. And no marueile, for the ſaid yland is almoſt as bigge as all England, and being the firſt place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the reſt, it ought therefore of reaſon to be moſt populous: and to this houre the Viceroy and counſell royall abideth there as in the chiefeſt place of all the Indies, to preſcribe orders to the reſt for the kings behalfe, yet haue they but one Citie and 13. villages in all the ſame yland, whereby the ſpoile of them in reſpect of the increaſe is nothing.

Great numbers of wilde dogs.

The 15. of the foreſaid moneth wee departed from Curaçao, being not a little to the reioycing of our Captaine and vs, that wee had there ended our trafique: but notwithſtanding our ſweete meate, wee had ſower ſauce, for by reaſon of our riding ſo open at ſea, what with blaſtes whereby our anckers being a ground, three at once came home, and alſo with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the ſhore we were faine to hale off to haue anker-hold, ſometimes a whole day and a night we turned vp and downe; and this happened not once, but halfe a dozen times in the ſpace of our being there.

The 16. wee paſſed by an yland called Arube, and the 17. at night anckered ſixe houres at the Weſt ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our courſe, in the which time the Captaine ſailing by the ſhore in the pinneſſe, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards vſe to fiſh for pearles, and there ſpoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which becauſe he would not ouerſhoot, he ankered that night againe, & the 19. came thither; where hauing talke with the kings treaſurer of the Indies reſident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, & ſhewed a certificate of the ſame, made by the gouernour thereof, & therefore he deſired to haue the like there alſo: but the treaſurer made anſwere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and councill of S. Domingo, who hauing intelligence of our being on the coaſt, did ſende expreſſe commiſſion to reſiſt vs, with all the force they could, inſomuch that they durſt not trafique with vs in no caſe, alleaging that if they did, they ſhould looſe all that they did trafique for, beſides their bodies at the magiſtrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that hee was in an Armada of the Queenes Maieſties of England,

Arube.

La Rancheria.

Rio de la Hacha.

and

M. Hawkins his letter to the Treaſurer of Rio de la Hacha.

and ſent about other her affaires, but driuen beſides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into thoſe parts, where he hoped to finde ſuch friendſhip as hee ſhould doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reaſon, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But ſeeing they would contrary to all reaſon go about to withſtand his trafique, he would it ſhould not be ſaid by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduenture to try whether he or they ſhould haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or elſe to ſtand to their owne harmes: So vpon this it was determined hee ſhould haue licence to trade, but they would giue him ſuch a price as was the one halfe leſſe then he had ſold for before, and thus they ſent word they would do, and none otherwiſe, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwiſe with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their vnconſcionable requeſt, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorouſly with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his cōmodities, which were ſo reaſonably rated, as they could not by a great deale haue the like at any other mans handes. But ſeeing they had ſent him this to his ſupper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakefaſt. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee ſhot off a whole Culuering to ſummon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went a ſhore, hauing in his great boate two Faulcons of braſſe, and in the other boates double baſes in their noſes, which being perceiued by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and enſigne diſplayed, marched from the Towne to the ſands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weauing vs a ſhore, whereby they made a ſemblance to haue fought with vs in deed. But our Captaine perceiuing them ſo bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be diſcharged at them, which put them in no ſmall feare to ſee, (as they afterward declared) ſuch great pieces in a boate. At euery ſhot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approched neere vnto them, they broke their aray, and diſperſed themſelues ſo much for feare of the Ordinance, that at laſt they went all away with their enſigne. The horſemen alſo being about thirtie, made as braue a ſhew as might be, courſing vp and downe with their horſes, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their iauelings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when wee landed, they gaue ground, and conſulted what they ſhould doe, for little they thought wee would haue landed ſo boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to haue encountred with them, they ſent a meſſenger on horſebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treaſurer marueiled what he meant to doe to come a ſhore in that order, in conſideration that they had granted to euery reaſonable requeſt that he did demaund: but the Captaine not well contented with this meſſenger, marched forwards. The meſſenger prayed him to ſtay his men, and ſaide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treaſurer would come and ſpeake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together. The Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the Treaſurer on horſebacke with his iaueling, was afraide to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he ſaid was worſe then his weapon, and ſo keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requeſts. Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they deſired to haue pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that otherwiſe when they had made themſelues ſtronger, they would haue bene at defiance with vs: and ſeeing that now they might haue what they would requeſt, they iudged it to be more wiſedome to be in aſſurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were ſent, and we made our trafique quietly with them. In the meane time while we ſtayed here, wee watered a good breadth off from the ſhore, where by the ſtrength of the freſh water running into the Sea, the ſalt water was made freſh. In this Riuer we ſaw many Crocodils of ſundry bigneſſes, but ſome as bigge as a boate, with 4. feete, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whoſe ſkinne is ſo hard, that a ſword wil not pierce it. His nature is to liue out of the water as a frogge doth, but he is a great deuourer, and ſpareth neither fiſh, which is his common food, nor beaſtes, nor men, if hee take them, as the proofe thereof was knowen by a Negro, who as hee was filling water in the Riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer ſeene after. His nature is euer when hee would haue his prey, to cry and ſobbe like a Chriſtian body, to prouoke them to come to him, and then hee ſnatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is applied vnto women when they weepe, Lachrymæ Crocodili, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about moſt to deceiue, ſo doeth a woman moſt commonly when ſhe weepeth. Of theſe the Maſter of the Ieſus watched one, and by the banks ſide ſtroke him with a pike of a bill in the ſide, and after three or foure times turning in ſight, hee ſunke downe, and was not afterward ſeene. In the time of our being in the Riuers Guinie, wee ſawe many of a monſtrous bigneſſe, amongſt the which the captaine being in one of the Barks comming downe the ſame, ſhot a Faulcon at one, which very narowly hee miſſed, and with a feare hee plunged into the water, making a ſtreame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them ſome harme before we departed, or for any treaſon that they intended towards vs, I am not able to ſay; but then came thither a Captaine from ſome of the other townes, with a dozen ſouldiers vpon a time when our Captaine and the treaſurer cleared al things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the gouernours of Burboroata, which was to be payd by the ſaid treaſurer, who would not anſwere the ſame by any meanes. Whereupon certaine words of diſpleaſure paſſed betwixt the Captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treaſurer poſſibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce haue ſought the ſame, did immediatly command his men to armes, both horſemen and footemen: but becauſe the Captaine was in the Riuer on the backe ſide of the Towne with his other boates, and all his men vnarmed and without weapons, it was to be iudged he ment him little good, hauing that aduantage of him, that comming vpon the ſudden, hee might haue miſchieued many of his men: but the Captaine hauing vnderſtanding thereof, not truſting to their gentleneſſe, if they might haue the aduantage, departed aboord his ſhips, and at night returned againe, and demanded amongſt other talke, what they ment by aſſembling their men in that order, & they anſwered, that their Captaine being come to towne did muſter his men according to his accuſtomed maner. But it is to be iudged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpoſe hee might haue done it ſooner, but the trueth is, they were not of force vntill then, whereby to enterpriſe any matter againſt vs, by meanes of pikes and harquebuzes, whereof they haue want, and were now furniſhed by our Captaine, and alſo 3. Faulcons, which hauing got in other places, they had ſecretly conueyed thither, which made them the bolder, and alſo for that they ſaw now a conuenient place to do ſuch a feat, and time alſo ſeruing thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely vnarmed and vnprouided, as at no time before the like, but alſo were occupied in hewing of wood, and leaſt thinking of any harme: theſe were occaſions to prouoke them thereunto. And I ſuppoſe they went about to bring it to effect, in that *I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards vs, and ſeeing men aſſembling in armour to the treaſurers houſe, whereof I marueiled, and reuoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the vnreadineſſe of our men, of whom aduantage might haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediatly to giue knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a flight-ſhot, two horſemen riding a gallop were come neere vs, being ſent, as wee did geſſe, to ſtay vs leaſt wee ſhould cary newes to our Captaine, but ſeeing vs ſo neere our men they ſtayed their horſes, comming together, and ſuffring vs to paſſe, belike becauſe wee were ſo neere, that if they had gone about the ſame, they had bene eſpied by ſome of our men which then immediatly would haue departed, whereby they ſhould haue bene fruſtrate of their pretence: and ſo the two horſemen ridde about the buſhes to eſpie what we did, and ſeeing vs gone, to the intent they might ſhadow their comming downe in poſt, whereof ſuſpicion might bee had, fained a ſimple excuſe in asking whether he could ſell any wine, but that ſeemed ſo ſimple to the Captaine, that ſtanding in doubt of their courteſie, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with Baſes in their noſes, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none: and thus diſſembling all iniuries conceiued of both parts, the Captaine went aſhore, leauing pledges in the boates for himſelfe, and cleared all things betweene the treaſurer and him, ſauing for the gouerners debt, which the one by no meanes would anſwere, and the other, becauſe it was not his due debt, would not moleſt him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, and therefore departed, cauſing the two Barkes which rode neere the ſhore to weigh and go vnder ſaile, which was done becauſe that our Captaine demanding a teſtimoniall of his good behauiour there, could not haue the ſame vntill hee were vnder ſaile ready to depart: and therefore at night he went for the ſame againe, & receiued it at the treaſurers hand, of whom very courteouſly he tooke his leaue and departed, ſhooting off the baſes of his boat for his farewell, and the townesmen alſo ſhot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the firſt time that he knew of the conueyance of their Faulcons.

*The authour of this ſtorie.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our courſe to Hiſpaniola, and the fourth of Iune wee had ſight of an yland, which wee made to be Iamaica, marueiling that by the vehement courſe of the Seas we ſhould be driuen ſo farre to leeward: for ſetting our courſe to the Weſt end of Hiſpaniola we fel with the middle of Iamaica, notwithſtanding that to al mens ſight it ſhewed a headland, but they were all deceiued by the clouds that lay vpon the land two dayes together, in ſuch ſort that we thought it to be the head land of the ſaid yland. And a Spaniard being in the ſhip, who was a Marchant, and inhabitant in Iamaica, hauing occaſion to go to Guinie, and being by treaſon taken of the Negros, & afterwads bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his paſſage to go into his countrey, who perceiuing the land, made as though he knew euery place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be ſuch a place, and ſuch a mans ground, and that behinde ſuch a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed ſo from one point to another, that we were a leebord of all places, and found our ſelues at the Weſt end of Iamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting vp againe, ſo that by truſting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine ſought not to ſpeake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himſelfe ſure of, he would haue done as his cuſtome was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him looſe by ouerſhooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might haue gotten, but alſo to himſelfe, who being three yeeres out of his Countrey, and in great miſery in Guinie, both among the Negros and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friendes, as he made ſure accompt, in that at his going into the pinneſſe, when he went to ſhore he put on his new clothes, and for ioy flung away his old, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we ſailed all along, but it fell out euer by one occaſion or other, that wee were put beſide the ſame, ſo that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Iſraelites were beſieged, and were in great miſery with hunger, & being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a buſhell of flower ſhould be ſold for a ſickle, would not beleeue him, but thought it vnpoſſible: and for that cauſe Elizæus propheſied hee ſhould ſee the ſame done, but hee ſhould not eate thereof: ſo this man being abſent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to haue ſeene his owne Countrey, did ſee the ſame, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his deſire.

Iune.

The deceitfull force of the current.

Two hundred ylands for the moſt part not inhabited.

Thus hauing ſailed along the coaſt two dayes, we departed the ſeuenth of Iune, being made to beleeue by the Spaniard that it was not Iamaica, but rather Hiſpaniola, of which opinion the Captaine alſo was, becauſe that which hee made Iamaica ſeemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hiſpaniola, by the lying of the coaſt, and alſo for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleeue he was ſo farre driuen to leeward, and therfore ſetting his courſe to Iamaica, and after certaine dayes not finding the ſame, perceiued then certainly that the yland which he was at before was Iamaica, and that the cloudes did deceiue him, whereof he maruelled not a little: and this miſtaking of the place came to as ill a paſſe as the ouerſhooting of Iamaica: for by this did he alſo ouerpaſſe a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great ſtore of hides to be had: & thus being diſappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to haue raiſed great profite by his trafique, and alſo to haue found great refreſhing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now diſappointed greatly, and ſuch want he had of freſh water, that he was forced to ſeeke the ſhore to obteine the ſame, which he had ſight of after certaine dayes ouerpaſſed with ſtormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine ylands in number two hundred, whereof the moſt part were deſolate of inhabitants: by the which ylands the Captaine paſſing in his pinneſſe, could finde no freſh water vntill hee came to an yland bigger then all the reſt, called the yle of Pinas, where wee anckered with our ſhips the 16. of Iune, and found water, which although it were neither ſo toothſome as running water, by the meanes it is ſtanding, and but the water of raine, and alſo being neere the Sea was brackiſh, yet did wee not refuſe it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee ſhould haue bene another time with fine Conduit water. Thus being reaſonably watered we were deſirous to depart, becauſe the place was not very cõuenient for ſuch ſhips of charge as they were, becauſe there were many ſhoales to leeward, which alſo lay open to the ſea for any wind that ſhould blow: and therfore the captaine made the more haſte away, which was not vnneedfull: for little ſooner were their anckers weyed, and foreſaile ſet, but there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme, that they had not much to ſpare for doubling out of the ſhoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the reſt, was faine for haſte to cut the cable in the hawſe, and looſe both ancker and cable to ſaue her ſelfe.

The Cape of S. Anthony in Cuba.

Florida.

Thus the 17. of Iun,e we departed and on the 20. wee fell with the Weſt end of Cuba, called Cape S. Antony, where for the ſpace of three dayes wee doubled along, till wee came beyond the ſhoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Briſe taking vs, which is the Northeaſt winde, put vs the 24. from the ſhoare, and therefore we went to the Northweſt to fetch wind, and alſo to the coaſt of Florida to haue the helpe of the current, which was iudged to haue ſet to the Eaſtward: ſo the 29. wee found our ſelues in 27. degrees, and in the ſoundings of Florida, where we kept our ſelues the ſpace of foure dayes, ſailing along the coaſt as neere as we could, in tenne or twelue fadome water, hauing all the while no ſight of land.

The fift of July we had ſight of certeine Iſlands of ſand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinneſſe, and found ſuch a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might haue done the like. Theſe Iſlands beare the name of Tortoiſes, becauſe of the number of them, which there do breed, whoſe nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land alſo, but breed onely vpon the ſhore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred, and couering them with ſand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne; and by this meanes commeth the great increaſe. Of theſe we tooke very great ones, which haue both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch: the fiſh whereof we proued, eating much like veale; and finding a number of egges in them, taſted alſo of them, but they did eat very ſweetly. Heere wee ankered ſixe houres, and then a faire gale of winde ſpringing, we weyed anker, and made ſaile toward Cuba, whither we came the ſixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill ſo called, becauſe of the forme thereof: here we lay off and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to haue plied to wind-ward to Hauana, which is an harborow whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tary to haue one the company of another. This hill we thinking to haue beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Hauana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perſwaſion of a French man, who made the captaine beleeue he knew the Table very well, and had beene at Hauana, ſayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the ſea ſide, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eaſtward, nor hilles to the Weſtward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Weſtward was Hauana. To which perſuaſion credit being giuen by ſome, and they not of the worſt, the captaine was perſuaded to goe to leeward, and ſo ſailed along the ſeuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table; and then perceiuing his folly to giue eare to ſuch praters, was not a little ſory, both becauſe he did conſider what time he ſhould ſpend yer he could get ſo far to wind-ward againe, which would haue bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelue dayes worke, & what it would haue bene longer he knew not, and (that which was worſt) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therfore knew not what ſhift to make: but in fine, becauſe the want was ſuch, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to ſeeke water, and to goe further to leeward, to a place (as it is ſet in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, & whether there were water or not, and whether for the ſhoalds he might haue ſuch acceſſe with his ſhips, that he might conueniently take in the ſame. And while we were in theſe troubles, and kept our way to the place aforeſayd, almighty God our guide (who would not ſuffer vs to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coaſt of Florida along as we did before, which is ſo dangerous (by reports) that no ſhip eſcapeth which commeth thither, (as the Spanyards haue very wel proued the ſame) ſent vs the eight day at night a faire Weſterly winde, whereupon the captaine and company conſulted, determining not to refuſe Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatſoeuer had happened; and taking the ſayd winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and ſailing the ſame night, vnawares ouerſhot Hauana; at which place wee thought to haue watered: but the next day, not knowing that wee had ouerſhot the ſame, ſailed along the coaſt, ſeeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certeine knowen marks, we vnderſtood that we had ouerſhot it 20 leagues: in which coaſt ranging, we found no conuenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to diſemboque, and to water vpon the coaſt of Florida: for, to go further to the Eaſtward, we could not for the ſhoalds, which are very dangerous; and becauſe the current ſhooteth to the Northeaſt, we doubted by the force thereof to be ſet vpon them, and therefore durſt not approch them: ſo making but reaſonable way the day aforeſayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the Iſlands vpon the cape of Florida, which we could ſcant double by the meanes that fearing the ſhoalds to the Eaſtwards, and doubting the current comming out of the Weſt, which was not of that force we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt ſuch a current, that bearing all ſailes againſt the ſame, yet were driuen backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Ieſus pinneſſe, and the Salomons boat, which were ſent the ſame day in the afternoone, whiles the ſhips were becalmed, to ſee if they could finde any water vpon the Iſlands aforeſaid; who ſpent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde ſpringing at ſea, the ſhips departed, making a ſigne to them to come away, who although they ſaw them depart, becauſe they were ſo neere the ſhore, would not loſe all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and ſee if there were any water to be had, making no account

The Iſles of Tortugas.

Great ſtore of birds.

A hill called the Table.

The port of Hauana.

The ſtate of the current of Florida.

but to finde the ſhippes well enough: but they ſpent ſo much time in filling the water which they had ſoild, that the night was come before they could make an end. And hauing loſt the ſight of the ſhips, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they ſhould ſeeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the ſhippes were in no current; and ſailing but a mile further, they found one ſo ſtrong, that bearing all ſailes, it could not preuaile againſt the ſame, but were driuen backe: whereupon the captaine ſent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the ſhore all night, becauſe the current was leſſe there a great deale, and to beare light, with ſhooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The Ieſus alſo bare a light in her toppe gallant, and ſhot off a piece alſo now and then, but the night paſſed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ſhips and barkes ceaſed not to looke ſtill for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night paſt; and therefore determined to tary no longer, ſeeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Ieſus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almoſt out of ſight; but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinneſſes top, had ſight of them, and tooke them vp: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, hauing ſight of the ſhips, and ſeeing them tacking about; whereas before at the firſt ſight of them they did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then euer they were: for by this they thought themſelues vtterly forſaken, whereas before they were in ſome hope to haue found them. Truly God wrought maruellouſly for them, for they themſelues hauing no victuals but water, and being ſore oppreſſed with hunger, were not of opinion to beſtow any further time in ſeeking the ſhippes then that preſent noone time; ſo that if they had not at that inſtant eſpied them, they had gone to the ſhore to haue made prouiſion for victuals, and with ſuch things as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would haue bene very hard for them to haue done, becauſe they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to haue remained amongſt the Floridians; at whoſe hands they were put in comfort by a Frenchman, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the firſt finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victuals ſufficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, vntill which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to iudge, ſeeing thoſe people of the cape of Florida are of more ſauage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the reſt; which the Spanyards well prooued, who being fiue hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forſake the ſame: and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking vpon him to perſuade the people to ſubiection, was by them taken, and his ſkin cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his fleſh eaten.

In theſe Iſlands they being a ſhore, found a dead man, dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodies of men: ſo that theſe ſorts of men are eaters of the fleſh of men, aſwel as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpoſe.

The foureteenth day the ſhippe and barks came to the Ieſus, bringing them newes of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and ſo then altogether they kept on their way along the coaſt of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and ſo from ſixe and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe, where the French men abode, ranging all the coaſt along, ſeeking for freſh water, ankering euery night, becauſe we would ouerſhoot no place of freſh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ſhips pinneſſe ſailed along the ſhore, went into euery creeke, ſpeaking with diuers of the Floridians, becauſe hee would vnderſtand where the French men inhabited; and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees, as it was declared vnto him, marueiled thereat, and neuer left ſailing along the coaſt till he found them, who inhabited in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and ſtanding in thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coaſt along, the captaine found it to be all an Iſland, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very ſcant of freſh water, but the countrey was maruellouſly ſweet, with both mariſh and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found ſorell to grow as abundantly as graſſe, and where their houſes were, great ſtore of maiz and mill, and grapes of great bigneſſe, but of taſte much like our Engliſh grapes. Alſo Deere great plentie, which came vpon the ſands before them. Their houſes are not many together, for in one houſe an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in ſtrength not inferiour to ours, for they haue ſtanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are couered with palmito-leaues,

M. Hawkins ranged all the coaſt of Florida.

The riuer of May.

Florida found to be cut into Iſlands.

Soyell.

The commodities of Florida.

The houſes of Florida.

hauing no place diuided, but one ſmall roome for their king and queene. In the middeſt of this houſe is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they ſleepe vpon certeine pieces of wood hewen in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both ſides. In their houſes they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they deſire the fields, where they dreſſe their meat, and make prouiſion for victuals, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be marueiled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but alſo the Negros doe the ſame, which is made onely by two ſticks, rubbing them one againſt another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde ſticks ſufficient for the purpoſe. In their apparell the men onely vſe deere ſkinnes, wherewith ſome onely couer their priuy members, otherſome vſe the ſame as garments to couer them before and behind; which ſkinnes are painted, ſome yellow and red, ſome blacke & ruſſet, and euery man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies alſo with curious knots, or antike worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuiſeth, which painting, to make it continue the better, they vſe with a thorne to pricke their fleſh, and dent in the ſame, whereby the painting may haue better hold. In their warres they vſe a ſleighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themſelues ſhew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they waſh away againe. In their warres they vſe bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the moſt part paſſing the ſtrength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are alſo of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points, both in length and and alſo for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they ſhoot very ſtedy: the heads of the ſame are vipers teeth, bones of fiſhes, flint ſtones, piked points of kniues, which they hauing gotten of the French men, broke the ſame, & put the points of them in their arrowes heads: ſome of them haue their heads of ſiluer, otherſome that haue want of theſe, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the reſt. In their fight, being in the woods, they vſe a maruellous pollicie for their owne ſafegard, which is by claſping a tree in their armes, and yet ſhooting notwithſtanding: this policy they vſed with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of ſome policy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triſte, that is to ſay, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the French men found them ſo witty in their anſweres, that by the captaines owne report, a counſeller with vs could not giue a more profound reaſon.

The maner of kindling of fire in Florida.

The women alſo for their apparell vſe painted ſkinnes, but moſt of them gownes of moſſe, ſomewhat longer then our moſſe, which they ſowe together artificially, and make the ſame ſurpleſſe wiſe, wearing their haire downe to their ſhoulders, like the Indians. In this riuer of May aforeſayd, the captaine entring with his pinneſſe, found a French ſhip of foureſcore tun, and two pinneſſes of fifteene tun a piece, by her, and ſpeaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in which their captaine Monſieur Laudonniere was, with certeine ſouldiers therein. To whom our captaine ſending to vnderſtand of a wateringplace, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the ſame, he ſtraight, becauſe there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer fiue leagues, where the water was freſh, did ſend him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barks, which going in with other boats prouided for the ſame purpoſe, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went; where hee was by the Generall, with other captaines and ſouldiers, very gently enterteined, who declared vnto him the time of their being there, which was foureteene moneths, with the extremity they were driuen to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them; in which place they being two hundred men at their firſt comming, had in ſhort ſpace eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driuen certeine of them to ſerue a king of the Floridians againſt other his enemies, for mill and other victuals; which hauing gotten, could not ſerue them, being ſo many, ſo long a time: but want came vpon them in ſuch ſort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being ſtamped ſmall, and often waſhed, to take away the bitterneſſe of them, they did vſe for bread, eating withall ſundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and holeſome, and ſuch as ſerue rather for medecines then for meates alone. But this hardneſſe not contenting ſome of them, who would not take the paines ſo much as to fiſh in the riuer before their doores, but would haue all things put in their mouthes, they did rebell againſt the captaine, taking away firſt his armour, and afterward impriſoning him: and ſo to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinneſſe, ſpoiling their ſtore of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and ſo went to the Ilands of Hiſpaniola and Iamaica a rouing, where they ſpoiled and pilled the Spanyards; and hauing taken two carauels

The French fort.

Monſieur Laudonniere.

Bread made of acornes.

laden with wine and caſaui, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treaſure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of ſuch haughty ſtomacks, that they thought their force to be ſuch that no man durſt meddle with them, and ſo kept harborow in Iamaica, going dayly aſhore at their pleaſure. But God which would not ſuffer ſuch euill doers vnpuniſhed, did indurate their hearts in ſuch ſort, that they lingered the time ſo long, that a ſhip and galliaſſe being made out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them, whereof the moſt part were hanged, and the reſt caried into Spaine, and ſome (to the number of fiue and twenty) eſcaped in the pinneſſe, and came to Florida; where at their landing they were put in priſon, and incontinent foure of the chiefeſt being condemned, at the requeſt of the ſouldiers, did paſſe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet.

The occaſion of the falling out with the Floridians.

This lacke of threeſcore men was a great diſcourage and weakening to the reſt, for they were the beſt ſouldiers that they had: for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly crauing of maiz, hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were inforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occaſion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certeine of their company in the woods, and ſlew them; wherby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen; and therefore they being but a few in number durſt not venture abroad, but at ſuch time as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the ſame: and going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were ſet vpon by eighteene kings, hauing ſeuen or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes ſlew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, & droue them all downe to their boats; whoſe pollicy in fight was to be maruelled at: for hauing ſhot at diuers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiuing that their arrowes did not preuaile againſt the ſame, they ſhot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill caſe by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue forty ſouldiers left vnhurt, whereby they might ill make any more inuaſions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they muſt haue beene driuen vnto, had not God ſent vs thither for their ſuccour; for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine ſeeing them, ſpared them out of his ſhip twenty barrels of meale, & foure pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and neceſſaries which he might conueniently ſpare: and to helpe them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our comming, at their requeſt we ſpared them one of our barks of fifty tun.

The French greatly releeued by M. Hawkins.

Notwithſtanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals ſufficient, if they would haue taken paines to get the ſame; but they being ſouldiers, deſired to liue by the ſweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had fiſh ſufficient, by weares which they made to catch the ſame: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the ſame againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more.

Twentie hogſheads of wine made in Florida, like to the wine of Orleans.

The ground yeeldeth naturally grapes in great ſtore, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogſheads of wine. Alſo it yeeldeth roots paſſing good, Deere maruellous ſtore, with diuers other beaſts, and fowle, ſeruiceable to the vſe of man. Theſe be things wherewith a man may liue, hauing corne or maiz wherewith to make bread: for maiz maketh good ſauory bread, and cakes as fine as flowre. Alſo it maketh good meale, beaten and ſodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh alſo good beuerage, ſodden in water, and nouriſhable; which the Frenchmen did vſe to drinke of in the morning, and it aſſuageth their thirſt, ſo that they had no need to drinke all the day after.

Labourers neceſſary to inhabit new countreys.

And this maiz was the greateſt lacke they had, becauſe they had no labourers to ſowe the ſame, and therefore to them that ſhould inhabit the land it were requiſit to haue labourers to till and ſowe the ground: for they hauing victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor ſpoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more deſirous of peace then of warres, but alſo ſhall haue abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we ſee another man euer taking away frõ vs, although we haue enough beſides, yet then we thinke all too little for our ſelues: for ſurely we haue heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians with the head of maiz roſted, will trauell a whole day, and when they are at the Spaniards finding, they giue them nothing but ſodden herbs & maiz: and in this order I ſaw threeſcore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off.

Tabacco & the great vertue thereof.

The Floridians when they trauell, haue a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe ſucke thorow the cane the ſmoke thereof; which ſmoke ſatiſfieth their hunger, and therwith they liue foure or fiue dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vſed for this purpoſe: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it cauſeth water & fleame to void from their ſtomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowen to any man: for beſides the land it ſelfe, whereof there is more then any king Chriſtian is able to inhabit, it flouriſheth with medow, paſture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other ſorts, as better can not be in the world. They haue for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummes great ſtore, as Storax liquida, Turpintine, Gumme, Myrrhe, and Frankinſence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, & ruſſet, very perfect, wherewith they ſo paint their bodies, and Deere ſkinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and ſiluer they want not: for at the Frenchmens firſt comming thither they had the ſame offered them for little or nothing, for they receiued for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, becauſe they knew not the eſtimation thereof: but the ſouldiers being greedy of the ſame, did take it from them, giuing them nothing for it: the which they perceiuing, that both the Frenchmen did greatly eſteeme it, and alſo did rigorouſly deale with them, by taking the ſame away from them, at laſt would not be knowen they had any more, neither durſt they weare the ſame for feare of being taken away: ſo that ſauing at their firſt comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and ſiluer the French men know not as yet, but by geſſe, who hauing trauelled to the Southweſt of the cape, hauing found the ſame dangerous, by meanes of ſundry banks, as we alſo haue found the ſame; and there finding maſts which were wracks of Spanyards comming from Mexico, iudged that they had gotten treaſure by them. For it is moſt true that diuers wracks haue beene made of Spanyards, hauing much treaſure: for the Frenchmen hauing trauelled to the capeward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a carauel comming from the Indies, which was caſt away foureteene yeeres ago, & the other twelue yeres; of whoſe fellowes ſome eſcaped, otherſome were ſlain by the inhabitants. It ſeemeth they had eſtimation of their golde & ſiluer, for it is wrought flat and grauen, which they weare about their neckes; otherſome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midſt, to boulſter vp their breaſts withall, becauſe they thinke it a deformity to haue great breaſts. As for mines either of gold or ſiluer, the Frenchmen can heare of none they haue vpon the Iſland, but of copper, whereof as yet alſo they haue not made the proofe, becauſe they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and ſiluer aſwell as in Mexico, becauſe it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obteined pearles of them of great bigneſſe, but they were blacke, by meanes of roſting of them, for they do not fiſh for them as the Spanyards doe, but for their meat: for the Spanyards vſe to keepe dayly a fiſhing ſome two or three hundred Indians, ſome of them that be of choiſe a thouſand: and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinneſſes, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or moſt part be diuers, the reſt doe open the ſame for the pearles: for it is not ſuffered that they ſhould vſe dragging, for that would bring them out of eſtimation, and marre the beds of them. The oiſters which haue the ſmalleſt ſort of pearles are found in ſeuen or eight fadome water, but the greateſt in eleuen or twelue fadome.

The variety of commodities in Florida.

Colours.

Golde and ſiluer.

Two Spanyards liued long among ye Floridians.

Pieces of gold grauen among ye Floridians.

Florida eſteemed an Iſland.

This copper was found perfect golde, called by the Sauages, Sycros phyia.

Pearles.

The Floridians haue pieces of vnicornes hornes, which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obteined many pieces. Of thoſe vnicornes they haue many; for that they doe affirme it to be a beaſt with one horne, which comming to the riuer to drinke, putteth the ſame into the water before he drinketh. Of this vnicornes horne there are of our company, that hauing gotten the ſame of the Frenchmen, brought home thereof to ſhew. It is therfore to be preſuppoſed that there are more commodities aſwell as that, which for want of time, and people ſufficient to inhabit the ſame, can not yet come to light: but I truſt God will reueale the ſame before it be long, to the great profit of them that ſhal take it in hand. Of beaſts in this countrey beſides deere, foxes, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, & leopards, I am not able certeinly to ſay: but it is thought that there are lions and tygres aſwell as vnicornes; lions eſpecially; if it be true that is ſayd, of the enmity betweene them and the vnicornes: for there is no beaſt but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a ſheepe the woolfe, the elephant the rinoceros; and ſo of other beaſts the like: inſomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be miſſing. And ſeeing I haue made mention of the beaſts of this countrey, it ſhall not be from my purpoſe to ſpeake alſo of the venimous beaſts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bigneſſe, whereof our men killed ſome of a yard and a halfe long. Alſo I heard a miracle of one of theſe adders, vpon the which a faulcon ſeizing, the ſayd adder did claſpe her taile about her; which the French captaine ſeeing, came to the reſcue of the faulcon, and tooke her ſlaying the adder; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaime her, and kept her for the ſpace of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to caſt her off. On theſe adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of vs, and affirmed the ſame to be a delicate meat. And the captaine of the Frenchmen ſaw alſo a

Vnicornes hornes, which ye inhabitants call Souanaſcoma.

Beaſts.

Faulcons in Florida.

ſerpent

Serpents.

Flying fiſhes.

Dolphins.

Flemings.

The egript.

The pellicane.

ſerpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bigneſſe of a great ſpaniell, which for want of a harquebuz he durſt not attempt to ſlay. Of fiſh alſo they haue in the riuer, pike, roch, ſalmon, trout, and diuers other ſmall fiſhes, and of great fiſh, ſome of the length of a man and longer, being of bigneſſe accordingly, hauing a ſnout much like a ſword of a yard long. There be alſo of ſea fiſhes, which we ſaw comming along the coaſt flying, which are of the bigneſſe of a ſmelt, the biggeſt ſort whereof haue foure wings, but the other haue but two: of theſe wee ſawe comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chaſed by the gilt-heads, otherwiſe called the bonitos, do to auoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, becauſe of the drying of their wings, which ſerue them not to flie but when they are moiſt, and therefore when they can flie no further, they fall into the water, and hauing wet their wings, take a new flight againe. Theſe bonitos be of bigneſſe like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the ſwifteſt fiſh in ſwimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not onely in the water, but alſo out of the water: for as the flying fiſh taketh her flight, ſo doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them ſometimes aboue the water. There were ſome of thoſe bonitos, which being galled by a fiſgig, did follow our ſhippe comming out of Guinea 500 leagues. There is a ſea-fowle alſo that chaſeth this flying fiſh aſwell as the bonito: for as the flying fiſh taketh her flight, ſo doth this fowle purſue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleaſure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleaſant, and alſo more often then an hundred times: for the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are ſo abundant. There is an innumerable yoong frie of theſe flying fiſhes, which commonly keepe about the ſhip, and are not ſo big as butter-flies, and yet by flying do auoid the vnſatiableneſſe of the bonito. Of the bigger ſort of theſe fiſhes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the ſailes of our ſhip, and there was not one of them which was not woorth a bonito: for being put vpon a hooke drabling in the water, the bonito would leape thereat, and ſo was taken. Alſo, we tooke many with a white cloth made faſt to a hooke, which being tied ſo ſhort in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fiſh leapeth thereat, and ſo is deceiued. We tooke alſo dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no leſſe delicate in taſte. Fowles alſo there be many, both vpon land and vpon ſea: but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, becauſe my abode was there ſo ſhort. But for the fowle of the freſh riuers, theſe two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, hauing all red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, whereof the vpper neb hangeth an inch ouer the nether; and an egript, which is all white as the ſwanne, with legs like to an hearnſhaw, and of bigneſſe accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of ſo fine a plume, that it paſſeth the eſtridge his feather. Of the ſea-fowle aboue all other not common in England, I noted the pellicane, which is fained to be the louingſt bird that is; which rather then her yong ſhould want, wil ſpare her heart bloud out of her belly: but for all this louingneſſe ſhe is very deformed to beholde; for ſhe is of colour ruſſet: notwithſtanding in Guinea I haue ſeene of them as white as a ſwan, hauing legs like the ſame, and a body like a hearne, with a long necke, and a thick long beake, from the nether iaw whereof downe to the breaſt paſſeth a ſkinne of ſuch a bigneſſe, as is able to receiue a fiſh as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her ſeeme ſo ougly.

Meanes to reape a ſufficient profit in Florida and Virginia.

Here I haue declared the eſtate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may ſeeme vnto ſome, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and ſiluer, is not ſo abundant as in other places, that the coſt beſtowed vpon the ſame will not be able to quit the charges: yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I haue ſeene in other Iſlands of the Indians, where ſuch increaſe of cattell hath bene, that of twelue head of beaſts in fiue & twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raiſe a thouſand pound profit yerely, that the increaſe of cattel onely would raiſe profit ſufficient for the ſame: for wee may conſider, if ſo ſmall a portion did raiſe ſo much gaines in ſuch ſhort time, what would a greater do in many yeres? and ſurely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is ſo greene, as any time in the Summer with vs: which ſurely is not to be marueiled at, ſeeing the countrey ſtandeth in ſo watery a climate: for once a day without faile they haue a ſhower of raine; which by meanes of the countrey it ſelfe, which is dry, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flouriſh therein. And becauſe there is not the thing we all ſeeke for, being rather deſirous of preſent gaines, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requiſit for a prince, who is of power able to go thorow with the ſame, rather then for any ſubiect.

From thence wee departed the 28 of Iuly, vpon our voyage homewards, hauing there a things as might be moſt conuenient for our purpoſe: and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there ſtill remained, who with diligence determined to make as great ſpeede after, as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in ſuch manner that victuals ſcanted with vs, ſo that we were diuers times (or rather the moſt part) in deſpaire of euer comming home, had not God of his goodneſſe better prouided for vs, then our deſeruing. In which ſtate of great miſerie, wee were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which mooued him to heare vs, ſo that we had a proſperous winde, which did ſet vs ſo farre ſhot, as to be vpon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eue, and we ſounded therupon, finding ground at an hundred and thirtie fadoms, being that day ſomewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of freſh codde-fiſh, which greatly relieued vs: and being very glad thereof, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the ſpace of foure or fiue dayes, at the ende of which we ſawe a couple of French ſhippes, and had of them ſo much fiſh as would ſerue vs plentifully for all the reſt of the way, the Captaine paying for the ſame both golde and ſiluer, to the iuſt value thereof, vnto the chiefe owners of the ſaide ſhippes, but they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themſelues to meete with ſuch good intertainement at ſea, as they had at our hands. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the twentieth of September we came to Padſtow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in ſafetie, with the loſſe of twentie perſons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the ſaid voyage, as alſo to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, ſiluer, pearles and other iewels great ſtore. His name therefore be praiſed for euermore. Amen.

Their arriuall in Padſtow in the moneth of September, 1565.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. Iohn Hawkins.
M. Iohn Cheſter, ſir William Cheſters ſonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurſt.
M. Fitzwilliam.
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie, with diuers others.

The Regiſter and true accounts of all herein expreſſed hath beene approoued by me *Iohn Sparke* the younger, who went vpon the ſame voyage, and wrote the ſame.

The third troubleſome voyage made with the *Ieſus* of *Lubeck*, the *Minion*, and foure other ſhips, to the parts of *Guinea*, and the *Weſt Indies*, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. *Iohn Hawkins*.

THe ſhips departed from Plimmouth, the ſecond day of October, Anno 1567 and had reaſonable weather vntill the ſeuenth day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape Finiſter, there aroſe an extreme ſtorme, which continued foure dayes, in ſuch ſort, that the fleete was diſperſed, and all our great boats loſt, and the Ieſus our chiefe ſhippe, in ſuch caſe, as not thought able to ſerue the voyage: whereupon in the ſame ſtorme we ſet our courſe homeward, determining to giue ouer the voyage: but the eleuenth day of the ſame moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterpriſe, and ſo did, directing our courſe with the Ilands of the Canaries, where according to an order before preſcribed, all our ſhippes before diſperſed, met at one of thoſe Ilands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of Nouember, towards the coaſt of Guinea, and arriued at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of Nouember: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtaine ſome Negros, where we got but fewe, and thoſe with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their enuenomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they ſeemed to be but ſmall hurts, yet there hardly eſcaped any that had blood drawen of them, but died in ſtrange ſort, with their mouthes ſhut ſome tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I my ſelfe had one of the greateſt woundes, yet thankes be to God, eſcaped. From thence we paſt the time vpon the coaſt of Guinea, ſearching with all diligence the riuers from Rio grande, vnto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Ianuarie, in which time we had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negros: yet notwithſtanding the ſickneſſe of our men, and the

A ſtorme.

Gomera.

Enuenomed arrowes.

late time of the yeere commanded vs away: and thus hauing nothing wherewith to ſeeke the coaſt of the Weſt Indias, I was with the reſt of our company in conſultation to goe to the coaſt of the Mine, hoping there to haue obtained ſome golde for our wares, and thereby to haue defraied our charge. But euen in that preſent inſtant, there came to vs a Negro, ſent from a king, oppreſſed by other Kings his neighbours, deſiring our aide, with promiſe that as many Negros as by theſe warres might be obtained, aſwell of his part as of ours, ſhould be at our pleaſure: whereupon we concluded to giue aide, and ſent 120 of our men, which the 15 of Ianuarie, aſſaulted a towne of the Negros of our Allies aduerſaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being very ſtrongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was ſo well defended, that our men preuailed not, but loſt ſixe men and fortie hurt: ſo that our men ſent forthwith to me for more helpe: whereupon conſidering that the good ſucceſſe of this enterpriſe might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my ſelfe, and with the helpe of the king of our ſide, aſſaulted the towne, both by land and ſea, and very hardly with fire (their houſes being couered with dry Palme leaues) obtained the towne, and put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 perſons, men, women, & children, and by our friend the king of our ſide, there were taken 600 priſoners, whereof we hoped to haue had our choiſe: but the Negro (in which nation is ſeldome or neuer found truth) meant nothing leſſe: for that night he remooued his campe and priſoners, ſo that we were faine to content vs with thoſe few which we had gotten our ſelues.

A towne of 8000 Negros taken.

No trueth in Negros.

Now had we obtained between foure and fiue hundred Negros, wherwith we thought it ſomewhat reaſonable to ſeeke the coaſt of the Weſt Indies, and there, for our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with ſome gaines, whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furniſhed our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coaſt of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the ſea with a paſſage more hard, then before hath bene accuſtomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had ſight of an Iland, called Dominica, vpon the coaſt of the Weſt Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coaſted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, ſomewhat hardly, becauſe the king had ſtraightly commanded all his Gouernors in thoſe parts, by no meanes to ſuffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithſtanding we had reaſonable trade, and courteous entertainment, from the Ile of Margarita vnto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, ſauing at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treaſurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or ſuffer vs to take water, he had fortified his towne with diuers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furniſhed himſelfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, ſo that he thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negros: of which purpoſe he had not greatly failed, vnleſſe we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his fauour) we were enforced to doe, and ſo with two hundred men brake in vpon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the loſſe onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards becauſe after their voley of ſhot diſcharged, they all fled.

Dominica.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

Thus hauing the town with ſome circumſtance, as partly by the Spaniards deſire of Negros, and partly by friendſhip of the Treaſurer, we obtained a ſecret trade: whereupon the Spaniards reſorted to vs by night, and bought of vs to the number of 200 Negros: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of vs and traded willingly.

At Cartagena the laſt towne we thought to haue ſeene on the coaſt, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the gouernour was ſo ſtraight, and becauſe our trade was ſo neere finiſhed we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of Iuly, hoping to haue eſcaped the time of their ſtormes which then ſoone after began to reigne, the which they call Furicanos, but paſſing by the Weſt end of Cuba, towards the coaſt of Florida there happened to vs the 12 day of Auguſt an extreme ſtorme which continued by the ſpace of foure dayes, which ſo beat the Ieſus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder alſo was ſore ſhaken, and withall was in ſo extreme a leake that we were rather vpon the point to leaue her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good paſſe, we ſought the coaſt of Florida, where we found no place nor Hauen for our ſhips, becauſe of the ſhalowneſſe of the coaſt: thus being in greater diſpaire, and taken with a newe ſtorme which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our ſuccour the Port which ſerueth the citie of Mexico called Saint Iohn de Vllua, which ſtandeth in 19 degrees: in ſeeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ſhips which carried paſſengers to the number of an hundred, which paſſengers we hoped ſhould be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, & a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entred

Cartagena.

Furicanos.

Stormes.

the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua and in our entrie the Spaniardes thinking vs to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboord vs, which being deceiued of their expectation were greatly diſmayed: but immediatly when they ſawe our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found alſo in the ſame Port twelue ſhips which had in them by the report two hundred thouſand pound in gold & ſiluer, all which (being in my poſſeſſion, with the kings Iland as alſo the paſſengers before in my way thitherward ſtayed) I ſet at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat: onely becauſe I would not be delayed of my diſpatch, I ſtayed two men of eſtimation and ſent poſt immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from vs, to the Preſidentes and Councell there, ſhewing them of our arriuall there by the force of weather, and the neceſſitie of the repaire of our ſhippes and victuals, which wantes we required as friends to king Philip to be furniſhed of for our money: and that the Preſidents and Councell there ſhould with all conuenient ſpeede take order, that at the arriuall of the Spaniſh fleete, which was dayly looked for, there might no cauſe of quarrell riſe betweene vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe. This meſſage being ſent away the ſixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arriuall, in the next morning which was the ſeuenteenth day of the ſame moneth, we ſawe open of the Hauen thirteene great ſhippes, and vnderſtanding them to bee the fleete of Spaine, I ſent immediatly to aduertiſe the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to vnderſtand, that before I would ſuffer them to enter the Port, there ſhould ſome order of conditions paſſe betweene vs for our ſafe being there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to be vnderſtood that this Port is made by a little Iland of ſtones not three foote aboue the water in the higheſt place, and but a bow-ſhoot of length any way, this Iland ſtandeth from the maine land two bow ſhootes or more, alſo it is to be vnderſtood that there is not in all this coaſt any other place for ſhips to arriue in ſafety, becauſe the North winde hath there ſuch violence, that vnleſſe the ſhippes be very ſafely mored with their ankers faſtened vpon this Iland, there is no remedie for theſe North windes but death: alſo the place of the Hauen was ſo little, that of neceſſitie the ſhippes muſt ride one aboord the other, ſo that we could not giue place to them, nor they to vs: and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, ſaid I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receiue the one of them. That was, either I muſt haue kept out the fleete from entring the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to doe, or elſe ſuffer them to enter in with their accuſtomed treaſon, which they neuer faile to execute, where they may haue opportunitie, to compaſſe it by any meanes: if I had kept them out, then had there bene preſent ſhipwracke of all the fleete which amounted in value to ſixe Millions, which was in value of our money 1800000. li. which I conſidered I was not able to anſwere, fearing the Queenes Maieſties indignation in ſo waightie a matter. Thus with my ſelfe reuoluing the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Iutt of the vncertainty, then the certaintie. The vncertaine doubt I account was their treaſon which by good policie I hoped might be preuented, and therefore as chuſing the leaſt miſchiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our firſt meſſenger come and returned from the fleete with report of the arriuall of a Viceroy, ſo that hee had authoritie, both in all this Prouince of Mexico (otherwiſe called Nueua Eſpanna) and in the ſea, who ſent vs word that we ſhould ſend our conditions, which of his part ſhould (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both fauourably granted, and faithfully performed, with many faire wordes how paſſing the coaſt of the Indies he had vnderſtood of our honeſt behauiour towardes the inhabitants where we had to doe, aſwell elſewhere as in the ſame Port, the which I let paſſe: thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and licence to ſell as much ware as might furniſh our wants, and that there might be of either part twelue gentlemen as hoſtages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Iland for our better ſafetie might be in our owne poſſeſſion, during our abode there, and ſuch ordinance as was planted in the ſame Iland which were eleuen peeces of braſſe: and that no Spaniard might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon: theſe conditions at the firſt he ſomewhat miſliked, chiefly the guard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had ſoone knowen our fare: for with the firſt North winde they had cut our cables and our ſhips had gone aſhore: but in the end he concluded to our requeſt, bringing the twelue hoſtages to ten, which with all ſpeede of either part were receiued, with a writing from the Viceroy ſigned with his hande and ſealed with his ſeale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blowen with commandement that none of either part ſhould be meane to violate the peace vpon paine of death: and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleetes ſhould meete, and giue faith ech to other for the performance of the premiſſes which was ſo done. Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was

Saint Iohn de Vllua a Port.

The Spaniards deceiued.

Our requeſts.

The fleete of Spaine.

The maner of the Port S. Iohn de Vllua.

North windes perillous.

1800. thouſand pound.

A Viceroy.

Faire wordes beguiled.

Our requeſts.

The peace concluded.

concluded & the fleete entered the Port, ſaluting one another as the maner of the ſea doth require. Thus as I ſaid before, thurſday we entred the Port, Friday we ſaw the fleete, and on munday at night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2 daies placing the Engliſh ſhips by themſelues & the Spaniſh ſhips by themſelues, the captaines of ech part & inferiour men of their parts promiſing great amity of al ſides: which euen as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, ſo the Spaniards ment nothing leſſe on their parts, but from the maine land had furniſhed themſelues with a ſupply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next thurſday being the 23 of September at dinner time to ſet vpon vs on all ſides. The ſame Thurſday in the morning the treaſon being at hand, ſome appearance ſhewed, as ſhifting of weapon from ſhip to ſhip, planting and bending of ordinance from the ſhips to the Iland where our men warded, paſſing too and fro of companies of men more then required for their neceſſary buſines, & many other ill likelihoods, which cauſed vs to haue a vehement ſuſpition, and therewithall ſent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which ſent immediatly ſtraight commandement to vnplant all things ſuſpicious, and alſo ſent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not ſatiſfied with this anſwere, becauſe we ſuſpected a great number of men to be hid in a great ſhip of 900 tunnes which was mored next vnto the Minion, ſent againe to the Viceroy the maſter of the Ieſus which had the Spaniſh tongue, and required to be ſatiſfied if any ſuch thing were or not. The Viceroy now ſeeing that the treaſon muſt be diſcouered, foorthwith ſtayed our maſter, blew the Trumpet, and of all ſides ſet vpon vs: our men which warded aſhore being ſtricken with ſudden feare, gaue place, fled, and ſought to recouer ſuccour of the ſhips; the Spaniardes being before prouided for the purpoſe landed in all places in multitudes from their ſhips which they might eaſily doe without boates, and ſlewe all our men aſhore without mercie, a fewe of them eſcaped aboord the Ieſus. The great ſhip which had by the eſtimation three hundred men placed in her ſecretly, immediatly fell aboord the Minion, but by Gods appointment, in the time of the ſuſpicion we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the Minion was made readie to auoide, and ſo leeſing her hedfaſts, and hayling away by the ſternefaſtes ſhe was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe ſhe defended the violence of the firſt brunt of theſe three hundred men. The Minion being paſt out, they came aboord the Ieſus, which alſo with very much a doe and the loſſe of manie of our men were defended and kept out. Then were there alſo two other ſhips that aſſaulted the Ieſus at the ſame inſtant, ſo that ſhe had hard getting looſe, but yet with ſome time we had cut our head-faſtes and gotten out by the ſterne-faſtes. Nowe when the Ieſus and the Minion were gotten about two ſhippes length from the Spaniſh fleete, the fight beganne ſo hotte on all ſides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was ſuppoſed to be ſunke, their Vice-admirall burned and one other of their principall ſhips ſuppoſed to be ſunke, ſo that the ſhippes were little able to annoy vs.

A Viceroy falſe of his faith.

The treaſon brake foorth.

The Minion eſcaped hardly.

The Ieſus eſcaped hardly.

Sharpe warre.

3. ſhips of the Spaniards conſumed.

Then is it to be vnderſtood, that all the Ordinance vpon the Ilande was in the Spaniardes handes, which did vs ſo great annoyance, that it cut all the maſtes and yardes of the Ieſus, in ſuch ſort that there was no hope to carrie her away: alſo it ſunke our ſmall ſhippes, whereupon we determined to place the Ieſus on that ſide of the Minion, that ſhe might abide all the batterie from the land, and ſo be a defence for the Minion till night, and then to take ſuch reliefe of victuall and other neceſſaries from the Ieſus, as the time would ſuffer vs, and to leaue her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the Minion from the ſhot of the land, ſuddenly the Spaniardes had fired two great ſhippes which were comming directly with vs, and hauing no meanes to auoide the fire, it bredde among our men a maruellous feare, ſo that ſome ſayd, let vs depart with the Minion, other ſaid, let vs ſee whither the winde will carrie the fire from vs. But to be ſhort, the Minions men which had alwayes their ſayles in a readineſſe, thought to make ſure worke, and ſo without either conſent of the Captaine or Maſter cut their ſaile, ſo that very hardly I was receiued into the Minion.

A hard caſe.

The moſt part of the men that were left a liue in the Ieſus, made ſhift and followed the Minion in a ſmall boat, the reſt which the little boate was not able to receiue, were inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards (which I doubt was very little) ſo with the Minion only and the Iudith (a ſmall barke of 50 tunne) we eſcaped, which barke the ſame night forſooke vs in our great miſerie: we were now remooued with the Minion from the Spaniſh ſhips two bow-ſhootes, and there rode all that night: the next morning we recouered an Iland a mile from the Spaniardes, where there tooke vs a North winde, and being left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we loſt three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes vpon death which euer was preſent, but God preſerued vs to a longer time.

Small hope to be had of tyrants.

A ſtorme.

The weather waxed reaſonable, and the Saturday we ſet ſaile, and hauing a great number of men and little victuals our hope of life waxed leſſe and leſſe: ſome deſired to yeeld to the Spaniards, ſome rather deſired to obtaine a place where they might giue themſelues to the Infidels, and ſome had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: ſo thus with many ſorrowfull hearts we wandred in an vnknowen Sea by the ſpace of 14 dayes, till hunger inforced vs to ſeeke the land, for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none eſcaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they ſerued the turne one dinner: thus in the end the 8 day of October we came to the land in the botome of the ſame bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to haue found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the repaire of our ſhip, which was ſo ſore beaten with ſhot from our enemies and bruſed with ſhooting of our owne ordinance, that our wearie and weake armes were ſcarce able to defende and keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuall, nor hauen of reliefe, but a place where hauing faire weather with ſome perill we might land a boat: our people being forced with hunger deſired to be ſet on land, whereunto I conſented.

Small hopes of life.

Hard choice.

Miſeries.

And ſuch as were willing to land I put them apart, and ſuch as were deſirous to goe homewardes, I put a part, ſo that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one ſide and a hundred of the other ſide: theſe hundred men we ſet a land with all diligence in this little place before ſaid, which being landed, we determined there to take in freſh water, and ſo with our little remaine of victuals to take the ſea.

An hundred men ſet on land in 23. deg. and a halfe.

The next day hauing a land with me fiftie of our hundreth men that remained for the ſpeedier preparing of our water aboord, there aroſe an extreame ſtorme, ſo that in three dayes we could by no meanes repaire aboord our ſhip: the ſhip alſo was in ſuch perill that euery houre we looked for ſhipwracke.

The greateſt miſerie of all.

But yet God againe had mercie on vs, and ſent faire weather, we had aboord our water, and departed the ſixteenth day of October, after which day we had faire and proſperous weather till the ſixteenth day of Nouember, which day God be prayſed we were cleere from the coaſt of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Iucayo. After this growing neere to the colde countrey, our men being oppreſſed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into ſuch weakeneſſe that we were ſcantly able to manage our ſhippe, and the winde being alwayes ill for vs to recouer England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieue our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arriued the laſt day of December in a place neere vnto Vigo called Ponte Vedra, our men with exceſſe of freſh meate grew into miſerable diſeaſes, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men ſuffered to goe a land, yet by acceſſe of the Spaniards, our feebleneſſe was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceaſed not to ſeeke by all meanes to betray vs, but with all ſpeede poſſible we departed to Vigo, where we had ſome helpe of certaine Engliſh ſhips and twelue freſh men, wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of January 1568 arriued in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the ſame moneth, praiſed be God therefore.

If all the miſeries and troubleſome affaires of this ſorowfull voyage ſhould be perfectly and throughly written, there ſhould neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the liues and deathes of the Martyrs.

IOHN HAWKINS.

The firſt voyage attempted and ſet foorth by the expert and valiant captaine M. *Francis Drake* himſelfe, with a ſhip called the *Dragon*, and another ſhip and a Pinneſſe, to *Nombre de Dios*, and *Dariene*, about the yeere 1572. Written and recorded by one *Lopez Vaz* a Portugall borne in the citie of *Eluas*, in maner following: which Portugale, with the diſcourſe about him, was taken at the riuer of *Plate* by the ſhips ſet foorth by the Right Honourable the Earle of *Cumberland*, in the yeere 1586.

There was a certaine Engliſh man named Francis Drake, who hauing intelligence how the towne of Nombre de Dios in Nueua Eſpanna, had but ſmall ſtore of people remaining there, came on a night, and entred the Port with foure Pinneſſes, and landed about 150 men, & leauing 70 men with a trumpet, in a Fort which was there, with the other 80 he entred the towne, without doing any harme, till he came to the market place, and there diſcharged his caliuers, & ſounded a trumpet very loud, and the other which he had left in the Fort anſwered him after the ſame maner, with the diſcharging their caliuers, and ſounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any ſuch matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their ſleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter ſhould be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that uprore was which happened ſo ſudenly in the towne. But 14 or 15 of them ioyning together with their harquebuzes, went to the market place to know what they were that were in the towne, and in a corner of the market place they did diſcouer the Engliſhmen, and ſeeing them to be but fewe, diſcharged their caliuers at thoſe Engliſhmen: their fortune was ſuch that they killed the Trumpetter, and ſhot one of the principall men thorow the legge, who ſeeing himſelfe hurt, retyred to the Fort, where the reſt of their company was left: they which were in the Fort ſounded their Trumpet, and ſeeing that they in the towne did not anſwere them, and hearing the caliuers, thought that all they in the towne had bene ſlaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinneſſes: the Engliſh captaine comming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in ſo great feare, that leauing their furniture behind them, and putting off their hoſe, they ſwamme, and waded all to their Pinneſſes, and ſo went with their ſhips againe out of the Port.

Thus this Engliſh Captaine called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, & left onely one man in the towne which was looking out of a windowe to ſee what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter ſlaine.

The valiant exploit of M. Francis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

But he being diſcontented with the repulſe which he had receiued there, came to the ſound of Dariene, and hauing conference with certaine Negros which were fled from their maſters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negros did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with gold and ſiluer from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie of theſe Negros went thereupon on land, and ſtayed in the way where the treaſure ſhould come with an hundred ſhot, and ſo tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their driuers miſtruſting nothing, and he carried away the gold onely, for they were not able to carrie the ſiluer through the mountaines. And two dayes after he came to the houſe of Croſſes, where he killed ſixe or ſeuen marchants, but found no golde nor ſiluer but much marchandize: ſo he fired the houſe, where was burnt aboue 200000 Duckets in marchandize, and ſo went to his ſhip againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a ſhip-boord, there came downe to the ſandes three hundred ſhot of the Spaniards in the ſight of his ſhips, of purpoſe to ſeeke him, but he cared little for them being out of their reach, and ſo departed with his treaſure.

M. Francis Drake burnt the houſe of Croſſes.

The voyage of *Iohn Oxnam* of *Plimmouth*, to the *VVeſt India*, and ouer the ſtraight of *Dariene* into the South ſea. Anno 1575. Written by the foreſaid *Lopez Vaz* in the ſaid diſcourſe.

There was another Engliſhman, who hearing of the ſpoyle that Francis Drake had done upon the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna, and of his good aduenture and ſafe returne home, was thereby prouoked to undertake the like enterpriſe, with a ſhip of 140 tunnes, and 70 men, and came thither, and had alſo conference with the foreſaide Negros: and hearing that the golde and ſiluer which came upon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted with ſouldiers, he determined to do that which neuer any man before enterpriſed: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negros. This man couered his ſhip after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and ſo not leauing any man in his ſhip, he tooke two ſmall pieces of ordinance, and his caliuers, and good ſtore of victuals, and ſo went with the Negros about twelue leagues into the maine land, to a riuer that goeth to the South ſea, and there he cut wood and made a Pinneſſe, which was fiue and fortie foote by the keele, and hauing made this Pinneſſe, he went into the South ſea, carrying ſixe Negros with him to be his guides, and ſo went to the Iland of Pearles, which is fiue & twentie leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without ſhewing himſelfe to any man, to ſee if he might get any ſhip that came from Peru: At laſt, there came a ſmall Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke and found in her ſixtie thouſand pezos of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himſelfe with this prize, hee ſtayed long without ſending away his prize or any of the men, and in the ende of ſixe dayes after, hee tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke an hundred thouſand pezos of ſiluer in barres, with the which hee thought to haue

The Iland of pearles 25. leagues from Panama.

haue gone, & entred the riuer, but firſt he went into the Iſlands to ſee if he could find any pearles: where he found a few, and ſo returned to his pinneſſe againe, & ſo ſailing to the riuer from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the ſayd riuer, hee ſent away the two prizes that hee tooke, and with his pinneſſe he went vp the riuer. The Negros that dwelt in the Iland of pearls, the ſame night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Gouernour within two dayes ſent foure barkes with 100 men, 25 men in euery one, and Negros to rowe with the captaine Iohn de Ortega, which went to the Iſland of pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the Engliſh men were gone, and following them he met by the way the ſhips which the Engliſh men had taken, of whom he learned, that the Engliſh men were gone vp the riuer, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the riuer, the captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, becauſe there were three partitions in the riuer to goe vp in, and being determined to goe vp the greateſt of the three riuers, he ſaw comming downe a leſſer riuer many feathers of hennes, which the Engliſhmen had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, hee went vp that riuer where hee ſaw the feathers, and after that he had bene in that riuer foure daies, he deſcried the Engliſhmens pinneſſe vpon the ſands, and comming to her, there were no more then ſixe Engliſhmen, whereof they killed one, and the other fiue eſcaped away, and in the pinneſſe he found nothing but victuals: but this captaine of Panama not herewith ſatiſfied, determined to ſeeke out the Engliſhmen by land, and leauing twenty men in his pinneſſes, hee with 80 ſhot went vp the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a houſe made of boughs, where they found all the Engliſhmens goods, and the gold and ſiluer alſo, and carying it backe to their pinneſſes, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the Engliſh men any further.

But at the end of three dayes, the Engliſh captaine came to the riuer with all his men, and aboue 200 Negros, and ſet vpon the Spaniards with great fury: But the Spaniards hauing the aduantage of trees which they ſtood behind, did eaſily preuaile, and killed eleuen Engliſhmen, and fiue Negros, and tooke other ſeuen Engliſhmen aliue, but of the Spaniards, two were ſlaine and fiue ſore hurt.

A ſkirmiſh betweene the Engliſh men, and the Spaniards.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Engliſhmen which they tooke, why they went not away in fifteene dayes liberty which they had. They anſwered, that their Captaine had commanded them to carie all that golde and ſiluer which they had, to the place where they had left their ſhippe, and they had promiſed him to carie it, although they made three or foure iourneys of it, for hee promiſed to giue them part of it beſides their wages, but the mariners would haue it by and by, and ſo their Captaine being angry becauſe they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in ſo much that one of the company would haue killed the Captaine, ſo that the Captaine would not haue them to carie the treaſure, but ſayd hee would ſeeke Negros to carie it, and ſo he went and ſought for Negros, and bringing thoſe Negros to carie it, hee met with the fiue Engliſh men that hee had left in his pinneſſe which ranne from the Spaniards, and the reſt alſo which ran from the houſe, and they told him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendſhip with all his men, hee promiſed them halfe of all the treaſure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negros promiſed to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and thereupon they came to ſeeke the Spaniards, and now that ſome of his company were killed and taken, hee thought it beſt to returne to his ſhip, and to paſſe backe for England. The Spaniſh captaine hearing this, hauing buried the dead bodies, and hauing gotten all things into his barkes, and taking the Engliſh men and their pinneſſe with him, he returned to Panama: ſo the voyage of that Engliſh man did not proſper with him, as hee thought it would haue done.

Nowe when the foure barkes were come to Panama, they ſent aduiſe alſo to Nombre de dios, and they of Nombre de dios ſent alſo from them other foure barkes which (as the Spaniards ſay) found the Engliſh ſhip where ſhe was hid, and brought her to Nombre de dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to ſuffer fiftie Engliſh men to remaine in the countrey, ſent a ſeruant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundreth and fifty ſhot into the mountaines to ſeeke them out, who found them making of certaine Canoas to goe into the North ſea, and there to take ſome barke or other: ſome of them were ſicke, and were taken, and the reſt fled with the Negros, who in the end betrayed them to the Spaniards, ſo that they were brought to Panama. And the Iuſtice of Panama aſked the Engliſh captaine whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt. And he anſwered he had none, whereupon hee and all his company were condemned to dye, and ſo were all executed, ſauing the Captaine, the Maſter, the Pilot, and fiue boyes which were caried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet liuing.

The Engliſh betrayed to the Spaniards.

The death of Iohn Oxnam.

The King of Spaine hauing intelligence of theſe matters, ſent 300 men of warre againſt thoſe Negros which had aſſiſted thoſe Engliſh men, which before were ſlaues vnto the Spaniards, and as before is ſayd, fled from their maſters vnto thoſe mountaines, and ſo ioyned themſelues to the Engliſhmen, to the ende they might the better reuenge themſelues on the Spaniards.

At the firſt comming of theſe 300 ſouldiers, they tooke many of the Negros, and executed great iuſtice vpon them: But after a ſeaſon, the Negros grew wiſe and wary, and preuented the Spaniards, ſo that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that countrey marueiled much at this one thing, to ſee that ſince the conquering of this land, there haue bene many Frenchmen, that haue come to thoſe Countreys, but neuer ſaw Engliſh men there but onely thoſe two of whom I haue ſpoken. And although there haue many Frenchmen bene on the coaſt, yet neuer durſt they put foote vpon land, only thoſe two Engliſh men aduentured it, and did ſuch exploits, as are before remembred.

The Engliſh mens comming to the Indies, cauſed the king of Spaine to build gallies to keepe the Seas.

All theſe things comming to the hearing of the king of Spaine, he prouided two Gallies well appointed to keepe thoſe coaſtes: and the firſt yeere they tooke ſixe or ſeuen French ſhips. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Engliſhmen or Frenchmen of warre that durſt aduenture to approch the coaſt, vntill this preſent yeere 1586, that the aforeſayd Francis Drake, with a ſtrong fleete of 24 ſhips arriued there, who made ſpoile of Santo Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Auguſtine, things that are knowen to all the worlde. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine liue, he will in time prouide ſufficient remedy, to keepe his countreys and ſubiects from the inuaſion of other nations.

The voyage of Maſter *Andrew Barker* of *Briſtol*, with two ſhips, the one called the *Ragged ſtaffe*, the other the *Beare*, to the coaſt of *Terra firma*, and the Bay of *Honduras* in the Weſt Indies, in the yeere 1576. Wherein the reaſons are premiſed which mooued him to ſet forth this voyage againſt the Spaniards: collected out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterpriſe by M. *Richard Hakluyt.*

Firſt of all Andrew Barker hauing abode in one of the Canary Iſlands called Tenerif for a certaine time, and returning home left behind him Charles Cheſter (the ſonne of Dominic Cheſter merchant of Briſtol) to learn the language. Now the ſayd Andrew Barker forthwith vpon his arriuall in England, in Nouember, 1574, fraighted a ſmall ſhip (named the Speedwell of Briſtol) to goe for the Canaries with cloth and other merchandiſe of a great value. He ſent alſo one Iohn Drue of Baſtable as his Factor to make ſale and diſpoſe of the ſaid goods, who when he arriued at Tenerif, landed the marchandize, and ſent home the barke with ſome ſmall quantity of wine, making account to ſell the ſayd wares to greater aduantage in prouiding wines and ſugar for the lading of another ſhip, which Andrew Barker had appointed to ſend thither. Alſo according to his purpoſe y^e^ ſaid Andrew in March following ſent a ſhip called the Chriſtopher of Dartmouth, captaine whereof was one Henry Roberts of Briſtol: who when he had landed in Tenerif, & was in good hope to find the lading of his ſhip in a readines, contrary to his expectation, was ſuddenly caſt into priſon: the Spaniards alleaging that Andrew Barker was accuſed to the inquiſitiō by Charles Cheſter, whereupon his goods were confiſcat, his factor Iohn Drue was attached, and he alſo (the ſaid captaine Roberts) being as they ſuppoſed Barkers partner, was in like ſort to be impriſoned. In fine all the foreſaid commodities appertaining to the ſaid Andrew and his brother M. Iohn Barker and others to the value of 1700 pound and vpwards (as it doth appeare by prooſes of record in the Admiralty) were vtterly loſt, being confiſcat to the ſaid inquiſition. Howbeit captaine Roberts by the meanes of a frier was deliuered out of priſon (which coſt him all the marchandize he brought with him in his ſhip) and ſo returned with dead fraight to the ſumme of 200 pound that afterwards Andrew Barker diſcharged. In recompenſe of which iniurie (for that no ſuite preuaileth againſt the inquiſition of Spaine) & alſo to recouer his loſſe of the Spaniards themſelues, at his owne charge with the help of his friends hee furniſhed two barkes for the Weſt Indies, the greater of which barkes was called the Ragged ſtaffe, himſelfe being captaine, & Philip Roche Maſter thereof, the other named the Beare had one William Coxe of Limehouſe for her Maſter and captaine. And thus all our company being imbarked at Plimmouth on Whitſunday in the beginning of Iune, we ſet forward, & in our courſe we met with a ſhip of London, & afterwards with another ſhip, but tooke nothing frō either of them. Our firſt arriual was at one of the Ilands of Cape Verde, named Del ſal, vz. the Iſle of ſalt, where wee tooke certain fiſhes called Tortoiſes: and there we remained one night and halfe the day following. And from thence wee came to the

Iſla del ſal.

Iſle of Maio, being diſtant from Illa del ſal, 14 or 15 leagues, where we tooke in freſh water and trafficked with certaine Portugals inhabiting in that place, of whom we had ſome victuals for kniues and beades: and there we remained one day and one night: but our trumpetter was treacherouſly ſlaine by thoſe Portugals, in reuenge of which murther we ſet on fire two of their ſmall villages. From this Iſland wee ſhaped our courſe ouer the maine Ocean toward the Weſt Indies, and arriued happily at the Iſland of Trinidad, and had conference with certaine Indians inhabitants thereof, who gaue vs very friendly and courteous entertainement: and here we ſet vp a pinneſſe which we caried forth in the Ragged ſtaffe, and trafficked with the foreſayd Indians for victuals. And after we had ſpent ſixe dayes in this place we departed, and arriued next at the Iſle of Margarita, where we tooke a ſmall Spaniſh ſhip hauing in her certaine pitch and 30 tuns of Canarie wines whereof we reſerued 4 or 5 tunnes to our ſelues, diſmiſſing them without any further damage. Thence (hauing remained there a day) wee ſet ſaile to the Iſland of Curaçao, where we remained a day & a night, & tooke in freſh water, at what time by the inhabitants of that Iſland (being few of them Spaniards, & the moſt part Indiãs) 14 of our men were treacherouſly hurt, but none ſlaine. And from thence we departed for the maine land Southwards, to a certain bay, and there we abode 3 daies, but nothing of any reckoning was there atchieued. From thence we arriued at Cape de la Vela, where grewe a contention betweene our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, and his Maſter Philip Roche, vpon compariſons made betweene them concerning the knowledge of Nauigation, and about other quarels, which quarels afterward were an occaſion of further miſchiefe. Hence we ſailed to the bay of Tulu (which is about 18 leagues Southweſtward from Carthagena) where wee tooke a Frigat and certaine treaſure therein to the value of 500 pound, namely barres of gold, and lingots of ſiluer, and ſome quantity of corriẽto or coyne in rials of plate, and certaine greene ſtones called Emerauds, whereof one very great, being ſet in gold, was found tied ſecretly about the thigh of a frier. Here hauing ſtayed three dayes, and now being purſued by Spaniſh men of warre, wee departed with the ſayd treaſure, and left the Frigat behind vs, all which treaſure at that inſtant was committed to the keeping of our captaine Andrew Barker. From thence we paſſed to Nombre de dios, and ſo foorth to the mouth of the riuer of Chagre 18 leagues diſtant from Nombre de dios towards the Northweſt. There wee landed 10 of our men, who trauelled vp into the woods three or foure daies to ſeeke the Simerons, (which are certaine valiant Negros fled from their cruel maſters the Spaniards, and are become mortall enemies, ready to ioyne with the Engliſh and French againſt them) but in their ſearch they could find none of them. And though our men returned all free from peril of the enemie, yet the moſt part of the ſayd ten perſons preſently fell ſicke, and diuers other of our company: ſo that within 14 dayes 8 or 9 of our men died of a diſeaſe called there the Calentura, which is a hote and vehement feuer. And paſſing betweene Chagre and Veragua, we tooke a Frigat, and ſome quantitie of golde wee found therein. In this Frigat were 23 Spaniards whom wee ſet on ſhore, and two Flemings, them wee brought into England with vs: wee had therein alſo foure caſt pieces of Ordinance, 3 harquebuzes on crocke, 16 Spaniſh caliuers, and a booke of Nauigation: and in the Frigat ſome of our company came homeward into England. Thus paſſing forward in our courſe, we came to Veragua, where captaine Barker, & Philip Roche his Maſter, fought vpon the foreſayd quarel, in which combat the captaine was hurt a little in the cheeke. Here we ſanke our ſhip call the Ragged ſtaffe, becauſe of her great leakage, and imbarked part of our company in the Spaniſh Frigat, which immediately before we had ſurpriſed. From hence (by the direction of certain Indians) we ſayled into the gulfe of the Honduras: there we tooke a barke wherein were rials of plate, to the value of 100 pound, Maiz or Indian wheat, hennes, beefe and other ſmall things. In this barke alſo were certaine Spaniards, whereof one was the Scriuano or ſecretary of Carthagena, who (being a man of ſome note) was put to his ranſome, which was payd in gold: the reſt were diſmiſſed freely. And after paſſing by diuers Iſlands, we arriued at an Iſland called S.Franciſco, being in the mouth of the great bay, called the Honduras. And within two dayes next after our arriuall there, William Coxe and diuers others (which for certaine cauſes ſhalbe nameleſſe) came aboord the ſhip wherein the captaine then was, and diſpoſſeſſed him as well of the ſayd ſhip, as of the treaſure in the ſame, and forthwith put our captaine with violence on ſhore, where he and one Germane Weiborne fought together, and were both wounded. After this our captaine deſirous to come on boord, was reſiſted by the perſons aforeſayd who anſwered him that he ſhould not come on boord till they were ready to depart. Our men had appointed ten perſons of their company for the keeping of this Iſland of S.Franciſco: but about breake of the day, on a certaine morning, ſixtie Spaniards arriuing ſecretly in the Iſland, ſurpriſed our people on the ſudden, what time there were thirtie of our men on ſhore: in which ſurpriſe, they

The Iſle of Maio.

Two villages burnt.

The Iſle of Trinidad.

The Iſle of Margarita.

The Iſle of Curaçao.

Cape de la Vela.

Tulu.

Nombre de dios.

Simerons rebels to the Spaniards.

Veragua.

The bay of Honduras.

The Iſle of S. Franciſco.

A conſpiracie againſt the Captaine.

M. Andrew Barker and 8 other ſlaine by the Spaniards.

they ſlew our captaine, M. Andrew Barker with eight others, namely, one Wilde of Briſtol, and Michael our Chirurgian, Richard of Briſtol, Thomas Sampoole, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Nightingale, Robert Iackſon, Walter Newton; and the captaines boy and one other were hurt. Now after that William Coxe, and the reſt (which were aboord the barke) perceiued that the captaine, & ſome others were ſlain, he receiued them that were liuing into the ſhip, hauing before that time refuſed ſome of them. After this miſfortune they went to an Iſland diſtant from thence a league, where Coxe deuided a chaine of gold (which was found in the captaines cheſt after his death) amongſt the company. After this Coxe went in a pineſſe (which wee tooke at the Iſle of Sant Franciſco) with certaine others of our men in a ſkyffe, to the towne of Truxillio, in the bay of Honduras, which towne they ſurpriſed, and had therein wine and oyle as much as they would, and diuers other good things, but no gold nor ſiluer, nor any other treaſure which they would confeſſe. But before they could returne to their company, thoſe that were in the barke were had in chaſe by men of warre, whereby they were inforced euery man to ſhift for himſelfe: ſo for haſte they left thoſe that were in the ſkiffe (being 8 perſons) in the bay of Honduras: what became of them afterward God knoweth. Hereupon we determined to ſaile for England, and being in the maine ſea homeward bound, about 60 leagues from the Iſle of S. Franciſco, the frigat wherein was the treaſure for the aduenturers, and that which pertained to the captaine to the value of 2000 pound, being ouerſet with ſayle, with a flaw of wind was ouerthrowen, and all the goods therein periſhed: therein alſo were 14 perſons drowned, and nine ſaued, whereof William Coxe and William Gillam were two. After this Philip Roche, Maſter of the Admirall called the Ragged ſtaffe, died. And thus at length, (by the helpe of God) we arriued in the Iſle of Silly neere Cornwall where we left our Frigat which we built new vpon the ſhore of the Honduras, hauing in her at our landing ten botiſſos of oyle, and the foure caſt Peeces that were in Iohn Oxnams Frigat (which the yeere before was taken in the ſtreit of Dariene) three harquebuſes on crocke, certaine caliuers, and certaine treaſure: Where William Cox and Andrew Browne deuided the treaſure amongſt their company, deliuering to ſome fiue pound, to ſome ſixe pound, to ſome ſeuen pound, to ſome more, as euery man was thought to haue deſerued. The barke and the reſt of the Ordinance was left in the Iſland, to the vſe of Andrew Browne. Diuers of our company, vpon our arriuall at Plimmouth were committed to priſon at the ſuite of M. Iohn Barker of Briſtol, brother vnto our captaine M. Andrew Barker, as acceſſaries to our captains death, and betrayers of him vnto the enemie. And after ſtraight examination of many of vs, by letters of direction from her Maieſties priuie Counſell, the chiefe malefactors were onely chaſtiſed with long impriſonment, where indeede before God they had deſerued to die: whereof ſome, although they eſcaped the rigor of mans law, yet could they not auoide the heauy iudgement of God, but ſhortly after came to miſerable ends. Which may be example to others to ſhew themſelues faithfull and obedient in all honeſt cauſes to their captaines and gouernours.

The towne of Truxillio ſacked by the Engliſh.

The death of Philip Roche maſter of the Ragged ſtaffe.

Their arriuall in the Iſle of Sillie.

Certaine Ordinance of Iohn Oxnam recouered from the Spaniards.

Pareſcer de Don Aluaro Baçan, marques de Santa Cruz, tocante la Armada de Franciſco Draque, eſtando en las yſlas de Vayona: Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre, eſtilo de Eſpanna de 1585.

LO que pareſce, que podra hazer el Armada Ingleſe, en caſo que quiere paſſar a las Indias, y entrar en el mar del Sur, (como lo hā hecho otra vez Franciſco Draque) con las treynta y dos naues y galeones, y muchas lanchas y vergantines de remo que trae, y cinco mil hombres de guerra, que es el numero que a los de Vayona pareſcio que venian en el armada, es lo ſiguiente.

Leuera ſu derotta al Rio de Ienero, que es en la coſta del Braſil en 23 grados de la parte del Sur de la Linea. Es puerto capaz de muchos nauios y muy ſeguro, adonde ſe tiene agua, lenna, y carne: y tam bien podra tomar harina de Maiz en vn lugar dos o tres leguas del dicho puerto, que ſe dize San Vincente. Y por ſer camino per las yſlas de la Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde, podra ſaquear eſtas yſlas, dandole el tiempo lugar a ello.

San Vincente. Iſlas de Madera Canaria, y Cabo Verde.

Deſde Vaiona a la yſla de Madera con los vientos Nortes, que aora correran (paſſados los vientos de Vallee, que aora reynan, por eſtar la coſta de Eſpanna llouida) yra la Armada en ſeis dias; de alli a las Canarias en quatro, y de las Canarias a Cabo verde en ocho, que ſon per todos diez y ocho dias: y tardera mas lo que ſe tuuiere en ſaquear las yſlas.

De Cabo Verde al rio de Ienero tardera quarenta dias, que vernan a ſer todos dos meſes: por manera, que eſtando el Armada todo eſte mes en Galicia, podra ſer en el rio de Ienero en fin de Deziembre.

Rio de Ienero.

A la entrada de la baia del Rio de Ienero ay vna baxa, adonde con facilidad ſe hara vn fuerte,
en que pueden eſtar mas que quinientos hombres: y ponendole ſu artilleria, guardera el puer-
to, y el fuerte quedara aiſlado, que por la vna parte del ſudueſte y nordeſte tiene los dos
canales, por donde entran los nauios en el puerto: En el qual podra Franciſco Draque
concertar ſu Armada, y dexar alli alguna gente, y partir con la que le pareſciere, para entrar en
el Mar del Sur, y yr en ſeguimiento de ſu viaje al Eſtrecho de Magallanes (que es quinientas y
cinquenta leguas de aquel puerto, y eſta en cinquenta y dos grados y medio de parte del Sur)
y entrar por el Eſtrecho a la Mar del Sur por todo el mes de Febrero; y yr a la ciudad de los
Reys o Lima, que eſta en la coſta, y es de dos mil vezinos: y por no ſer gente de guerra, ni
pueſta en milicia, y lugar abierto ſin fortaleza, ni artilleria, le podra tomar y ſaquear, y yr ſe
apoderando de la tierra; pues tomando los nauios, que ay en aquella mar, no les podra en-
trar ſocorro de Eſpanna.

Lugar por hazer vn fuerte.

Eſtrecho de Magallanes.

Mar del Sur.

Lima es ciudad de dos mil vezinos, pero facil a tomar.

Y es de creer que ſe preuerra a tomar a Panama.

Panama.

No queriendo hazer eſte viaje, repartira ſu armada en dos vandas, y ſaqueare la yſla de San
Domingo, Puerto Rico, y la coſta de Tierra firma, haſta Cartagena y Nombre de Dios. Y
deſde el rio de Chagre, que es xv. leguas de Nombre de Dios, podra meter la Infanteria en
lanchas de remo, y en las varcas de carga y deſcarga en a quel rio, que ſon mas de cinquenta, y
llegar haſta la Venta de Cruzes, que es cinco leguas de Panama, que, por ſer lugar abierto, ſera
facil a ſaquear.

La ſegunda viaje.

San Domingo.
Cartagena.
Rio de Chagre.

Panama lugar abierto y facil a ſaquear.

Y tambien corre peligro la Hauana; que aunque tiene fortaleza, es chica y flaca, y ſacando
artilleria en tierra, la tomaran con facilidad.

La Hauana.

Y de mas de los dannos que podran hazer, conforme a eſte diſcorſo, no ſera el menor, cor-
tar el hilo a la nauigacion de las Indias, a tomar las flotas, ſi alli fueren.

Tomar las flotas.

Lo que Conuernia hazer para reparar eſtos dannos.

DEſpachar carauelas con grandiſſima diligencia a los virreys y gouernadores de las Indias,
auertiendo les de la Nueua de la Armada Ingleſe, para que eſten preuenidos, y ſe pôgan en
orden. Aunque, ſegun el numero de las Naues que han ſalido de Inglatierra, tengo por ſin du-
da, hauran paſſado de aquellas partes alguna banda dellas, haſta Tierra nueua. Porque la Rey-
na a tenido cuidado de embiar y tomar las naos de la Peſqueria del Baccalao: Y aſſi es de creer
ſin duda lo de las Indias.

Y teniendo ſe conſideracion a que, por lo que ſe intiende de Inglatierra, han ſalido mas de
ochenta nauios con los de Armada: Conuernia que ſu Mageſtad mandaſſe iuntar otra para
buſcar la Ingleſe, y combatir con ella, ordinando que los galeones que tiene la corona deſte
Reino, y los que tiene ſu Mageſtad en el Rio de Seuilla ſe adereſcan de yr oppoſito, dandoles
carena, para che eſtubieſſen a punto a qualquier viaje, por largo que fueſſe: y que aſſi miſmo
ſe embaraçe vn galeon del Duque de Florencia, que eſta muy bien armado y artillado, y a
partido de Alicante para Cadiz, y complimiento haſta quarenta naos grueſas, que ſe hallaran
en Viſcaia y Guipoſcoa: y que adereçadas, artilladas, y pueſtas en orden, como conuiene, ſe a-
uituallen por ocho meſes, y que deſde luego ſe leuanten haſta mil marineros de Catalunna y
Genoa para departir en las naues, y ſe trayen, como ſe hizo para la armada de la Terçera: y que
aſſi miſmo ſe leuanten ſeys mil ſoldados, dando condutas para mas gente, que eſta, para que
aya eſte numero de ſeruicio.

Quarenta naos grueſas.

Tambien conuernia, que de Viſcaia venga para eſta Armada 20 patazes, y veynte Azabras
de Caſtro. Que las patazes ſean de 50 haſta 60 toneladas: y las Azabras, como las que vinieran
a la Iornada de la Terçera.

Que ſe poruea el artilleria, poluere, y cuerda, y plomo neceſſario, arcabuzes, moſquetas, y
picas de reſpito para la guardia de la coſta.

Conuerne hazer otra armada de dos naos cada 400 toneladas, y otras quatro de a dozien-
tas, y quatro patazes, y mil ſoldados, de mas de la gente de mar.

Auiendo viſto y conſiderado, que en dos meſes han hecho tantos dannos los Ingleſes con
los nauios de mercantes que nauegan por eſtos mares, y que es de creer que haran lo miſmo
en las flotas que fueren y vinieren de las Indias, conuernia, que, como para la ordenança en ti-
empo de paz, lleua la armada las naos Capitana y Almirante, que lleuaſſen aora otras dos mas
por lo menos en cada flota: y no por eſto ſe ha de dexar de aſegurar las con Armada.

Todas eſtas preuenciones, me pareſce, ſe deuen hazer, para ſolo lo que toca la Armada In-
gleſe, y otros nauios que han ſalido de aquel Reyno.

Pero en caſo que Don Antonio Veniese con la Armada, y quiſieſe intentar lo d'eſte Reyno, ſeran meneſter las preuenciones ſiguientes.

QVe ſe apercibieſen el conde de Benauente, Marques de Soria, conde de Altamira, conde de Monte Rey, Marques de Cerraluo, y los de mas Sennores y Caualleros, a quien ſe dio orden que eſtubieſen a punto, quando ſe vino a eſte Reyno.

Que ſe exercibieſe tam bien la gente de las Ciudades de Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, cuidad para ſocorrer a la parte dentro Doro y Minno. Y las de Eſtremadura y Seuilla para ſocorrer eſta Ciudad de Liſbona, y ſu Comarca.

Que ſe auituallen los caſtillos deſta ciudad, ribera, y comarca, y prouean de poluere, cuerda, y plomo, y lo demas tocante el artilleria, como lo he pedido en las relaciones, que he embiado a ſu Mageſtad en 7 de março deſte anno 1585. Que ſe prouean las galeras por quatro meſes y vengan otras ſeys de Eſpanna a eſte Rio con 120 ſoldados por galera, para que los pueda repartir, en las ocho que eſtan aca. Y en caſo que eſto ſe ay, que la armada Ingleſa no paſſe a las Indias, y ſe ocupen en lo deſte Reyno, porque haure nauios de Ingleſes, que acuden a lo vno y a lo otro, ſera forçoſo hazer otra armada para lo de las Indias, de doze naos, quatro patajes, y mil y quinjentos ſoldados.

Todo eſto, me pareſce, conuiene al ſeruicio de ſu Maieſtad, ſe preuéga y apercibieſe con mucha diligencia y cuidado, proueiendo del dinero neceſſario para ello, ſin que ſe aguarde lo vno a lo otro, ſino que todo ſe haga ſin deſerirlo: Remitiendo me en todo a mejor pareſcer. Hecha en Liſboa a 26 de Otubre de 1585. Annos.

The opinion of Don Aluaro Baçan, *Marques of* Santa Cruz, *and high Admirall of* Spaine, *touching the armie of ſir* Francis Drake *lying at the Iſles of* Bayona *in Galicia, written in* Lisbon *the 26 of October after the account of* Spaine *in the yere 1585.*

THat which it ſeemeth vnto me, that the Engliſh army may doe, if they ſeeke to paſſe into the Weſt Indies, and enter into the South ſea (as Francis Drake hath done once before) with their thirty ſhips and galeons, and many pinneſſes and ſhalops with oares, which they haue with them, and 5000 men of warre, which they of Bayona thinke to be in the fleete, is as followeth.

They may take their courſe to the riuer of Ienero, which is on the coaſt of Braſil in 23 degrees to the South of the Equinoctial line. It is an hauen capable of many ſhips and very ſafe, where there is water, wood and fleſh: and likewiſe Drake may haue corne of Maiz in a towne twenty three leagues from the ſayd hauen, which is called S. Vincente.

The voyage which may be done by paſſing by the riuer of Ienero into the South ſea.

And becauſe the courſe is by the Iſles of Madera, the Canaries, and Cape verde, he may ſacke thoſe Iſlands, the time ſeruing him for that purpoſe.

Madera.

From Bayona to the Iſle of Madera, with the Northerne winds which now wil begin to blow, when the Weſterne winds be paſt, which preſently doe blowe becauſe that it beginneth to raine on the coaſt of Spaine, the fleete may run in 6 daies, and from thence to the Canaries in foure, and from the Canaries to the Iſles of Cape Verde in eight, which all together make eighteene dayes: and he may ſtay as much time more as ſhall ſerue him to ſacke the Iſlands in.

Canaries.
The Iſles of Cape Verde.

He may ſaile from Cape Verde to the riuer of Ienero in 40 dayes, which in the whole amount vnto two moneths. So that the fleete remaining all this moneth of October on the coaſt of Galicia, it may come to the riuer of Ienero in the end of December.

The riuer of Ienero.

At the entry of the bay of the riuer of Ienero there is a flat low Iſland where a fort may very eaſily be made, wherein about 500 men may be left: and placing his artillery therein, he may keepe the hauen, & the fort wil be able to hold out all aſſaults, becauſe that on the Southweſt and Northeaſt ſides are two chanels whereby the ſhips come into the hauen: wherein Francis Drake may repaire his army, and leaue there ſome people, and depart with ſo much of the reſt as ſhal ſeeme good vnto him to enter into the South ſea, & go on vpon his voyage to the ſtreight of Magelan, which is 550 leagues from the foreſaid hauen, and ſtandeth in 52 degrees & a halfe toward the South, and may enter by the ſtreight into the South ſea all the moneth of February, & ſo may goe to the citie of Lima, otherwiſe called the citie de los Reys, which ſtandeth on the ſea coaſt hauing two thouſand inhabitants in it. But in reſpect that they be no warlike people nor exerciſed in armes, and becauſe the place is open and without fortreſſe & artillery, he may take and ſacke it, and make himſelf maſter on the land, & afterward taking thoſe ſhips which are in that ſea, our people can haue no ſuccour of ſhips out of Spaine, but by the ſtreight of Magelan, which is a long way about.

A fort may be builded on an Iſland in the mouth of the riuer of Ienero.

The ſtreight of Magelan.

The citie of Lima eaſie to be taken, though it haue 2000 inhabitants.
The ſhips in the South ſea may be burnt.

It is alſo very credible that he wil be able to take Panama.

Panama may be taken.

If he ſeeke not to take this courſe he may deuide his army into two parts, & ſacke the Iſles of S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coaſt of Tierra firma vnto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios.

The ſecond courſe which Francis Drake may take.

So

And from the riuer of Chagre, which is fifteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, he may ſend his footemen in ſhalops with oares and in the veſſels which carrie goods vp and downe the riuer, whereof there are aboue fiftie there, and paſſe vp to the lodging of the Croſſes, called in Spaniſh Venta de Cruzes, which is fiue leagues from Panama, which becauſe it is an vnwalled towne may eaſily be taken.

Panama being an open place is eaſie to be taken.

And Hauana alſo will bee in great danger, which albeit it haue a fortreſſe, yet it is but little and weake, and bringing his great ordinance on ſhore hee may take the ſame with great facilitie.

Hauana eaſie to be taken.

And beſides theſe damages which he may do, according to this diſcourſe, it will not be the leaſt to cut off the nauigation of the Indies, to take the Weſt Indian fleet, if they chance to be there.

The Indian fleete may be taken.

What courſe is to be taken to preuent theſe miſchiefes.

TO diſpatch Carauels with all poſſible diligence to the viceroyes and gouernours of the Indias, aduertiſing them of the newes of the Engliſh army, that they may be prouided, and make themſelues ready for them. Albeit, conſidering the number of ſhips which haue bene ſet foorth out of England, I aſſure my ſelfe, that ſome part of them are gone out of thoſe parts vnto Newfoundland. For the Queene hath taken carefull order to ſend to intercept the ſhips of the fiſhermen that goe to Baccalaos. And it is likewiſe to be thought that ſhee hath done the like for the intercepting of the fleet of the Indies.

Sir Bernard Drake tooke 17. ſailes of the Spaniſh and Portugall fiſhermen returning from Newfoundland, 1585.

And conſidering that according to our intelligence out of England, about foureſcore ſhippes, and the army of Drake haue bene ſet foorth from thence, it is meete that his maieſtie ſhould prepare another army to ſeeke the Engliſh fleete, and to fight with it, commanding that the Galeons which belong to the crowne of Portugall, and thoſe of his maieſtie which lye in the riuer of Siuill bee prepared to ſend againſt them, and to giue them the Carena, that they may bee in a readineſſe for any voyage howe long ſoeuer it bee: And likewiſe to arreſt a Galeon of the Duke of Florence, which is very well armed and furniſhed with great ordinance, and paſſed lately from Alicante toward Cadiz, and to make vp the number of fortie great ſhippes, which are to bee had in Biſcay and Guipuſcoa: and that beeing rigged, armed and ſet in good order, they bee victualled for eight moneths, and that foorthwith there bee leuied a thouſand mariners of Catalunna and Genoa to bee diuided among the Fleete, and bee conducted, as they were for the Fleete of Terçera: furthermore that ſixe thouſande ſouldiers bee leuied, giuing commaundement to preſſe a greater number, to the ende that theſe may bee able men for ſeruice.

His intelligence was too true, as ſince I found in the office of the Admiralty.

Fortie great ſhips to be prouided.

1583. Terçera was won by the Marques of Santa Cruz.

Moreouer it is needfull for this armie that 20 pataches be brought from Biſcay, and 20. Azabras from Caſtro. That the pataches bee from 50. to 60. tunnes: and that the Azabras bee like thoſe which were in the expedition to Terçera.

That ſufficient prouiſion be made of artillerie, powder, match, and lead, and harquebuzes, muſkets, and choſen pikes for the keeping of the coaſt.

It is alſo meete to prouide another army of two ſhips of 400. tunnes apiece, and other foure of 200. tunnes, and foure pataches and a thouſand ſouldiers, beſides mariners.

Another army of ten ſailes.

Hauing ſeene and conſidered that the Engliſhmen with their marchants ſhips onely that trauerſe theſe ſeas haue made ſuch hauocke in two moneths, and that it is to bee thought that they will doe the like againſt the fleetes which goe and come from the Indies: it is expedient, that as by order in time of peace the fleete hath an Admirall and Viceadmirall, that now it ſhould haue two more at the leaſt in eche Fleete: and neuertheleſſe they are to bee wafted home with an armie.

The Indian fleete to be ſtrengthened with 4. ſhips of warre.

In mine opinion all theſe prouiſions ought to bee made onely in regard of the Engliſh army, and the reſt of the ſhips which haue bene ſet out of that kingdome.

But in caſe that *Don Antonio* ſhould come with an armie, and ſhould ſeeke to inuade this kingdome, theſe prouiſions following would be needefull.

THat warning be giuen to the Conde de Beneuenta, to the Marques de Soria, to the Conde of Altamira, to the Conde of Monterey, to the Marqueſſe of Zerraluo, and to the reſt of the Lords and Knights, which are to haue order to bee in a readineſſe, againſt hee come vnto this kingdome.

What prouiſion is to be made if Don Antonio ſhould come with an army.

That the people alſo be trained of the cities of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, to bee ready to ſuccour the countrey betweene the riuers of Doro and Minno: and the people of Eſtremadura and Siuilla are likewiſe to bee trained to be ready to ſuccour the citie of Lisbon, and the countrey about the ſame.

Alſo that the caſtles of this citie, riuer and territorie be victualled and prouided of gunpowder, match and lead, and all things elſe belonging to the artillerie, as I haue requeſted in the relation which I ſent unto his maieſtie the 7. of March of this preſent yeere 1585.

An armie of 14. gallies to be prouided.

That the gallies be furniſhed for foure moneths: and that ſixe more bee brought from Spaine to this riuer of Lisbon with an hundred and twentie ſouldiers for ech gallie, that they may be deuided among the eight gallies which remaine here.

Another armie of 12 great ſhips, 4. pataches, and 1500 ſouldiers.

And in caſe it fall out that the armie of the Engliſh goe not for the Indies, but occupie themſelues vpon this kingdome, (for there may be Engliſh ſhips, which may attend the one and the other) we ſhal be enforced to make another armie, beſides that for the Indies, of twelue ſhips, foure pataches, and a thouſand fiue hundred ſouldiers.

In mine opinion all this is meet for his maieſties ſeruice to be foreſeene to be made ready with great diligence and care, and to prouide money needfull for the ſame, without neglecting the one or the other, but that all theſe things be done without delay: Referring my ſelfe in all things to thoſe of wiſer iudgement. Written in Lisbon the 26 of October, 1585.

A ſummarie and true diſcourſe of ſir *Francis Drakes* Weſt Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of *Saint Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena,* and the towne of *Saint Auguſtine* in *Florida*; Publiſhed by *M. Thomas Cates.*

This worthy knight for the ſeruice of his Prince and countrey hauing prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Deuonſhire, to the number of fiue and twenty ſaile of ſhips and pinneſſes, and hauing aſſembled of ſouldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himſelfe at Plimmouth aforeſaid, the 12. day of September 1585, being accompanied with theſe men of name and charge, which hereafter follow:

Maſter Chriſtopher Carleil Lieutenant general, a man of long experience in the warres as well by ſea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he diſcharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Maior.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine Iohn Sampſon, Corporals of the field.

These officers had commandement ouer the reſt of the land-Captaines, whoſe names hereafter follow.

Captaine Anthony P[illegible]
Captaine Edward Winter.
Captaine Iohn Goring.
Captaine Robert Pew.
Captaine George Barton.
Captaine Iohn Merchant.
Captaine William Cecill.
Captaine Walter Bigs.
Captaine Iohn Hannam.
Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobiſher Viceadmirall, a man of great experience in ſea-faring actions, who had caried the chiefe charge of many ſhips himſelfe, in ſundry voyages before, being now ſhipped in the Primroſe.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reereadmirall in the Galeon Leiceſter.

Maſter Thomas Vennor Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonaduenture under the Generall.

Maſter Edward Winter Captaine in the Aide.

Maſter Chriſtopher Carleil the Lieutenant generall, Captaine of the Tygar.

Henry White Captaine of the ſea Dragon.
Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.
Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.
Baily Captaine of the Barke Talbot.
Robert Croſſe Captaine of the Bark Bond.
George Forteſcue Captaine of the Barke Bonner.
Edward Careleſſe Captaine of the Hope.
Iames Erizo Captaine of the White Lyon.
Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.
Iohn Riuers Captaine of the Vantage.
Iohn Vaugham Captaine of the Drake.
Iohn Varney Captaine of the George.
Iohn Martin Captaine of the Beniamin.
Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.
Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow.

After our going hence, which was the fourteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585. and taking our courſe towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewe dayes ſomewhat ſkant, and ſometimes calme. And being arriued neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to eſpie diuers ſailes, which kept their courſe cloſe by the ſhore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall cauſed the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinneſſes well manned to ſee what they were, who vpon ſight of the ſaid pinneſſes approching neere vnto them, abandoned for the moſt part all their ſhips (being Frenchmen) laden all with ſalt, and bound homewards into France, amongſt which ſhips (being all of ſmall burthen) there was one ſo wel liked, which alſo had no man in her, as being brought vnto yͤ general, he thought good to make ſtay of her for the ſeruice, meaning to pay for her, as alſo accordingly he performed at our returne: which barke was called the Drake. The reſt of theſe ſhips (being eight or nine) were diſmiſſed without any any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwardes put ſomewhat farther off from the ſhore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with ſome other French ſhips, full laden with Newland fiſh, being vpon their returne homeward from the ſaid Newfoundland: whom the Generall after ſome ſpeech had with them (and ſeeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) diſmiſſed, without once ſuffering any man to go aboord of them.

The day following ſtanding in with the ſhore againe, we diſcried another tall ſhip of twelue ſcore tunnes or thereabouts, vpon whom Maſter Carliel the Lieutenant generall being in the Tygar, vndertooke the chaſe, whom alſo anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar hauing cauſed the ſaid ſtrange ſhip to ſtrike her ſailes, kept her there without ſuffering any body to go aboord vntill the Admirall was come vp: who forthwith ſending for the Maſter, and diuers others of their principall men, and cauſing them them to be ſeuerally examined, found the ſhip and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebaſtian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the moſt part belonging to S. Iohn de Luz, and the Paſſage. In this ſhip was great ſtore of dry Newland fiſh, commonly called with vs Poore Iohn, wherof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was diſtribution made into all the ſhips of the fleet, the ſame being ſo new and good, as it did very greatly beſtead vs in the whole courſe of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ſhip, we put in within the Iſles of Bayon, for lacke of fauourable wind: where wee had no ſooner ankered ſome part of the fleete, but the Generall commanded all the pinneſſes with the ſhipboats to be manned, and euery man to be furniſhed with ſuch armes as were needful for that preſent ſeruice; which being done, the Generall put himſelfe into his gallie, which was alſo well furniſhed, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the fauour of the Almighty to ſurpriſe it, before we had aduanced one halfe league of our way, there came a meſſenger being an Engliſh merchant from the Gouernour, to ſee what ſtrange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him, and after a ſmall time ſpent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampſon, and willed him to go to the Gouernour of the citie, to reſolue him of two points. The firſt, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The ſecond, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arreſted. Thus departed captain Sampſon with the ſaid meſſenger to the citie, where he found the gouernor & people much amazed of ſuch a ſudden accident.

The Iſles of Baiona.

The Generall with the aduiſe and counſell of M. Carleil his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any ſtand, till ſuch time as they were within the ſhot of the citie, where they might bee ready vpon the returne of Captaine Sampſon, to make a ſudden attempt if cauſe did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampſon returned with his meſſage in this ſort. Firſt, touching peace or warres the Gouernour ſaid he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being ſo meane a ſubiect as he was. And as for the ſtay of the merchants with their goods, it was the kings pleaſure, but not with intent to endomage any man. And that the kings counter-commandement was (which had bene receiued in that place ſome ſeuennight before) that Engliſh merchants with their goods ſhould be diſcharged: for the more verifying wherof, he ſent ſuch merchāts as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued thoſe parts: which being at large declared to our General by them, counſell was taken what might beſt be done. And for that the night approched, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the ſhutting vp of the day, & hauing quartered our ſelues to our moſt aduātage, with ſufficient gard vpon euery ſtrait, we thought to reſt our ſelues for that night there. The Gouernour ſent vs ſome refreſhing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and ſuch like. About midnight the weather beganne to ouercaſt, inſomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboord, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recouer the Fleete, a great tempeſt aroſe, which cauſed many of our ſhippes to driue from their anker-hold, and ſome were forced to ſea in great perill, as the barke Talbot, the barke

Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedewel was onely driuen into England, the others recouered vs againe: the extremitie of the ſtorme laſted three dayes, which no ſooner began to aſſwage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was ſent with his owne ſhippe and three others: as alſo with the gallie and with diuers pinneſſes, to ſee what he might doe aboue Vigo, where hee tooke many boates and ſome carauels, diuerſly laden with things of ſmall value, but chiefly with houſhold ſtuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongſt the reſt, he found one boat laden with the principal church-ſtuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where alſo was their great croſſe of ſiluer, of very faire emboſſed worke, and double gilt all ouer, hauing coſt them a great maſſe of money. They complained to haue loſt in all kind of goods aboue thirty thouſand duckets in this place.

The next day the Generall with his whole fleete went from vp the Iſles of Bayon, to a very good harbour aboue Vigo, where M. Carleil ſtayed his comming, aſwell for the more quiet riding of his ſhips, as alſo for the good commoditie of freſh watering, which the place there did afourd full well. In the meane time the Gouernour of Galicia had reared ſuch forces as hee might, his numbers by eſtimate were ſome two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in ſight of our fleete, where making a ſtand, he ſent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, ſo it might bee in boats vpon the water: and for ſafetie of their perſons, there were pledges deliuered on both ſides: which done, the Gouernor of Galicia put himſelfe with two others into our Viceadmirals ſkiffe, the ſame hauing bene ſent to the ſhore for him, and in like ſort our Generall went in his owne ſkiffe; where by them it was agreed, we ſhould furniſh our ſelues with freſh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and haue all other ſuch neceſſaries, paying for the ſame, as the place would affourd.

When all our buſineſſe was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Iſlands of Canaria, which are eſteemed ſome three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purpoſely with Palma, with intention to haue taken our pleaſure of that place, for the full digeſting of many things into order, and the better furniſhing our ſtore with ſuch ſeuerall good things as it affourdeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that preſent fell out, and by the naughtineſſe of the landing place, being but one, and that vnder the fauour of many platformes well furniſhed with great ordinance, to depart with the receit of many their Canon-ſhot, ſome into our ſhips, and ſome beſides, ſome of them being in very deede full Canon high. But the only or chiefe miſchiefe was the dangerous ſea-ſurge, which at ſhore all alongſt plainly threatned the ouerthrow of as many pinneſſes and boates, as for that time ſhould haue attempted any landing at all.

Now ſeeing the expectation of this attempt fruſtrated by the cauſes aforeſaid, we thought it meeter to fall with the Iſle Hierro, to ſee if we could find any better fortune: and comming to the Iſland, we landed a thouſand men in a valley vnder a high mountaine, where we ſtayed ſome two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came vnto vs, ſhewing their ſtate to be ſo poore, that they were all ready to ſtarue, which was not vntrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded preſently to imbarke, ſo as that night wee put off to ſea Southſoutheaſt along towards the coaſt of Barbary.

Vpon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of Nouember, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and ſhallow water, where we catched ſtore of fiſh, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ſhips of warre, whom wee entertained with great courteſie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole fleet aſſembled, which was a little ſcattered about their fiſhing, and put from thence to the Iſles of Cape Verde, ſailing till the 16. of the ſame moneth in the morning, on which day we diſcried the Iland of S. Iago, and in the euening we ankered the fleet between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and S. Iago, where we put on ſhore 1000. men or more, vnder the leading of M. Chriſtopher Carleil Lieutenant general, who directed the ſeruice moſt like a wiſe commander. The place where we had firſt to march did affourd no good order, for the ground was mountainous & full of dales, being a very ſtony and troubleſome paſſage; but ſuch was his induſtrious diſpoſition, as he would neuer leaue, vntill wee had gottē vp to a faire plain, where we made ſtand for the aſſembling of the army. And when we were al gathered together vpon the plaine, ſome 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant general thought good not to make attēpt til daylight: becauſe there was not one that could ſerue for guid or giuing knowledge at al of yͤ place. And therfore after hauing wel reſted, euen halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be diuided into 3 ſpeciall parts, ſuch as he appointed, wheras before we had marched by ſeueral cōpanies, being thereunto forced by the badneſſe of the way as is aforeſaid, Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very braue order, daylight began to appeare, and being aduanced hard to the wall, we ſaw no enemie to reſiſt, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampſon with thirtie ſhot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which ſtood in the valley vnder vs, and might very plainely bee viewed all ouer from that place where the whole Army was now arriued: and preſently after theſe Captaines was ſent the great enſigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine Engliſh croſſe, to be placed towardes the Sea, that our Fleet might ſee Saint Georges croſſe floriſh in the enemies fortreſſe. Order was giuen that all the ordinance throughout the towne and vpon all the platformes, which were aboue fiftie pieces all ready charged, ſhould be ſhot off in honour of the Queenes Maieſties coronation day, being the ſeuenteenth of Nouember, after the yeerely cuſtome of England, which was ſo anſwered againe by the ordinance out of all the ſhips in the fleete which now was come neere, as it was ſtrange to heare ſuch a thundering noyſe laſt ſo long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held ſtill the moſt part of his force on the hill top, till ſuch time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole Armie: which being done euery captaine tooke his owne quarter, and in the euening was placed ſuch a ſufficient gard vpon euery part of the towne that we had no cauſe to feare any preſent enemie.

Thus we continued in the citie the ſpace of 14. dayes, taking ſuch ſpoiles as the place yeelded, which were for the moſt part, wine, oyle, meale, and ſome ſuch like things for victuall, as vineger, oliues, and ſome ſuch other traſh, as merchandiſe for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treaſure at all, or any thing elſe of worth beſides.

The citie of S. Iago taken and poſſeſſed for 14. dayes.

The ſituation of S. Iago is ſomewhat ſtrange, in forme like a triangle, hauing on the Eaſt and Weſt ſides two mountaines of rocke and cliffe, as it were hanging ouer it, vpon the top of which two mountaines were builded certaine fortifications to preſerue the towne from any harme that might bee offered, as in a plot is plainely ſhewed. From thence, on the South ſide of the towne is the maine ſea, and on the North ſide, the valley lying betweene the foreſayd mountaines, wherein the towne ſtandeth: the ſaid valley & towne both do grow very narrow, inſomuch that the ſpace betweene the two cliffes of this end of the towne is eſtimated not to be aboue 10. or 12. ſcore ouer.

In the middeſt of the valley commeth downe a riueret, rill, or brooke of freſh water, which hard by the ſea ſide maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ſhips were watered with very great eaſe and pleaſure. Somewhat aboue the towne on the North ſide betweene the two mountains, the valley waxeth ſomewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly conuerted into gardens and orchards well repleniſhed with diuers ſorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, orenges, ſugar-canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, ſmall and round onions, garlicke, and ſome other things not now remembred, amongſt which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleaſant fruites, the ſaide cochos hath a hard ſhell and a greene huſke ouer it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatneſſe, for this cochos in his greene huſke is bigger then any mans two fiſtes: of the hard ſhell many drinking cups are made here in England, and ſet in ſiluer as I haue often ſeene.

Next within this hard ſhell is a white rine reſembling in ſhewe very much euen as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitiſh and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pynt or thereabouts, which water and white rine before ſpoken of, are both of a very coole freſh taſt, and as pleaſing as any thing may be. I haue heard ſome hold opinion, that it is very reſtoratiue.

The plantan groweth in cods, ſomewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the ſtalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding ſweet and pleaſant.

In this time of our being there hapned to come a Portugall to the Weſterne fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampſon was ſent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the ſaid meſſenger, he firſt asked them what nation they were, they anſwered Engliſhmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they anſwered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could beſt reſolue him of ſuch particulars, and for his aſſurance of paſſage and repaſſage, theſe Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refuſed for that he was not ſent from his Gouernor. Then they told him if his Gouernor did deſire to take a courſe for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his beſt way were to come and preſent himſelfe vnto our noble and mercifull Gouernour ſir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee aſſured to find fauour, both for himſelfe and the inhabitants. Otherwiſe within three dayes wee ſhould march ouer the land, and conſume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the ſword all ſuch liuing ſoules as wee ſhould chance vpon: ſo thus much hee tooke for the concluſion of his anſwere, and departing, hee promiſed to returne the next day, but we neuer heard more of him.

Vpon the foure and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall accompanied with the lieutenant generall and ſixe hundred men marched foorth to a village twelue miles within the land, called Saint Domingo, where the Gouernour and the Biſhoppe with all the better ſort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke wee came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines: ſo we made ſtand a while to eaſe our ſelues, and partly to ſee if any would come to ſpeake to vs.

After we had well reſted our ſelues, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewards, in which retreat the enemie ſhewed themſelues, both horſe and foote, though not ſuch force as durſt encounter vs: and ſo in paſſing ſometime at the gaſe with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recouer home to S. Iago.

On Munday the ſixe and twentieth of Nouember, the Generall commaunded all the pinneſſes with the boates, to vſe all diligence to imbarke the Armie into ſuch ſhippes as euery man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like ſort commanded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred ſhot to make a ſtand in the market place, vntill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making ſtay with his pinneſſe & certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the ſayd laſt companie aboord the ſhips. Alſo the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinneſſes to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, vnder the leading of captaine Sampſon, to ſeeke out ſuch munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, hauing bene promiſed to be ſhewed it by a priſoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforeſayd comming to the Playa, landed their men, and hauing placed the troupe in their beſt ſtrength, Captaine Sampſon tooke the priſoner, and willed him to ſhewe that hee had promiſed, the which he could not, or at leaſt would not: but they ſearching all ſuſpected places, found two pieces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of braſſe. In the after noone the Generall ankered with the reſt of the Fleet before the Playa, comming himſelfe aſhore, willing vs to burne the towne and make all haſte aboord, the which was done by ſixe of the clocke the ſame day, and our ſelues imbarked againe the ſame night, and ſo we put off to Sea Southweſt.

A wiſe courſe to be imitated in all great actions.

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee eſtabliſhed orders for the better gouernment of the Army, euery man muſtered to his captaine, and othes were miniſtred to acknowledge her Maieſtie ſupreme Gouernour, as alſo euery man to doe his vttermoſt endeuour to aduance the ſeruice of the action, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this prouident counſell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due courſe, to the atchieuing of our happy enterpriſe.

The treaſon of the Portugals againſt M. William Hawkins.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Gouernour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Biſhop, whoſe authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Iſland euer came at vs (which we expected they ſhould haue done) to intreate vs to leaue them ſome part of their needfull prouiſions, or at the leaſt, to ſpare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cauſe of this their vnreaſonable diſtruſt (as I doe take it) was the freſh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the voyage he made 4. or 5. yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promiſe, and murthered many of his men, whereof I iudge you haue vnderſtood, & therefore it is needleſſe to be repeated. But ſince they came not at vs, we left written in ſundry places, as alſo in the ſpittle houſe, (which building was only appointed to be ſpared) the great diſcontentment & ſcorne we tooke at this their refraining to come vnto vs, as alſo at the rude maner of killing, & ſauage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them ſtragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had ſtragled the other bowels about the place, in a moſt brutiſh and beaſtly maner.

In reuenge whereof at our departing we conſumed with fire all the houſes, aſwell in the countrey which we ſaw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the Weſt Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people ſuch mortalitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead aboue two or three hundred men. And vntill ſome ſeuen or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of ſickneſſe in all the fleete: the ſickneſſe ſhewed not his infection wherewith ſo many were ſtroken, vntill we were departed thence, and then ſeazed our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe eſcaped with life, and yet thoſe for the moſt part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and ſtrength for a long time after. In ſome that died were plainely ſhewed the ſmall ſpots, which are often found vpon thoſe that be infected with the plague: wee were not aboue eighteene dayes in paſſage betweene the ſight of Saint Iago aforeſaid, and the Iſland of Dominica, being the firſt Iſland of the Weſt Indies that we fell withall, the ſame being inhabited with ſauage people, which goe all naked, their ſkinne coloured with ſome painting of a reddiſh tawney, very perſonable and handſome ſtrong men, who doe admit litle conuerſation with the Spanyards: for as ſome of our people might vnderſtand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine priſoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any ſafetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they vſed vs very kindly for thoſe few houres of time which wee ſpent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carry on their bare ſhoulders freſh water from the riuer to our ſhips boates, and fetching from their houſes great ſtore of Tabacco, as alſo a kind of bread which they fed on, called Caſſaui, very white and ſauourie, made of the rootes of Caſſaui. In recompence whereof, we beſtowed liberall rewards of glaſſe, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it ſeemed) they reſted very greatly ſatiſfied, and ſhewed ſome ſorowfull countenance when they perceiued that we would depart.

From hence wee went to another Iſland Weſtward of it, called Saint Chriſtophers Iſland, wherein we ſpent ſome dayes of Chriſtmas, to refreſh our ſicke people, and to cleanſe and ayre our ſhips. In which Iſland were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the General it was aduiſed and reſolued, with the conſent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admirall, and all the reſt of the Captaines to proceede to the great Iſlande of Hiſpaniola, aſwell for that we knewe our ſelues then to bee in our beſt ſtrength, as alſo the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancienteſt and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And ſo proceeding in this determination, by the way we mette a ſmall Frigat, bound for the ſame place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and hauing duely examined the men that were in her, there was one found, by whom wee were aduertiſed, the Hauen to be a barred Hauen, and the ſhore or land thereof to bee well fortified, hauing a Caſtle thereupon furniſhed with great ſtore of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no conuenient landing place within ten Engliſh miles of the Citie, to which the ſayd Pilot tooke vpon him to conduct vs.

All things being thus conſidered on, the whole forces were commaunded in the Euening to embarke themſelues in Pinneſſes, boats, and other ſmall barkes appoynted for this ſeruice. Our ſouldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himſelfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the ſea, bearing ſmall ſaile vntill our arriuall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and ſo we landed, beeing Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Weſtwards of that braue Citie of S. Domingo: for at that time nor yet is knowen to vs any landing place, where the ſea-ſurge doth not threaten to ouerſet a Pinneſſe or boate. Our Generall hauing ſeene vs all landed in ſafetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing vs to God, and the good conduct of Maſter Carliell our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approched the towne, where the Gentlemen and thoſe of the better ſort, being ſome hundred and fiftie braue horſes or rather more, began to preſent themſelues; but our ſmall ſhot played vpon them, which were ſo ſuſteined with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope vnprepared to receiue them (for you muſt vnderſtand they viewed all round about) they were thus driuen to giue vs leaue to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the ſeaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that preſent, and ſudden alarme without the gate, and alſo ſome troopes of ſmall ſhot in Ambuſcado vpon the hie way ſide. We diuided our whole force, being ſome thouſand or twelue hundred men into two partes, to enterpriſe both the gates at one inſtant, the Lieutenant Generall hauing openly vowed to Captaine Powel (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good fauour he would not reſt vntill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no ſooner diſcharged vpon our neere approch, and made ſome execution amongſt vs, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to aduance both his voyce of encouragement, and pace of marching; the firſt man that was ſlaine with the ordinance being very neere vnto himſelfe: and thereupon haſted all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithſtanding their Ambuſcados, we marched or rather ran ſo roundly in to them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gaue them more care euery man to ſaue himſelfe by flight, then reaſon to ſtand any longer to their broken fight. Wee forthwith repaired to the market place: but to be more truely vnderſtood, a place of very faire ſpacious ſquare ground, whither alſo came as had bene agreed Captaine Powel with the other troope: which place

The citie of S. Domingo taken.

place with ſome part next vnto it, we ſtrengthened with Barricados, and there as the moſt conuenient place aſſured our ſelues, the Citie being farre too ſpacious for ſo ſmall and weary a troope to vndertake to guarde. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Caſtle, hearing vs buſie about the gates of the ſaid Caſtle, abandoned the ſame: ſome being taken priſoners, and ſome fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other ſide of the Hauen, and ſo into the countrey.

The next day we quartered a litle more at large, but not into the halfe part of the towne, and ſo making ſubſtantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance, that ech part was correſpondent to other, we held this towne the ſpace of one moneth.

In the which time happened ſome accidents, more then are well remembred for the preſent, but amongſt other things, it chanced that the Generall ſent on his meſſage to the Spanyards a Negro boy with a flagge of white, ſignifying truce, as is the Spanyards ordinarie maner to doe there, when they approch to ſpeake to vs: which boy vnhappily was firſt mette withall by ſome of thoſe, who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spaniſh Galley, which with the Towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reaſon, & contrary to that good vſage wherewith wee had intertained their meſſengers, furiouſly ſtrooke the poore boy thorow the body with one of their horſemens ſtaues: with which wound the boy returned to the Generall, and after hee had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died foorthwith in his preſence, wherewith the Generall being greatly paſſioned, commaunded the Prouoſt Martiall, to cauſe a couple of Friers then priſoners, to be caried to the ſame place where the boy was ſtroken, accompanied with ſufficient guard of our ſouldiers, and there preſently to be hanged, diſpatching at the ſame inſtant another poore priſoner, with this reaſon wherefore this execution was done, & with this meſſage further, that vntill the party who had thus murdered the Generals meſſenger were deliuered into our hands, to receiue condigne puniſhment, there ſhould no day paſſe, wherein there ſhould not two priſoners be hanged, vntil they were all conſumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offendor to the townes ende, offring to deliuer him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable reuenge to make them there in our ſight, to performe the execution themſelues: which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly alſo at S. Iago there had paſſed iuſtice vpon the life of one of our owne company for an odious matter, ſo heere likewiſe was there an Iriſhman hanged, for the murthering of his Corporall.

In this time alſo paſſed many treaties betweene their Commiſſioners and vs, for ranſome of their Citie; but vpon diſagreements we ſtill ſpent the early mornings in fiering the outmoſt houſes: but they being built very magnificently of ſtone, with high loftes, gaue vs no ſmall trauell to ruine them. And albeit for diuers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, vntil the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought els but labour to fire and burne the ſaid houſes without our trenches, whilſt the ſouldiers in a like proportion ſtood forth for their guard: yet did wee not, or could not in this time conſume ſo much as one third part of the towne: which towne is plainely deſcribed and ſet forth in a certaine Map. And ſo in the end, what wearied with firing, and what haſtened by ſome other reſpects, wee were contented to accept of fiue and twentie thouſand Ducats of fiue ſhillings ſixe pence the peece, for the ranſome of the reſt of the towne.

Moſt vnſatiable Spaniſh ambition.

Amongſt other things which happened and were found at S.Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke & token of the vnſatiable ambition of the Spaniſh king and his nation, which was found in the kings houſe, wherein the chiefe gouernour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this houſe, you muſt firſt aſcend vp by a faire large paire of ſtaires; at the head of which ſtaires is a handſome ſpacious place to walke in, ſomewhat like vnto a gallery: wherein vpon one of the wals, right ouer againſt you as you enter the ſaid place, ſo as your eye cannot eſcape the ſight of it, there is deſcribed & painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the ſaid Scutchion, there is likewiſe deſcribed a Globe, conteining in it the whole circuit of the ſea and the earth, whereupon is a horſe ſtanding on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted vp as it were to leape, with a ſcroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written theſe words in Latin, Non ſufficit orbis: which is as much to ſay, as the world ſufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be knowen of ſome of thoſe of the better ſort, that came in commiſſion to treate vpon the ranſome of the towne, who would ſhake their heads, and turne aſide their countenance in ſome ſmyling ſort, without anſwering any thing, as greatly aſhamed thereof. For by ſome of our company it was tolde them, that if the Queene of England would reſolutely proſecute the warres againſt the king of Spaine, hee ſhould be forced to lay aſide that proude and vnreaſonable reaching vaine of his: for hee ſhould finde more then inough to doe to keepe that which hee had alreadie, as by the preſent example of their loſt towne they might for a beginning perceiue well inough.

Now to the ſatiſfying of ſome men, who maruell greatly that ſuch a famous and goodly builded Citie ſo well inhabited of gallant people, very braue in their apparell (whereof our ſouldiers found good ſtore for their reliefe) ſhould afoord no greater riches then was found there: herein it is to be vnderſtood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Iſland of Hiſpaniola (the ſame being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres ſince cleane conſumed by the tyrannie of the Spanyards, which was yͤ cauſe, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and ſiluer Mines of this Iſland are wholy giuen ouer; and thereby they are faine in this Iſland to vſe Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place conſiſteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Iſland, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waſte countrey of the Iſland are bredde in infinite numbers, the ſoyle being very fertile: and the ſayd beaſts are fedde vp to a very large grouth, and ſo killed for nothing ſo much, as for their Hides aforeſayd. Wee found here great ſtore of ſtrong wine, ſweete oyle, vineger, oliues, and other ſuch like prouiſions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed vp in wine-pipes and other caſke, and other commodities likewiſe, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and ſome Silkes: all which prouiſions are brought out of Spaine, and ſerued vs for great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or veſſell of Siluer, in compariſon of the great pride in other things of this towne, becauſe in theſe hotte Countreys they vſe much of thoſe earthen diſhes finely painted or varniſhed, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the Eaſt India: & for their drinking, they vſe glaſſes altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the ſame place. But yet ſome plate we found, and many other good things, as their houſhold garniture very gallant and rich, which had coſt them deare, although vnto vs they were of ſmall importance.

Cartagena.

From Saint Domingo we put ouer to the maine or firme land, and going all alongſt the coaſt, we came at the laſt in ſight of Cartagena, ſtanding vpō the ſea ſide, ſo neere, as ſome of our barks in paſſing alongſt, approched within the reach of their Culuerin ſhot, which they had planted vpon certaine platformes. The Harbour mouth lay ſome three miles toward the Weſtward of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any reſiſtance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted vpon the ſame. In the Euening wee put our ſelues on land towards the harbour mouth, vnder the leading of Maſter Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digeſted vs to march forwarde about midnight, as eaſily as foote might fall, expreſly commanded vs to keepe cloſe by the ſea-waſh of the ſhore for our beſt & ſureſt way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to miſſe any more of the way, which once wee had loſt within an houre after our firſt beginning to march, through the ſlender knowledge of him that tooke vpon him to be our guide, whereby the night ſpent on, which otherwiſe muſt haue bene done by reſting. But as we came within ſome two miles of the towne, their horſemen which were ſome hundred, met vs, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe vpon the firſt volley of our ſhot that was giuen them: for the place where wee encountred being woody and buſhy euen to the water ſide was vnmeete for their ſeruice.

At this inſtant we might heare ſome pieces of Artillerie diſcharged, with diuers ſmall ſhot towards the harbour, which gaue vs to vnderſtand, according to the order ſet downe in the Euening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Croſſe, with other ſea Captaines, and with diuers Pinneſſes and boates ſhould giue ſome attempt vnto the litle Fort ſtanding on the entrie of the inner Hauen, neere adioyning to the towne, though to ſmall purpoſe, for that the place was ſtrong, and the entry very narrow was chained ouer: ſo as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more then the giuing of them an alarme on that other ſide of the Hauen being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his ſkiffe ſtroken through with a Saker ſhot, and a litle or no harme receiued elſewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or leſſe, the ground we were on grewe to bee ſtreight, and not aboue fiftie paces ouer, hauing the maine Sea on the one ſide of it, and the harbour-water or inner ſea (as you may tearme it) on the other ſide, which in the plot is plainely ſhewed. This ſtreight was fortified cleane ouer with a ſtone wall and a ditch without it: the ſayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in euery part, as can be ſet downe. There was onely ſo much of this ſtreight vnwalled, as might ſerue for the iſſuing of the horſemen, or the paſſing of caryage in time of neede: but this vnwalled part was not without a very good

Barricado of wine-buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might ſtand on ende one by another, ſome part of them ſtanding euen within the maine ſea.

This place of ſtrength was furniſhed with ſixe great peeces, Demi-culuerins, and Sakers, which ſhotte directly in front vpon vs as wee approched. Now without this wall vpon the inner ſide of the ſtreight, they had brought likewiſe two great Galleis with their prowes to the ſhore, hauing planted in them eleuen peeces of ordinance, which did beate all acroſſe the ſtreight, and flanked our comming on. In theſe two Galleis were planted three or foure hundred ſmall ſhot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred ſhot and pikes.

They in this their full readineſſe to receiue vs, ſpared not their ſhot both great and ſmall. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the aduantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approched by the loweſt ground, according to the expreſſe direction which himſelfe had formerly giuen, the ſame being the ſea-waſh ſhore, where the water was ſomewhat fallen, ſo as moſt of all their ſhot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our ſhot to forbeare ſhooting vntill we were come to the wall ſide, and ſo with pikes roundly together we approched the place, where we ſoone found out the Barricados of pipes or buts, to be the meeteſt place for our aſſault, which, notwithſtanding it was well furniſhed with pikes and ſhot, was without ſtaying attempted by vs: downe went the buts of earth, and pell mell came our ſwordes and pikes together, after our ſhot had firſt giuen their volley, euen at the enemies noſe. Our pikes were ſomewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed: with which aduantage our ſwordes and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driuen to giue place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall ſlew with his owne hands the chiefe Enſigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his liues end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giuing them no leaſure to breath, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and ſo wee being once ſeazed and aſſured of that, they were content to ſuffer vs to lodge within their towne, and themſelues to goe to their wiues, whom they had caryed into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At euery ſtreetes end they had raiſed very fine Baricados of earth-workes, with trenches without them, as well made as euer we ſaw any worke done: at the entring whereof was ſome little reſiſtance, but ſoone ouercome it was, with few ſlaine or hurt. They had ioyned with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of aduantage, all bowmen, with their arrowes moſt villanouſly empoyſoned, ſo as if they did but breake the ſkinne, the partie ſo touched died without great maruell: ſome they ſlew of our people with their arrowes: ſome they likewiſe miſchieued to death with certaine pricks of ſmall ſticks ſharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one ende put into the ground, the other empoyſoned, ſticking faſt vp, right againſt our comming in the way, as we ſhould approch from our landing towardes the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinarie way: but our keeping the ſea-waſh ſhore miſſed the greateſt part of them very happily.

I ouerpaſſe many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampſon at ſword blowes in the firſt entring, vnto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantguard by his lot and turne; as alſo of the taking of Alonſo Brauo the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the ſaid captaine had firſt hurt him with his ſword: vnto which Captaine was committed the charge of the ſhot of the ſayd Vantguard.

Alonſo Brauo the gouernour of Cartagena taken.

Captaine Winter was likewiſe by his turne of the Vantguard in this attempt, where alſo the Lieutenant generall marched himſelfe: the ſaid Captaine Winter through a great deſire to ſerue by land, hauing now exchanged his charge by ſea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footmen.

Captaine Powel the Sergeant maior had by his turne the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantguard, had now by turne his charge vpon the companies of the Rereward.

Euery man as well of one part as of another, came ſo willingly on to the ſeruice, as the enemie was not able to endure the furie of ſuch hot aſſault.

We ſtayed here ſixe weekes, and the ſickneſſe with mortalitie before ſpoken of ſtill continued among vs, though not with the ſame furie as at the firſt: and ſuch as were touched with the ſayd ſickneſſe, eſcaping death, very few or almoſt none could recouer their ſtrength: yea, many of them were much decayed in their memorie, inſomuch that it was growen an ordinarie iudgement, when one was heard to ſpeake fooliſhly, to ſay he had bene ſicke of the Calentura, which is the

Spaniſh name of their burning Ague: for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and peſtilent ague. The originall cauſe thereof, is imputed to the Euening or firſt night ayre, which they tearme La ſerena, wherein they ſay and hold very firme opinion, that who ſo is then abroad in the open ayre, ſhall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of thoſe countrey people: by holding their watch, our men were thus ſubiected to the infectious ayre, which at S. Iago was moſt dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconuenience of continuall mortalitie, we were forced to giue ouer our intended enterpriſe, to goe with Nombre de Dios, and ſo ouerland to Panama, where we ſhould haue ſtrooken the ſtroke for the treaſure, and full recompence of our tedious trauailes. And thus at Cartagena wee tooke our firſt reſolution to returne homewardes: the forme of which reſolution I thought good here to put downe vnder the principall Captaines hands, as followeth.

A reſolution of the Land-captaines, what courſe they thinke moſt expedient to bee taken. Giuen at *Cartagena* the xxvij of Februarie 1585.

Whereas it hath pleaſed the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what courſe they thinke moſt expedient to be now vndertaken, the Land-captaines being aſſembled by themſelues together, and hauing aduiſed hereupon, doe in three ponits deliuer the ſame.

The firſt, touching the keeping of the towne againſt the force of the enemie, either that which is preſent, or that which may come out of *Spaine*, is anſwered thus.

We holde opinion, that with this troope of men which we haue preſ[illegible] vs in land-ſeruice, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the T[illegible], albeit that of men able to anſwere preſent ſeruice, we haue not aboue 700. The reſidue being ſome 150. men by reaſon of their hurts and ſickneſſe are altogether vnable to ſtand vs in any ſtead: wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewiſe to giue their reſolution, how they will vndertake the ſafetie and ſeruice of the Shippes vpon the arriuall of any Spaniſh Fleete.

The ſecond poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe preſently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in vndertaking ſuch like enterpriſes as we haue done already, and thereby to ſeeke after that bountifull maſſe of treaſure for recompence of our trauailes, which was generally expected at our comming forth of *England*: wherein we anſwere.

That it is well knowen how both we and the ſouldiers are entred into this action as voluntarie men, without any impreſt or gage from her Maieſtie or any body els: and forasmuch as we haue hitherto diſcharged the parts of honeſt men, ſo that now by the great bleſſing and fauour of our good God there haue bin taken three ſuch notable townes, wherein by the eſtimation of all men would haue bene found ſome very great treaſures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Ilands and traffiques thereabouts, S. Domingo the chiefe citie of Hiſpaniola, and the head gouernment not only of that Iland, but alſo of Cuba, and of all the Ilands about it, as alſo of ſuch inhabitations of the firme land, as were next vnto it, & a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of marchandiſe; and now laſtly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of moſt eſpeciall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this ſide of the Weſt India: we doe therefore conſider, that ſince all theſe cities, with their goods & priſoners taken in them, and the ranſoms of the ſaid cities being all put together, are found farre ſhort to ſatisfie that expectation which by the generalitie of the enterpriſers was firſt conceiued: And being further aduiſed of the ſlenderneſſe of our ſtrength, whereunto we be now reduced, aſwell in reſpect of the ſmall number of able bodies, as alſo not a litle in regard of the ſlacke diſpoſition of the greater part of thoſe which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either conſumed by death, or weakened by ſicknes and hurts: And laſtly, ſince that as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any ſuch enterpriſe as may ſeeme conuenient to be vndertaken with ſuch few as we are preſently able to make, and withall of ſuch certaine likelihoode, as with Gods good ſucceſſe which it may pleaſe him to beſtow vpon vs, the ſame may promiſe to yeeld vs any ſufficient contentment: We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold ſure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the ſame to returne towards our

gracious

gracious Soueraigne and Countrey, from whence if it ſhall pleaſe her Maieſtie to ſet vs foorth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are moſt ready and willing to goe through with any thing that the vttermoſt of our ſtrength and indeuour ſhall be able to reach vnto; but therewithall wee doe aduiſe and proteſt that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuſe, or ſo much as to ſeeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the preſent ſhalbe further required or directed to be done by vs from our Generall.

The third and laſt poynt is concerning the ranſome of this citie of *Cartagena*, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of ſome xxvij. or xxviij. thouſand pounds ſterling.

Thus much we vtter herein as our opinions agreeing (ſo it be done in good ſort) to accept this offer aforeſayde, rather then to breake off by ſtanding ſtill vpon our demaunds of one hundred thouſand poundes, which ſeemes a matter impoſſible to bee performed for the preſent by them, and to ſay trueth, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be ſatiſfied with that ſumme offred by them at the firſt (if they will now bee contented to giue it) then wee might at that time with a great deale more, inaſmuch as we haue taken our full pleaſure both in the vttermoſt ſacking and ſpoyling of all their houſholde goods and marchandize, as alſo in that we haue conſumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is conſidered herein by vs, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who haue willingly aduentured their liues and trauailes, and diuers amongſt them hauing ſpent their apparell and ſuch other little prouiſions as their ſmall meanes might haue giuen them leaue to prepare, which being done vpon ſuch good and allowable intention as this action hath alwayes carryed with it, meaning, againſt the Spanyard our greateſt and moſt dangerous enemie: ſo ſurely wee cannot but haue an inward regarde ſo farre as may lye in vs, to helpe eyther in all good ſort towards the ſatiſfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them ſome little benefite to incourage them and to nouriſh this readie and willing diſpoſition of theirs both in them and in others by their example againſt any other time of like occaſion. But becauſe it may bee ſuppoſed that heerein wee forgette not the priuate benefite of our ſelues, and are thereby the rather mooued to incline our ſelues to this compoſition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of our ſelues of all ſuch ſuſpicion, to declare heereby, that what part or portion ſoeuer it bee of this ranſome or compoſition for *Cartagena*, which ſhould come vnto vs, wee doe freely giue and beſtowe the ſame wholy vpon the poore men, who haue remayned with vs in the Voyage, meaning as well the Sayler as the Souldier, wiſhing with all our hearts it were ſuch or ſo much as might ſeeme a ſufficient rewarde for their painefull indeuour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we haue thought meete to ſubſigne theſe preſents with our owne hands in the place and time aforeſayd.

Captaine *Chriſtopher Carliell* Lieutenant Generall.
Captaine *Goring*. Captaine *Sampſon*. Captaine *Powell &c.*

But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, vpon the Church-ſteeple, had diſcouered in the Sea a couple of ſmall Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of Cartagena, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with Iohn Grant the Maſter of the Tyger, and ſome other Sea-men, embarked themſelues in a couple of ſmall Pinneſſes, to take them before they ſhould come nigh the ſhore, at the mouth of the Harbour, leſt by ſome ſtragling Spanyardes from the Lande, they might bee warned by ſignes from comming in: which fell out accordingly, notwithſtanding all the diligence that our men could vſe: for the Spaniſh Boates, vpon the ſight of our Pinneſſes comming towardes them, ranne themſelues aſhore, and ſo their men preſently hidde themſelues in buſhes hard by the Sea ſide, amongſt ſome others that had called them by ſignes thither. Our men preſently without any due regard had to the qualitie of the place, and ſeeing no man of the Spanyards to ſhew themſelues, aboorded the Spaniſh Barkes or Boates, and ſo ſtanding all open in them, were ſuddenly ſhotte at by a troope of Spanyardes out of the buſhes: by which volley of ſhotte there were ſlaine Captaine Varney, which dyed preſently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed ſome fewe dayes after, beſides ſome foure or fiue others that were hurte: and ſo our folkes returned without their purpoſe, not hauing any ſufficient number of ſouldiers with them to fight on ſhore. For thoſe men they caryed were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, becauſe they made account with their ordinance to haue taken the Barkes well enough at ſea, which they might full eaſily haue done, without any loſſe at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten ſo neere the ſhore.

During our abode in this place, as alſo at S.Domingo, there paſſed diuers curteſies betweene vs and the Spaniards, as feaſting, and vſing them with all kindneſſe and fauour: ſo as amongſt others there came to ſee the Generall, the Gouernour of Cartagena, with the Biſhop of the ſame, and diuers other Gentlemen of the better ſort.

This towne of Cartagena we touched in the out parts, & conſumed much with fire, as we had done S.Domingo vpon diſcontentments, and for want of agreeing with vs in their firſt treaties touching their ranſome, which at the laſt was concluded betweene vs, ſhould be 100. and 10000. Ducats for that which was yet ſtanding, the Ducat valued at fiue ſhillings ſixe pence ſterling.

This towne though not halfe ſo bigge as S.Domingo, giues as you ſee, a farre greater ranſome, being in very deede of farre more importance, by reaſon of the excellencie of the Harbour, and the ſituation thereof, to ſerue the trade of Nombre de Dios and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and braue Gentlemen, being the chiefe or higheſt appeale of their ſuites in law of all the Iſlands about it, and of the maine land coaſt next vnto it. And it is of no ſuch accompt as Cartagena, for theſe and ſome other like reaſons, which I could giue you, ouer long to be now written.

The warning which this towne receiued of our comming towards them from S.Domingo, by the ſpace of twentie dayes before our arriuall here, was cauſe that they had both fortified and euery way prepared for their beſt defence. As alſo that they had caried and conueyed away all their treaſure and principall ſubſtance.

The ranſeme of an hundred & ten thouſand Ducats thus concluded on, as is aforeſaid, the ſame being written, and expreſſing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, vpon the payment of the ſayd ranſome, we left the ſaid towne, and drewe ſome part of our ſouldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, ſtanding a quarter of an Engliſh mile belowe the towne vpon the harbour water-ſide, the ſame being walled with a wall of ſtone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their compoſition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ranſome for all places, but ſpecially for the ſayde houſe, as alſo the Blockehouſe or Caſtle, which is vpon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee aſked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to giue a thouſand Crownes for the Abbey, leauing vs to take our pleaſure vpon the Blockehouſe, which they ſayd they were not able to ranſome, hauing ſtretched themſelues to the vttermoſt of their powers: and therefore the ſayd Blockehouſe was by vs vndermined, and ſo with gunne powder blowen vp in pieces.

While this latter contract was in making, our whole Fleete of ſhips fell downe towards the harbour mouth, where they anchored the third time, and imployed their men in fetching of freſh water aboord the ſhips for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well, that is in the Iſland by the harbour mouth: which Iſland is a very pleaſant place as hath bene ſeene, hauing in it many ſorts of goodly and very pleaſant fruites, as the Orenge trees and others, being ſet orderly in walkes of great length together. Inſomuch as the whole Iſland being ſome two or three miles about, is caſt into grounds of gardening and orchards.

The Iſland of Carex.

After ſixe weekes abode in this place, we put to ſea the laſt of March, where after two or three dayes a great ſhip which we had taken at S.Domingo, and thereupon was called The new yeeres gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other ſpoyles, and in the night ſhe loſt the company of our Fleete; which being miſſed the next morning by the Generall, hee caſt about with the whole Fleete, fearing ſome great miſchance to bee happened vnto her, as in very deede it ſo fell out: for her leake was ſo great, that her men were all tyred with pumping. But at the laſt hauing found her & the Barke Talbot in her company, which ſtayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the ſauing of them. And ſo the General being fully aduertiſed of their great extremitie, made ſaile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole Fleete, where hauing ſtaied eight or ten dayes more, about the vnlading of this ſhip, and the beſtowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our courſe towards the Cape S.Antony, being the Weſtermoſt part of Cuba, where wee arriued the ſeuen and twentieth of April. But becauſe freſh water could not preſently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recouer the Matanças, a place to the Eaſtward of Hauana.

After wee had ſailed ſome fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of fauourable wind: but then our ſcarcity was growen ſuch, as neede made vs looke a litle better for water, which we found in ſufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I iudge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered vp by making pits in a plot of marriſh ground, ſome three hundred paſes from the ſeaſide.

A moſt commendable example of diligence in a Generall.

I doe wrong if I ſhould forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to haſten the getting of freſh water aboord the ſhips, tooke no leſſe paine himſelfe then the meaneſt; as alſo at S.Domingo, Cartagena, and all other places, hauing alwayes ſo vigilant a care and forſight in the good ordering of his Fleete, accompanying them, as it is ſayde, with ſuch wonderfull trauell of body, as doubtleſſe had he bene the meaneſt perſon, as hee was the chiefeſt, he had yet deſerued the firſt place of honour: and no leſſe happy doe we account him, for being aſſociated with Maſter Carliel his Lieutenant generall, by whoſe experience, prudent counſell, and gallant performance he atchieued ſo many and happy enterpriſes of the warre, by whom alſo he was very greatly aſſiſted, in ſetting downe the needfull orders, lawes, and courſe of iuſtice, and the due adminiſtration of the ſame vpon all occaſions.

After three dayes ſpent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the ſecond time from this Cape of S.Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee neuer touched any where; but coaſting alongſt Florida, and keeping the ſhore ſtill in ſight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee deſcried on the ſhore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a ſcaffold vpon foure long maſtes raiſed on ende, for men to diſcouer to the ſeaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinneſſes manned, and comming to the ſhore, wee marched vp alongſt the riuer ſide, to ſee what place the enemie held there: for none amongſt vs had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occaſion to march with the companies himſelfe in perſon, the Lieutenant generall hauing the Vantguard; and going a mile vp or ſomewhat more by the riuer ſide, we might diſcerne on the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt vs, a Fort which newly had bene built by the Spaniards: and ſome mile or thereabout aboue the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of wooden houſes, as the Plot doeth plainely ſhew. Wee forthwith prepared to haue ordinance for the batterie; and one peece was a litle before the Euening planted, and the firſt ſhot being made by the Lieutenant generall himſelfe at their Enſigne, ſtrake through the Enſigne, as wee afterwards vnderſtood by a French man, which came vnto vs from them. One ſhot more was then made, which ſtrake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all maſſiue timber of great trees like Maſtes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to paſſe the riuer this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himſelfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muſkets and ſmalleſt ſhot vpon any that ſhould appeare, and ſo afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him: but the helpe of Mariners for that ſudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cauſe that this determination was remitted vntill the next night.

Nicolas Borgognon.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampſon, with ſome others beſides the rowers, & went to view what guard the enemie kept, as alſo to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as couertly as might be, yet the enemie taking ŷ Alarme, grew fearefull that the whole force was approching to the aſſault, and therefore with all ſpeede abandoned the place after the ſhooting of ſome of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned vnto vs againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a Fr[illegible]an being a Phipher (who had bene priſoner with them) in a litle boate, playing on his P[illegible]e tune of the Prince of Orenge his ſong; and being called vnto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, what he was himſelfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe.

Upon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with ſome of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with ſome others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinneſſes furniſhed of ſouldiers with them, put preſently ouer towards the Fort, giuing order for the reſt of the Pinneſſes to follow. And in our approch, ſome of the enemie bolder then the reſt, hauing ſtayed behinde their company, ſhot off two peeces of ordinance at vs: but on ſhore wee went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole Maſtes or bodies of trees ſet vp right and cloſe together in maner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholy intended with ſome more time; for they had not as yet finiſhed al their worke, hauing begunne the ſame ſome three or foure moneths before: ſo as, to ſay the trueth, they had no reaſon to keepe it, being ſubiect both to fire, and eaſie aſſault.

The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layd a croſſe one on another, and ſome litle earth amongſt. There were in it thirteene or fourteene great peeces of Braſſe ordinance, and a cheſt vnbroken vp, hauing in it the value of ſome two thouſand pounds ſterling by eſtimation of the kings treaſure, to pay the ſouldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The Fort thus wonne, which they called S.Iohns Fort, and the day opened, wee aſſayed to goe to the towne, but could not by reaſon of ſome riuers and broken ground which was betweene the two places: and therefore being enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinneſſes, wee went thither vpon the great maine riuer, which is called as alſo the Towne, by the name of S. Auguſtin.

At our approching to land, there were ſome that began to ſhew themſelues, and to beſtow ſome few ſhot vpon vs, but preſently withdrew themſelues. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Maior finding one of their horſes ready ſadled and bridled, tooke the ſame to follow the chaſe; and ſo ouergoing all his company, was (by one layd behind a buſh) ſhotte through the head: and falling downe therewith, was by the ſame and two or three more, ſtabbed in three or foure places of his body with ſwords and daggers, before any could come neere to his reſcue. His death was much lamented, being in very deede an honeſt wiſe Gentleman, and a ſouldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S.Auguſtin, we vnderſtood the king did keepe, as is before ſaid, one hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, and at another place ſome dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S.Helena, he did there likewiſe keepe an hundred and fiftie more, ſeruing there for no other purpoſe, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coaſt; the gouernement whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marqueſſe, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had ouerthrowen Maſter Iohn Hawkins in the bay of Mexico ſome ſeuenteen or eighteene yeeres agoe. This Gouernour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the firſt that left the ſame.

Heere it was reſolued in full aſſembly of Captaines, to vndertake the enterpriſe of S. Helena, and from thence to ſeeke out the inhabitation of our Engliſh countreymen in Virginia, diſtant from thence ſome ſixe degrees Northward.

When we came thwart of S.Helena, the ſholds appearing dangerous, and we hauing no Pilot to vndertake the entrie, it was thought meeteſt to goe hence alongſt. For the Admirall had bene the ſame night in foure fadome and a halfe, three leagues from the ſhore: and yet wee vnderſtood by the helpe of a knowen Pilot, there may and doe goe in Ships of greater burthen and draught then any we had in our Fleete.

Santa Helena.

We paſſed thus alongſt the coaſt hard aboord the ſhore, which is ſhallow for a league or two from the ſhore, and the ſame is lowe and broken land for the moſt part.

The ninth of Iune vpon ſight of one ſpeciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongſt this coaſt, euen from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall ſent his Skiffe to the ſhore, where they found ſome of our Engliſh countreymen (that had bene ſent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Ralegh) and brought them aboord: by whoſe direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But ſome of our ſhips being of great draught vnable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at ſea, about two miles from ſhore.

From whence the General wrote letters to maſter Ralfe Lane, being gouernour of thoſe Engliſh in Virginia, and then at his Fort about ſixe leagues from the Rode in an Iſland which they call Roanoac, wherein eſpecially he ſhewed how ready he was to ſupply his neceſſities and wants, which he vnderſtood of, by thoſe he had firſt talked withall.

Roanoac.

The morow after, Maſter Lane himſelfe and ſome of his company comming vnto him, with the conſent of his capteines he gaue them the choice of two offers, that is to ſay: Either he would leaue a ſhip, a pinneſſe, and certaine boates with ſufficient Maſters and Mariners, together furniſhed with a moneths victuall, to ſtay and make farther diſcouery of the countrey and coaſtes, and ſo much victuall likewiſe as might be ſufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three perſons) into England, if they thought good after ſuch time, with any other thing they would deſire, and that he might be able to ſpare.

Or els if they thought they had made ſufficient diſcouerie already, and did deſire to returne into England, he would giue them paſſage. But they, as it ſeemed, being deſirous to ſtay, accepted very thankefully and with great gladneſſe, that which was offred firſt. Whereupon the ſhip being appointed and receiued into charge by ſome of their owne company ſent into her by Maſter Lane, before they had receiued from the reſt of the Fleete the prouiſion appoynted them, there aroſe a great ſtorme (which they ſayd was extraordinary and very ſtrange) that laſted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driuen from their anchoring vpon the coaſt. For we brake many Cables, and loſt many Anchors: and ſome of our Fleete which had loſt all (of which number was the ſhip appointed for Maſter Lane and his company) was driuen to put to ſea in great danger, in auoyding the coaſt, and could neuer ſee vs againe vntill we mette in England. Many alſo of our ſmall Pinneſſes and boates were loſt in this ſtorme.

Notwithſtanding after all this, the Generall offred them (with conſent of his Captaines) another ſhip with ſome prouiſion, although not ſuch a one for their turnes, as might haue bene ſpared them before, this being vnable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to giue them paſſage into England, although he knew he ſhould performe it with greater difficultie then he might haue done before.

But Maſter Lane with thoſe of the chiefeſt of his company which hee had then with him, conſidering what ſhould be beſt for them to doe, made requeſt vnto the General vnder their hands, that they might haue paſſage for England: the which being graunted, and the reſt ſent for out of the countrey and ſhipped, we departed from that coaſt the 18. of Iune.

And ſo, God bee thanked, both they and wee in good ſafetie arriued at Porteſmouth the 28. of Iuly 1586, to the great glory of God, and to no ſmall honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our ſelues.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage is eſteemed at three ſcore thouſand pounds, whereof the companies which haue trauelled in the voyage were to haue twentie thouſand pounds, the aduenturers the other fortie. Of which twentie thouſand pounds (as I can iudge) will redound ſome ſixe pounds to the ſingle ſhare.

We loſt ſome ſeuen hundred and fiftie men in the voyage: aboue three parts of them onely by ſickneſſe.

The men of name that dyed and were ſlaine in this voyage, which I can preſendy call to remembrance, are theſe.

Captaine Powel.
Captaine Varney.
Captaine Moone.
Captaine Forteſcue.

Captaine Bigges.
Captaine Cecill.
Captaine Hannam.
Captaine Greenefield.

Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.
Maſter Eſcot a Lieutenant.
Maſter Waterhouſe a Lieutenant.
Maſter George Candiſh.

Maſter Nicholas Winter.
Maſter Alexander Carliell.
Maſter Robert Alexander.
Maſter Scroope.
Maſter Iames Dier.
Maſter Peter Duke.

With ſome other, whom for haſte I cannot ſuddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all ſorts Braſſe and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and ſome more were braſſe, and were thus found and gotten.

At S. Iago ſome two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. Domingo about fourescore, whereof was very much great ordinance, as whole Cannon, Demi-canon, Culuerins, and ſuch like.

In Cartagena ſome ſixtie and three peeces, and good ſtore likewiſe of the greater ſort.

In the Fort of S. Auguſtin were foureteene peeces.

The reſt was Iron ordinance, of which the moſt part was gotten at S. Domingo, the reſt at Cartagena.

A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the *VVeſt Indies* which haue bene ſurueied, edified, finiſhed, made and mended, with thoſe which haue bene builded, in a certaine ſuruey by the king of *Spaine* his direction and commandement: Written by *Baptiſta Antonio*, ſurueyour in thoſe parts for the ſaid King. Anno 1587.

Santa Marta.

Santa Marta ſituate in 10. degrees and a halfe.

First Santa Marta the principall Citie of the Biſhopricke or Dioces of the coaſt of Tierra firma, or the firme land, lieth in 10. degrees and ½, the city being ſituated vpon a ſandy bay adioyning vnto the ſea ſide, conteineth in it about 30. houſholds; all the houſes being made of canes, and couered ouer with Palmito trees, and ſome of them be couered with tyle.

They haue traffike with none, but with the Indians of the ſaid country, which doe bring vnto the Citie for to ſell earthen Pots and Pipkins, and Couerlits of Cotton wooll, and great earthen Iarres. Alſo they doe traffique to Cartagena. It is a countrey which hath but ſmall ſtore of cattel, becauſe it is all mountainous, and hath ſmall ſtore of people. There is a very good harbour before the ſaid towne, inuironed with mighty hils & great rocks, which reach euen vnto the ſea ſide, the which hie land doth greatly ſuccour the harbour, as alſo two Ilands which lie about ¾ of a league on the North ſide: ſo that although they be ſubiect to Eaſterly winds, and that with great ſtormes, yet they doe no great harme to goe on land. Within this Harbour there is a place which is called La Caldera, where in times paſt they were woont to trimme and carene their Shippes. As touching the Harbour, there is no cauſe to fortifie it, nor to make any account of it, by reaſon there is no trade nor traffique to this place from any other places, according as I haue certified your Maieſtie thereof. And alſo becauſe here are but few dwellers or inhabitants, and looſing euery day ſo many as it doeth, by reaſon that it is euery day robbed and ſpoyled by the enemie. But if your Maieſtie would command that the Fleete of Noua Hiſpania might direct their courſe to this Harbour being in their way, and here to water and refreſh themſelues, all the Pilots doe ſay that the Fleete may proceede on their Voyage from this place, ſtill going before the winde, and ſo goe to the Cape of Saint Anthony, which lieth on the Iland of Cuba, and from thence goe their direct courſe to Noua Hiſpania; and by this meanes the Fleete ſhould haue no occaſion to paſſe ſo many dangers as they doe, by reaſon of the Huricanos or ſtormy windes which many times do come vpon them, when they are vpon the coaſt of Hiſpaniola: and this is the cauſe that there are ſo many ſhips caſt away, as your Maieſtie doeth well know.

A new courſe to Noua Hiſpania, by the way of Santa Marta leſſe ſubiect to danger then the ordinary courſe.

And as concerning this courſe according as I haue certified your Maieſtie, they ſhall come into no danger at all, nor ſhall make any further way about; ſo by this meanes both the Fleetes may come from Spaine in company, and then come to S. Marta, and the Fleete of Noua Hiſpania may come into this Harbour, and the Fleete which doeth goe vnto the firme land, may goe directly to Cartagena as they doe. Then your Maieſtie may ſend to fortifie the ſaid Harbour, and the fortification muſt be thus: That on the morro or mount which is in the entring in of the ſaid harbour, there be built a litle Fort, and ſo to plant ſome ſmall quantitie of ordinance. And hard by on the South ſide, there to build a litle Towre, and another Sconce, where wee may plant ſome more ordinance. So by this meanes not onely the Shippes may ride heere in ſecuritie, but alſo it will bee a defence for thoſe which dwell heere in the Towne: and the better to effect this purpoſe, there is hard by the Towne great ſtore of Lyme, Stone, Sande, and Tymber, if occaſion ſhould ſerue.

Cartagena.

Cartagena is a Citie, and the principall place of the Biſhopricke; it lyeth fourtie leagues from Santa Marta: it ſtandeth in ſcant 11. degrees. The ſayd Citie is ſituated vpon a ſandy banke or bay like vnto an Iland: it hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire buildings therein: as concerning their houſes, they are made of ſtone, and there are three Monaſteries, of which two of them are of Friers which are within the city, the one called Santo Domingo, and the other called Santo Auguſtin, and the other which is called Saint Francis, which ſtandeth without the citie about 30. paces off. And for to goe vnto the ſaid Frierie, you muſt goe vpon a Cauſey made of ſtone, and water on both ſides. This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of The new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Ilands there adioyning, from Peru, and from all the coaſt of this firme land, and of the fiſhing of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very ſound countrey.

Cartagena ſituate in 11. degrees ſcant.

This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and ſufficient to receiue great ſtore of Ships: this ſaid Harbour hath two entrances in, the one of them lyeth halfe a league from the Citie, where all the Ships doe enter into the ſayd Harbour: the mouth or entring in of the ſayde Harbour is 1400. yardes or paces in bredth, and very deepe water. The other entring in which is called La boca chica, or litle mouth, lieth a league beyond this place to the weſtwards. It is 900. yards in bredth, and in the entring in thereof there lieth a channel in the midſt of it, which is 200. yards broad, and 20. or 15 fadome water, ſome places more, ſome leſſe. And to enter into the Harbour, you muſt go through this channel, and the land doth double in and out. And at the entring in of the ſayde Harbour, after you haue paſt this Channell, you muſt beare vp to the ſhoareward neere vnto the Iland of Cares, and looke how much is ouerplus more then the two hundred yardes of the Channell, all the reſt are certaine ledges of Rockes, couered with two or three foote water vpon the toppe of them, ſome places more, and ſome leſſe. So the ſhips which muſt enter in at the mouth, muſt bring very good Pilots with them, which muſt be very ſkilfull: yet all this will not ſerue, but they muſt carry their Boate before, and ſound with their Lead to know where the beſt place of the Channell lyeth for them to goe in, ſo it will be ſmall hinderance to any ſhippe that ſhall enter, neither yet danger at all of ſinking.

Francis Drake.

There are three places about the ſayde Citie, where the Enemie may giue an attempt by Land. The one of them is where the enemie did enter in and landed, which is a ſandy Bay, and on the one ſide of the Bay is the Sea, and on the other ſide a great Lake which goeth towards the Harbour. The ſandy bay or banke, on the one ſide is 500. yardes broad, all ſandy ground without any trees. So that the enemie which giueth the aſſault in this place muſt bee conſtrayned to march all alongſt this ſandie Bay, the enemie lying open theſe 500. yardes, which reach vntill you doe come to the trench: And on the backſide other 500. yardes, till you doe come vnto the Citie.

The ſayde ſandie bay or banke is 130. yardes broad, where the trench is builded. And in this place this Citie hath bene taken by the enemie twiſe. Wherefore heere wee haue driuen in a great many of woodden ſtakes, which goe downe into the ſea 50. yardes deepe: and this wee haue done, becauſe this is a very dangerous and filthy coaſt. And below in the bottome of the Valley there we haue builded a little Sconce, where we may plant 3. or 4. peeces of ordinance. And likewiſe wee haue made a deepe ditch, which doeth anſwere to both parts of the ſea; ſo on this ſide the Citie is very ſtrong and ſufficient. For this was the place whereof the Citizens were moſt afrayde.

The other entring is lower downe by the ſayde ſandy Bay, which is called Cienaga, or The fenne del Roreado. This is another place which is on the ſayd ſandy bay, which is 300. yardes broad from the one place downe to the ſea. And on the other ſide there lyeth the Cienaga, which is a certaine plat of ground that is ouerflowen with water all the yeere long. So that the enemie which ſhall come this way to winne the Citie, muſt come marching ouer land a good way vpon a ſandie banke or Bay, where the Sea lyeth on the one ſide, and a groue or boſke of wood on the other ſide, and through a plat of ground which is ouerflowen with water, but not all couered. So in this place wee haue made a Fort or Sconce with certaine Flanckers belonging thereunto. And I haue cauſed a deepe ditch to be digged of 60. foote in bredth, ſo that the Sea doeth come to that plat or place which is ouerflowen. And in this order we haue ſtopt this paſſage, ſo that the Citie ſtandeth in maner like vnto an Iland. There is 2600. yardes diſtance from this place to the other trench where the enemie Francis Drake did land laſt.

The entring in of this Harbour is by the bridge and Cauſey which doeth goe from the Citie to S. Francis; the ſayd Cauſey is 300. yardes in length, and 12. yardes in bredth: and the water is on both the ſides of the ſaide Cauſey: ſo this is the ſtrongeſt place of all the reſt of the three places. Alſo in this place there is order taken to make a draw bridge, and vpon the top of the ſaid bridge, to build a platforme, and plant ordinance vpon it: and on both ſides of the bridge there are certaine trenches made, where our men may be cloſe kept.

The gallies of Cartagena.

At the point of this land called ycacos, which is in the entring in of the harbour towards S. Anna, we haue made a Fort of timber foureſquare of 300. foote euery way, and trencht, where wee may plant 15. or 16. peeces of ordinance, and keepe 50. men in gariſon, and behinde the bourdes on the backſide of the timbers, a Barricado of earth or mudde wall being foure foote in thickneſſe, and behinde the mud-wall, ſand: ſo this Fort will bee of great importance for ſafegard of this Harbour, becauſe all the Shippes which doe enter into this Harbour doe come cloſe to this place where it is ſtrongeſt, ſo that ſometimes one may caſt a ſtone into the ſhips when they are comming in: and when any ſhip of warre or Pirate will giue any attempt to enter into this Harbour, there is order giuen that the two galleys ſhall go forth, and put themſelues behinde the Fort with their prows to the ſea, and ſo ſhooting at their enemies in the forepart of the ſhip, and then the Fort anſwering likewiſe with their ordinance at the ſide of the ſhippe, and at their tackling, ſo the enemie being in the Harbour all vnrigged, they muſt of neceſſitie be conſtrained to lye houering within the Harbour, or els they muſt driue vpon the rockes called the Iſmo, or els vpon thoſe rocks which are couered with the ſea at the Iland of Cares.

And put caſe that in this place we can doe no good by this meanes, and that the enemie will venture to come in with their long boates & Pinneſſes through this narrow mouth: then we are to haue in a readineſſe 4. Frigats to ayde and helpe the gallies, & to row with oares, and ſo to go to the narrow mouth, and there to ſtay in the channell. And foraſmuch as the entring in is ſo dangerous, according as I haue certified your Maieſtie, there can no ſhip come into this harbour, but we muſt needes ſinke them; ſo that theſe defences ſhall not onely bee annoyance to the enemie, but alſo animate and encourage the inhabitants of this citie: for they haue beene and are in ſuch feare of the enemie, and pirates, that if wee had not made theſe fortifications, ſtrengthened the citie in this order, and put ſome ſouldiers in gariſon, the citizens would haue fledde, and forſaken this citie: for all the perſwaſions made to them by the gouernour coulde not perſwade them to the contrary, but they would bee gone, if it had not beene for this fortification, and yet for all this wee haue much to doe to make them to ſtay here: ſo nowe by reaſon of theſe ſouldiers which ſhall come hither, the people of the citie haue taken heart of graſſe: ſo I haue tolde them that your maieſtie will command that this citie and the harbour ſhall be better fortified and made ſtronger, and all this which I haue cauſed to be builded, is with that money which I haue borowed of the citizens.

The poynt of Ycacos.

As touching the ſafegard and defence of this harbour, if your maieſtie ſo pleaſe, here may we builde a very faire and ſtrong caſtle with foure bulwarks, on the poynt of the Ycacos which doth lie on the ſide where the citie is builded, becauſe all the ſhippes which doe come to this harbour, muſt come cloſe abord this ſhore, ſo neere, that wee may caſt a ſtone into them, and ſo ouertake any ſhip. So likewiſe if the ſhippes will goe on the other ſhore, then they doe goe in greater danger, becauſe of thoſe ſhoalds and ledges of rockes, and ſo are often caſt away. And foraſmuch as thoſe ſhips which here doe arriue are brought hither by Eaſterly winds, and ſometimes with thoſe winds which come out from the ſea, and therefore perforce muſt giue a good birth off, otherwiſe they cannot enter into this harbour, therefore of neceſſity they muſt come ſo cloſe to the ſhore: And on the other ſide where the Iſland of Cares ſtandeth, there may wee builde another tower foure-ſquare, and plant ſome foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and this will ſerue for the night if occaſion be offered that any ſmall ſhippe or barke ſhould come in here, or any pinneſſe in the night, to doe any harme, or to attempt to burne any Fleete which ſhoulde ride here at an anker within this harbour: ſo the fort beeing on the one ſide, and the tower on the other ſide, keeping good watch, there can no ſhippe nor barke come into this harbour, but they will bee eſpied.

In the narrow mouth at the entring in the other way towardes the Iſland of Cares, where the channell doth runne neere the ſhore, as I haue already certified your maieſtie, there may another caſtle be made, and there foure or fiue pieces of ordinance planted, and ſome ſixe or eight men to keepe watch and ward: this being done, your maieſtie ſhall haue this citie very well fortified, by reaſon it is of ſuch importance for the ſeruice of your maieſtie, and the trade of all Spaine and Peru, and all the Indies: for this is the principall fort of all this countrey.

Ouer againſt this point of the Ycacos, in the Iſle of Cares, hard by the water ſide, there are great ſtore of ſtones, free ſtones, and other ſtones to make lyme, and wood to burne the ſtones withall for the lyme, and great part of the ſtones doe lie about the water: ſo the wood will coſt but the cutting of it downe, and the working of it, and with little paines taking it will bee brought to good perfection, for wee haue already made triall thereof, for there was neuer building that went to decay after it hath bene made, nor periſhed by the ſea: ſo the charge hereof will be but little or nothing.

And for to put this in practiſe to build a fort, it is needefull that your maieſtie ſhould ſend hither and to many other places, where any fort ſhall bee made, ſome ſtore of Negros, and to this place would be ſent 150 Negros brought from Guyney: and if the Negros of Hauana are not to bee imployed there, nor thoſe which are in Sant Iuan de Vllua, it may pleaſe your maieſtie to cauſe them to bee ſent for to this place, for moſt of them be artificers, ſome maſons, bricklayers, ſmithes and ſawyers, and to ſend ſome maſons from Spaine to teach our men theſe occupations. And after theſe fortifications are ended and all furniſhed, then the Negros may be ſolde to great profit, for a Negro that is of any occupation is ſold here for 600, and 700, pezos.

Nombre de Dios.

NOmbre de Dios is builded vpon a ſandy Bay hard by the ſea ſide, it is a citie of ſome thirtie houſholdes or inhabitants: their houſes are builded of timber, and moſt of the people which are there be forreiners, they are there to day and gone to morrow: it is full of woods and ſome places of the land are ouerflowen with water continually by reaſon of much raine which doth fall vpon the hils. It is a very bad harbour, neither is there any good water: and it is ſubiect to Northerly winds and Eaſterly windes, which continually doe blow vpon this coaſt: many of the great ſhips which doe come to this place doe vnlade halfe their commodities betweene the two ledges of rockes, for that there is but little water in the harbour; and after that a ſhip hath vnladen halfe of her goods, then ſhee goeth to the ſecond rocke, as it doth appeare by the platforme, but the ſmall ſhips come neere vnto another rocke on the Weſt ſide. If the winde chance to come to the North and Northweſt, and that it ouerblowe, then ſuch great ſhips as then be in the roade muſt of force more themſelues with ſixe cables a head, eſpecially in a ſtorme, and yet neuertheleſſe ſometimes they are driuen aſhore and ſo caſt away, and all becauſe they dare not vier cable ynough, becauſe of ſo many ſhelues and rockes which are in both thoſe places: alſo the ſhippes doe roule very much in the harbour, by reaſon in foule weather the Sea will bee mightily growen, which is the cauſe that their cables do oftentimes breake, and their ruthers are vnhanged, the cauſe thereof is by reaſon the ſhippes doe ride but in little water, yet goeth there a great ſea.

The citie is builded and ſituated very well if it were a good harbour, it ſtandeth vpon the Eaſt ſide vpon a rocke where they may builde a very good fort, according to the platforme for the ſafegard of this harbour: but ſeeing it is but a bad hauen and ſhallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needfull for your maieſtie to be at any charges in fortifying that place, but onely a trench to be made of earth or clay, ſo that theſe townſmen may defend themſelues from danger of 3. or 4. ſhips.

The citie of Panama is eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the wayes are exceeding bad thetherwards; yet notwithſtanding all the ſiluer is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your maieſties treaſure as other marchandize; ſo likewiſe the moſt part of thoſe commodities which are caried to Peru, and the reſt of the marchandize are carried to the riuer of Chagre which is ſome 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought vp by this riuer within fiue leagues of Panama vnto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are tranſported to Panama vpon Mules. The high way which goeth from Nombre de Dios to Panama may be very wel mended, only to remooue this way and to ſtop it quite vp, and ſo to make it againe vpon the ſide of a mountaine. This citie lieth in nine degrees and one tierce, and if your maieſtie will giue order that this citie ſhould be plucked downe and newly builded againe in Puerto Bello, then you are to make a new way through the mountains of Capira, by reaſon it may not be frequented and becauſe the high wayes are very bad: with little charges they may be broken and ſo ſhut vp, and the chanell of this harbour may bee ſtopt with the timber of thoſe old ſhips which are laid vp here euery yeere, and then afterwards may be caſt a great number of ſtones into the ſame, and ſo by this meanes to damme vp the harbour: and here is great want of ſtones to ballaſt the ſhippes: wherefore they are faine to goe to an Iſland three leagues from Cartagena called Iſla de los Baſtimentos, and this is a thing very needfull for this Countrey, as by experience I haue ſeene.

Nombre de Dios in 9. deg. and one tierce.

Puerto Bello.

PVerto Bello lieth fiue leagues from Nombre de Dios Weſtward: It is a very good harbour and ſufficient to receiue great ſtore of ſhips, and hath very good ankering, and freſh water: for neere the ſhore you ſhall find ſome ſixe fathome water, and in the middeſt of the ſame harbour you ſhall find twelue fathome, very good and cleane ground or ſand, without eyther banks or rockes. There are twelue ſmall riuers or brookes of water which doe belong to this harbour, and ſo doe meete all together: ſo that the fleete may at all times prouide themſelues of freſh water ſo much as ſhall ſerue their turnes. And likewiſe there is in this place great ſtore of timber to build ſhippes, and ſtones to ballaſt ſhippes. Alſo the harbour hath no danger at all in comming in, but onely when the wind is Weſterly, which is ſeldome ſeene vpon this coaſt. The windes which doe moſt blowe vpon this coaſt are Northerly windes, and they are more dangerous and hurtfull then the Eaſterly windes are. Within this harbour there lieth a ſmall creeke ſafe from all winds that can blow. This creek is about fiue hundred yards long, and ſo many in breadth, and in the entring in of this creekes mouth it is ſome 300. yardes broad, and foure fathome and a halfe of water: and entring farther in, ſixe fathome, all oaze and muddie ground: ſo that if a ſhip ſhould chance to ſtrike or come aground, ſhee could take no harme being ſoft oaze; alſo it doth ebbe and flow according as I haue certified your maieſtie already.

And likewiſe the comming in and going out of this harbour is very good: and with all kinde of weather a ſhippe may ſet ſaile from this place except with a Weſterly wind: and all this coaſt is very cleane where a ſhippe at all times may come to anker without the harbours mouth. This harbour is inuironed round about with woods: and at the ende of this harbour there is certaine land which is ouerflowen with water: it may bee eaſily dryed vp and walled round about, ſo this land will ſerue very well to feede cattell. For that is the chiefeſt thing which doth belong to any citie or towne, and of this paſture ground there is great want in Nombre de Dios, for there is no paſture at all to breede cattell, for all kinde of fleſh which is ſpent in this place is brought from Panama: ſo towards the South there is a very good place, where the citie may be newe built on a certaine plaine ground which lieth at the foot of certaine mountaines, which bee not very high; and in this place there runne three little riuers of freſh water very ſweete and good, and here is good arable ground to till and to ſow Maiz and other kinds of graine. Alſo in this circuite there are great ſtones to make lyme, and theſe ſtones muſt needes prooue very good as I doe thinke, but we neuer had any triall thereof.

This harbour hath all things neceſſary to builde a citie, where your maieſtie may haue your armies and fleetes of ſhippes to ride at an anker in ſafetie without danger of looſing: and it is a very healthfull countrey, and where the citie ſhall be builded it is all ſtony ground: and foraſmuch as the raine water which doth fall from the mountaines may doe hurt vnto the citie, there at the foote of the mountaine wee will make a great pond to receiue in all the water which doth fall from the mountaines, and ſo from thence to goe into the ſea, as more at large your maieſtie may ſee by my platforme.

If it would pleaſe your maieſtie, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might bee brought and builded in this harbour: it would not bee very chargeable vnto the citizens by reaſon that all their houſes are made of timber, and they may benefite themſelues with the ſame againe, and likewiſe with the tyles of their houſes: the greateſt charge will bee to land timber and to cut downe the mountaine of wood.

If it pleaſe your maieſtie that the ſayd citie of Nombre de Dios ſhould bee builded in this harbour the firſt thing which muſt be finiſhed is to make vp this high way, and ſo to pull downe the Church which is in Nombre Dios, and the Contractation houſe, and ſo newe build it in this harbour: and then to command all the fleetes of ſhippes from time to time to come and vnlade their goods in this ſayd Puerto Bello: And that thoſe marchants and factors of Spaine which are lygers in Panama and Nombre de Dios, ſhall come to this harbour and builde anew their warehouſes for receiuing of their goods. So by theſe meanes in ſhort time it will be greatly inhabited with people: alſo the fleete ſhall not paſſe ſo many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: neither will there ſo many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: and the cauſe thereof is, that thoſe labouring men which doe vſe to vnlade thoſe marchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water vp to the armepits to bring the packs of cloth and other commodities aland; for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods cloſe to the ſhore, ſo this wading and the parching of the Sunne is the cauſe why ſo many doe dye of a burning feuer. There are but 60. dwelling houſes in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the reſt doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this Towne doeth remayne deſolate, euery man forſaking it becauſe it is ſo full of diſeaſes.

In the entring in of this harbour for the more ſecuritie thereof and defence of the towne it is needefull to build vpon the toppe of the mount which lyeth to the Northward, a little fort foureſquare that will hold foure or fiue pieces of ordinance, and to appoynt ſixe men to watch and ward; and this beeing done wee ſhall haue no occaſion to make any more defence, by reaſon the countrey is full of rocks and filthy wayes, and all full of woods round about the harbour.

And ſo likewiſe on the other ſide to builde a little tower in maner of a fort, with eight pieces of ordinance and fiue and twenty ſouldiers to keepe it. And this will bee of more importance becauſe it muſt be builded on the towne ſide. And a little beyond this place on the Northſide there lyeth a creeke, where there is a very good ankering in eight fathome water: ſo this fort beeing builded in this place it will defend the harbour and offend the enemy: and will defend the coaſt along and a poynt of the land which doth runne from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and reacheth to the Iland of Buena Ventura. And put caſe that the fort which is builded on the other ſide doth decay, or be taken by the enemy, with this other fort wee may defend the citie very well, if the enemy ſhould chance to come into the harbour, and bee ſuccoured and holpen by the citizens, and twentie muſketters being planted vpon a mount which lyeth ouer the fort, will bee ſufficient to defende vs from a good many of our enemies, that ſhoulde come to aſſault vs, becauſe all the countrey is full of rockes and ſtones, and full of mountaines. So from this wood there may a way be made to goe to the citie, and to ioyne with that way which ſhall goe to Panama; and this may bee done with ſmall charges. This harbour doth lie in nine degrees and one tierce, and if occaſion ſhoulde ſerue wee may ſtop vp the way which doth goe to Capira, and the reſt of the wayes which goe from Nombre de Dios to Venta de Cruzes, according as it is certified me by the Negros called Simerons; for they told me that this way would not bee very troubleſome. Although in the Winter it is reported that here is good ſtore of water in this place, which in the Sommer it is all dryed vp, and where theſe waters are, there we may builde a cauſey, to which purpoſe there are great quantities of ſtones and timber very ſeruiceable: ſo this way may bee made with that treaſure which your maieſtie doeth receiue of the auerages and cuſtomes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which doth amount vnto twelue or fourteene thouſand pezos yeerely: and an order might be taken for the ſame, that the ſayd money may ſerue for the building and reparing of theſe wayes.

Panama.

Panama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South ſea, and ſtandeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monaſteries in this ſaid city of fryers, the one is of Dominicks, the other is of Auguſtines, and the third is of S. Francis fryers: alſo there is a College of Ieſuits, and the royall audience or chancery is kept in this citie.

This citie is ſituated hard by the ſea ſide on a ſandy bay: the one ſide of this citie is enuironed with the ſea, and on the other ſide it is encloſed with an arme of the ſea which runneth vp into the land 1000. yards.

Panama hath 350. houſes.

This citie hath three hundred and fiftie houſes, all built of timber, and there are ſixe hundred dwellers and eight hundred ſouldiers with the townſmen, and foure hundred Negros of Guyney, and ſome of them are free men: and there is another towne which is called Santa Cruz la Real of Negros Simerons, and moſt of them are imployed in your maieſties ſeruice, and they are 100. in number, and this towne is a league from this citie vpon a great riuers ſide, which is a league from the ſea right ouer againſt the harbour of Pericos. But there is no truſt nor confidence in any of theſe Negros, and therefore we muſt take heede and beware of them, for they are our mortall enemies.

Negros Simerons mortall enemies to the Spanyards.

There are three ſundry wayes to come to this citie, beſides the ſea, where the enemy may aſſault vs. The one is at the bridge which is builded vpon the riuer: and on the one ſide of this, there lieth a creeke: ſo on this ſide the citie is very ſtrong, becauſe it is all ſoft muddie ground, for in no way they cannot goe vpon it. And right ouer againſt it there lyeth a riuer which is in maner like vnto a ditch or moate; and on the other ſide of the Riuer there lyeth a great Lake or Pond which is full of water all the Winter, and part of the Sommer, ſo that on this ſide the city is very ſtrong, for with very ſmall ſtore of ſouldiers this place might bee kept verie well.

The beſt way to take Panama.

The greateſt danger for the ſurpriſing of this citie is the way that doth come from Nombre de Dios: for all this way is playne ground and no woods: and 2000. yardes from this citie there lyeth a riuer called Lauanderas, where the women doe vſe to waſh their linnen: and this riuer doth goe into the creeke, according as I haue certified your maieſtie: and being once paſt this riuer, there is a cauſey which goeth directly vnto them. The other way which doth go towards the citie is lower downe towards the ſea at a ſtone bridge lying vpon the way which goeth to the harbour of Perico. Theſe two wayes cannot be kept nor reſiſted, becauſe it is all plaine ground and medowes.

Perico.

Vpon the Eaſt ſide of this citie there are your maieſties royall houſes builded vpon a rocke ioyning hard to the Sea ſide, and they doe aſwell leane towards the ſea as the land. The royall audience or chancerie is kept here in theſe houſes, and likewiſe the priſon. And in this place all your maieſties treaſure is kept. There dwelleth in theſe houſes your maieſties Treaſurer, the Lord Preſident, and 3. Iudges, and maſter Atturney. All theſe doe dwell in theſe houſes, and the reſt of your maieſties officers: which are ſixe houſes beſides thoſe of the Lord Preſident, the which are all dwelling houſes, and all adioyning together one by another along vpon the rockes. And they are builded all of timber and bourdes, as the other houſes are. So where the priſon ſtandeth and the great hall, theſe two places may bee very well fortified, becauſe they ſerue ſo fitly for the purpoſe, by reaſon they are builded towardes the ſea, and that there lye certaine ſmall rocks, which at a lowe water are all diſcouered and drie, and ſome of them are ſeene at a high water. Right ouer theſe houſes to the Eaſtwardes there lyeth an Iſland about fiue hundred yardes from theſe houſes, and the Iſland is in forme of a halfe moone; and in this order it runneth all alongſt very neere the maine land: ſo ouer againſt theſe houſes there lyeth the

An Iſland in the harbour of Panama.

harbour where all the ſhippes doe vſe to ride at an anker, after that they haue diſcharged and vnladen their marchandize. For when they haue their lading aboord, there can come in none but ſmall Barkes, and at a lowe water the ſhippes are all aground and drie, and ſo is all the ſpace ſome thirtie yardes from thoſe houſes. Right ouer againſt them ſtandeth the citie.

When newes were brought to this citie of thoſe Pirates which were come vpon this coaſt, the Lord Preſident and Iudges commanded that there ſhould a ſconce bee made, and trenched round about, made all of timber for the defence of this citie againſt the enemie, and to keepe your maieſties treaſure. So your officers cauſed Venta de Cruzes to be fortified, and likewiſe Chagre, and Quebrada, and fortified the garriſon of Ballano: for all theſe are places where the enemy may land, and by this meanes ſpoyle all this countrey.

Places good to land in.

There are three ſundry places, where this citie may without difficulty be taken, and ſpoyled by the Pirates. The firſt is on the North ſeas in a certaine place which lyeth foureteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the place is called Acle to the Eaſtwards, where once before certaine men of warre haue entred into thoſe ſeas. The other place is Nombre de Dios, although this is a bad place and naughtie wayes, and full of waters and a very dirtie way: for three partes of the yeere the countrey people doe trauell vpon thoſe waters, and an other very badde way, which is the going vp of certaine rockes and mountaines which they muſt climbe, called the mountaines of Capira, which are of height three quarters of a league, ſo in this place with very ſmall ſtore of ſouldiers wee can defend our ſelues from the fury of the enemie, ſo theſe dwellers doe ſay that in Sommer the wayes are very good without either dirt or water,

1. Place. This was Oxenham.

2. Place.

The other entrance is vp the riuer of Chagre, which riuers mouth lyeth eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios to the Weſtwards falling into the North ſea, and this is the place which the citizens of Panama doe moſt feare, for they may come vp this riuer to Venta de Cruzes, and ſo from thence march to this citie, which is but fiue leagues off. So vp this riuer there goe boates and barkes which doe carry 320. Quintals waight. Theſe are they which carry the moſt part of the marchandize which doe come from Spaine to be tranſported to Peru, and from Venta de Cruzes it is carried to Limaret which is three leagues off that place, and the dwellers doe report that it is a very good way: and if any men of warre will attempt to come into theſe ſeas, they may very eaſily come vp this riuer as farre as Venta de Cruzes, and from thence march vnto this citie, and if the enemy will, they may bring their pinneſſes ready made in foure quarters, and ſo taken in ſunder, may afterwards ſet them together againe: as it is reported that Francis Drake hath vſed it once before when he came that voyage; and ſo he may attempt vs both by ſea and land. And forasmuch as the moſt part of theſe people are marchants, they will not fight, but onely keepe their owne perſons in ſafetie, and ſaue their goods; as it hath bene ſeene heretofore in other places of theſe Indies.

3. Place.

The place of moſt aduantage for the Engliſh.

So if it will pleaſe your maieſty to cauſe theſe houſes to bee ſtrongly fortified, conſidering it ſtandeth in a very good place if any ſudden alarms ſhoulde happen, then the citizens with their goods may get themſelues to this place, and ſo eſcape the terrour of the enemy: and ſo this will be a good ſecuritie for all the treaſure which doth come from Peru. So all the Pirats and rebels, which haue robbed in theſe parts, haue gone about what they can to ſtoppe this paſſage, and ſo by this meanes to ſtoppe the trade of Spaine, and to ſet ſouldiers in this place, for to intercept and take your maieſties treaſure, whereby none might be caried into Spaine. Therefore it behooueth your maieſtie to fortifie theſe places very ſtrongly.

Theſe places being fortified in this maner, your maieſty ſhal haue al your gold and ſiluer brought home in ſafetie which commeth from Peru. And all thoſe commodities which are laden in Spaine may come ſafe to this place. And if perchance any rebels ſhould riſe in theſe parts, which would rebel againſt your maieſty, which God forbid, & if they ſhould chāce to ioyn with any of theſe pirats, hauing this place ſo wel fortified, & Puerto Bello in ẏ North parts, & ſo to ſend ſome garriſon your maieſtie needs not to feare: for here in this harbor are alwayes 10 or 12 barks of 60 or 50 tunnes apiece, which do belong to this harbor. So if any of theſe places ſhalbe intercepted, thē your maieſtie hath no other place fitter then this to land your maieſties ſouldiers, for then they haue but 18. leagues to march by land, & preſently they may be ſhipped to ſupply theſe places which ſhal ſtand in moſt need of them. In al the coaſt of Peru there is no harbour that hath any ſhipping but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there are ſome ſhips and barks. The harbour being thus open without any defence, a man of war may very eaſily come to this place, as I haue certified your maieſtie, thorow the ſtreits of Magellane, & arriue at that inſtant, when thoſe barks do come from Peru with your maieſties gold & ſiluer, for ſometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in thoſe barks; ſo the enemy may come and take al their treaſure, & not leeſe one man, becauſe here is not one man to

Rebellion feared in the West Indies.

5. or 6. millions of gold & ſiluer.

reſiſt him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treaſure may be kept in the fort. There is a trench made round about your maieſties houſes which are builded of timber: the Preſident and Iudges did cauſe it to be made, for that here was newes brought that there were certaine men of warre, & pirats cōming for theſe parts. So this trench is thus maintained vntil ſuch time as your maieſties pleaſure is to the contrary, & in ſuch wiſe that your ſouldiers may fight lying behind the trench; ſo there is order giuen to build a platforme vpon the plaine ground, and ſo to plant ſuch ordinance in thoſe places, as ſhall be thought moſt conuenient.

The harbour of Perico.

If it wil pleaſe your maieſtie, here we may make a ſconce or fort toward the land ſide, & ſo trench it round about and build it with ſtone, becauſe here is a place and al things readie for the ſame purpoſe; and by this meanes the citie would be ſecurely kept: as for the ſea there is no danger at al, by reaſon that the water doth ebbe & flow twiſe a day, and then when it is ebbing water it wil be all dry & muddy ground & rocks, ſo that in no wiſe at a low water the enemy can wade ouer the mud to come to this city, and it reacheth from the Iſland til you come to the bridge called Paita. Two leagues from this city there lieth a harbor called Perico downe to the Weſtward: this is a very ſure harbour by reaſon of 3. Iſlands which do ioyne in maner of a halfe moone, they lie halfe a league from the maine, the Iſlands do encloſe the harbor round about, the harbour is a very high land, & the Iſlands are but reaſonable high, there is good ſtore of freſh water: alſo there hath neuer any ſhip bene caſt away in this harbour, for there is 7. fathome water at ful ſea, and 3 or 4 fathome at lower water, and very good ground for their ankering, and when they will trimme their ſhips they may hale them aſhore. All thoſe ſhips and barks which come from Peru with gold, ſiluer or any other kind of commodities, do firſt come to an anker in this harbour, and if they haue a contrary weather they cannot come into the harbour of Panama; and for ſo much as the harbour hath no defence for the ſafegard of the ſhips, if a man of warre ſhould chance to come into the harbour, all the barks with the treaſure may be very eaſily taken. And likewiſe theſe barks & ſhips which do nauigate in the South ſeas carrie not ſo much as one piece of ordinance or a rapier to defend them withall. From this place to Venta de Cruzes is not paſſing 5 leagues; ſo that if any pinneſſe ſhould happen to arriue there, no doubt but they might robbe and take al your treaſure which is in thoſe barks, by reaſon that from the ſhore they cannot be reſcued nor holpen, becauſe it is an Iſland and refuge for all ſhips and barks. If it would pleaſe your maieſtie here might ſome fort or defence bee made in the middlemoſt Iſland, and ſome ordinance planted, and this might bee made with little charges, becauſe in the ſaid Iſland there are all kinde of neceſſaries fit for that purpoſe, ſo by this meanes your maieſtie may haue both the harbour and the citie very well kept.

Nota.

A new way into the ſouth ſea.

And likewiſe there is another entring into the South ſea which is called the riuer of Franciſca, which lieth on this ſide of the Cabeça de Catiua, and this riuer doth come into another riuer which is called Caracol, and is fiue leagues from this citie; and once before theſe Simerons brought into this place certaine Frenchmen.

The riuer of *Chagre.*

These fiue leagues are very good ground or champion countrey.

THe riuer of Chagre lieth in 9. degrees and one tierce. The mouth of this riuer is in the North ſeas 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 13. leagues from Puerto Bello: there is caryed vp this riuer certaine quantitie of thoſe merchandize which are vnladen at Nombre de Dios which come from Spaine. From the mouth of this riuer to Venta de Cruzes are eighteene leagues. From this place where the barkes vnlade their commodities, they are carried vpon mules to Panama, which is but fiue leagues off from this place.

This riuer hath great ſtore of water in the Winter. And the barkes which belong to this riuer are commonly of 320. Quintals that is of 16. tunnes in burthen: but in the Summer there is but ſmall ſtore of water: ſo then the barkes haue much to doe to get vp this riuer: and in many places theſe barks are conſtrained to vnlade their commodities; and are drawen by mens ſtrength and force a good way vp the riuer, and therefore if it would pleaſe your maieſtie to command that all thoſe goods may bee firſt vnladen in Puerto Bello, and there to build a litle caſtle in the mouth of the ſaid riuer, and at the foote of the caſtle to build a ſtorehouſe to vnlade and keepe all the ſayd goods, and there to build other barks of leſſe burthen: then theſe would ſerue for Sommer, and the great barks for the Winter.

If it would pleaſe your maieſtie, there might a very good high way be made on the one ſide of the riuer, and ſo they might bee towed, for it may bee made and not with much coſt becauſe it is all plaine ground, and there is growing vpon the ſayd riuer great ſtore of timber and trees which doe lie ouerthwart the ſaid Riuer; ſo that they are very cumberſome and great annoiance vnto the ſaid boates, aſwell thoſe that go vp the ſaid Riuer, as alſo that doe come downe the ſaid Riuer.

And therfore if it might pleaſe your maieſtie to command, that Puerto belo might be inhabited, and the towne made neerer the Riuers ſide, euery thing would be a great deale better cheape, if the commodities were caryed vp the Riuer: for it is a great danger to cary them vp by land, for it is daily ſeene that the mules do many times fall and breake their neckes with their lading vpon their backs, as well the treaſure as other kinde of commodities, becauſe it is ſuch a bad way. And your maieſtie might be at this charges and ſpend of your reuenewes of Nombre de dios and Panama, which do yerely yeild 12 or 14 thouſand pezos, & this being once done it would be a great ayd and benefit to thoſe, which doe trade and trafficke, and to thoſe merchantes which doe ſend their goods ouer-land, and eaſe them much of paine and purſe, becauſe the other is a moſt filthy way, as any is in the world.

A briefe remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by *William Michelſon* Captaine, and *William Mace* of *Ratcliffe*, Maſter of a ſhip called the *Dogge*, to the Bay of *Mexico* in the *Weſt India.*

The aforeſaide ſhip called the Dogge, of the burthen of threeſcore and ten tunnes was furniſhed, and armed forth with the number of fortie men: it departed from the coaſt of England in the moneth of May, directly for the Weſt India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with diuers Spaniſh ſhips at ſundry times, whereof three fel into her lapſe and were forced to yeeld vnto the mercie of the Engliſh: the laſt that they met within the Bay was a Spaniſh man of warre, whom the Engliſh chaſed, and after three ſeuerall fightes, vpon three diuers dayes, preſſed him ſo farre that he entreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was granted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboord the Engliſh. Where after conference about thoſe matters that had paſſed in the fight betwixt them, they receiued reaſonable intertainement and a quiet farewell. The Spaniſh, as if they had ment to requite the Engliſh courteſie, inuited our men to their ſhippe, who perſwading themſelues of good meaning in the Spaniſh, went aboord: but honeſt and friendly dealing was not their purpoſe, ſuddenly they aſſaulted our men, and one with a dagger ſtabde Roger Kingſnod the Engliſh Pilote to the heart and ſlewe him, and others were ſerued with the like ſauce, onely William [illegible]e the Maſter & others, notwithſtanding al the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept ouerboord into the ſea, and ſo came ſafe to their own ſhip: and directing his courſe for England, arriued at Plimouth the tenth day of September 1589, laden with wines, yron, Roans, which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arriuall of the reſt of his conſorts, whereof one and the principall hath not long ſince obtained his Port. Thus much in generall termes onely I haue as yet learned, and receiued touching this voyage, extracted out of letters ſent from the aforeſaid William Mace, to Maſter Edward Wilkinſon of Towre-hill in London. My principall intention by this example is to admoniſh our nation of circumſpection in dealing with that ſubtill enemie, and neuer to truſt the Spaniſh further, then that their owne ſtrength ſhall be able to maſter them: for otherwiſe whoſoeuer ſhall through ſimplicitie truſt their curteſie, ſhall by tryall taſte of their aſſured crueltie.

Spaniſh treaſon.

CERTAINE SPANISH LETTERS INTERcepted by ſhippes of the Worſhipfull Maſter *Iohn VVattes* written from diuerſe places of the Iſlandes and of the maine land as well of *Nueua Eſpanna*, as of *Tierra Firma* and *Peru*, containing many ſecrets touching the aforeſaid Countreys, and the ſtate of the South Sea, and the Trade to the *Philippinas.*

A leter ſent from *Hauana* in *Cuba* from the general of the fleete *Iohn de Orumo* to the king of *Spaine* the 18 of October 1590, touching the building of certaine excellent Frigats, &c.

It may pleaſe your maieſtie that at the date hereof one of the Frigates was lanched: and three more will be ready againſt the fleete depart from hence. They are very bigge and excellent of ſayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with ſouldiers and mariners. And hauing good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend vs. For wee ſhall both leaue and take at all times when we liſt. But it behooueth your maieſtie to ſend both ſouldiers and mariners to man the Frigats. For we haue great want of ſouldiers and mariners, with tackling, ankers, powder, ſhot, caliuers, and all kinde of furniture for them. For theſe things are not here to bee had for money: and likewiſe to ſend ſome great ordinance for the Zabras. For the merchants ſhips are ſo weake and ſo vnprouided, that they haue almoſt none to defend themſelues. Alſo we ſhall be conſtrained to giue the carena againe vnto al the ſhips; for they are very weake by reaſon of the long voyage: and the mariners and ſouldiers are wearie with their long trauelling and keeping of them here. Thus if it would pleaſe your maieſtie to command with all expedition that theſe ſouldiers and mariners with al kinde of other furniture might be ſent vs, then the fleete may ſet forward and ſo proceede on their voyage. God preſerue your Catholike royal maieſtie. Frō Hauana the of 20 October 1590.

Your maieſties ſeruant, whoſe royall feet I kiſſe,
IOHN DE ORIMO General of your Fleete.

A Letter ſent from the Gouernour of *Hauana Iohn de Trexeda*, to the King of *Spaine*, the twentieth of October 1590, touching the wants of that place.

The newe fortification in Hauana.

By three ſhippes which departed from this Harbour ſince the Fleetes arriuall here, I haue giuen your maieſtie at large to vnderſtand, what hath happened as much as I can, and what thing is here to be done in this citie, and what your maieſtie muſt prouide. And now once againe I will returne to put your maieſtie in minde thereof. I beſeech your maieſtie to command to be prouided and to be ſent hither two hundred Negros, if you will haue this fortification to goe forwardes: becauſe your maieſtie is here at great charges with the maſter workeman and the Officers. And for want of Pioners the worke goeth not forwardes. For as the worke goeth dayly forward and increaſeth farther and farther, ſo we want men to worke, and to garde it, and likewiſe to keep it. We dare not meddle with thoſe of the Galies. And likewiſe it may pleaſe your maieſtie to ſend new working tooles of yron, according to a remembrance which I haue ſent to your maieſtie of late, which doeth ſignifie our wants more at large.

Souldiers ſent to Hauana.
A fort vpon an hill.

Likewiſe it is needefull that your maieſtie ſhould ſend powder and match to furniſh theſe forts. And likewiſe to ſend money to pay thoſe ſouldiers which are newly come hither, & for that companie of ſouldiers which were ſent from Mexico to this place. For it behooueth your maieſtie not to haue them as yet left, till ſuch time as the defences about the forts bee finiſhed, and that which is in building vpon the hill, which will be ended very ſhortly if you ſend the Negros, and yron tooles.

Fiue Frigats made at Hauana.
Iohn de Orimo General of the fleete.
The excellency of the great Frygates built in Cuba.

Likewiſe I haue certified your maieſtie, that with all ſpeed I am making ready of the fiue Frigates, that they may cary all the treaſure. Alſo Iohn de Orimo ſeeing that it is of ſo great importance to haue them diſpatched, doeth furniſh mee with ſome money, although ſomewhat ſcantly, vntill ſuch time as your maieſtie doth ſend him ſome order therefore. I beſeech you to command it to bee done; conſidering the great charges and expences that we are at here, as by the accounts your Maieſtie ſhall more at large perceiue, what hath bene ſpent. Theſe Frigats will be made an end of without all doubt by the moneth of Februarie: but as yet their tackling and sayles are not here arriued: but I doe ſtay the comming thereof euery day, according as the Duke of Medina and Iohn de Ibarra haue written vnto me, that thoſe ſhips which ſhould bring the ſame were readie to depart from thence. All theſe things it behoooueth your Maieſtie to ſend in time: for I can aſſure your Maieſtie that you ſhall not haue vpon the ſea ſuch good ſhippes as theſe are. For as touching the other ſhips of the fleete, which are in this harbour, it is not conuenient to venture the ſiluer in them. This counſell your Maieſtie ſhall not take of mee, for I am a ſouldier, and haue but ſmall ſkill in nauigation. But euery day it is tolde me openly and in ſecret by many of the pilots, captaines, maſters, and mariners.

Copper mines newly found in Cuba.

As touching the copper, I haue put it in practiſe twiſe more, and haue made proofe thereof: wherein there hath bene more ſpent, then I was willing there ſhould haue bene, becauſe I haue gotten no fruit thereof: I know not the cauſe, but that it is not done effectually by thoſe that haue the working thereof. Therefore I beſeech your Maieſtie to ſend me that ſame ſounder which I wrote to your Maieſtie heretofore of. Our Lord keepe your Maieſtie many yeeres. From Hauana the 20 of October, 1590.

Your Maieſties ſeruant, whoſe royall feete I kiſſe,
IOHN DE TREXEDA gouernour of *Hauana*.

A letter ſent to *Don Petro de Xibar* one of his Maieſties priuie Counſel of the *Weſt Indies*, from *Don Diego Mendez de Valdes* Gouernour of S. *Iuan de Puerto Rico* the 20 of Nouember 1590, touching the ſtate of that Citie and Iſland.

I Recieued your honours letter the 20 of Februarie, whereby I receiued great content, to heare that your honour is in good health. As touching the impriſonment of our couſin Don Pedro de Valdes, it doeth grieue me to the very ſoule. I beſeech God to ſend him his libertie: and likewiſe the impriſonment [illegible] Diego Flores de Valdes grieueth me very much: I pray God to ſend good iuſtice. The M. of the fielde Iuan de Texela, and the M. workeman Iuan Baptiſta Antonio arriued here in ſafetie, and haue veiwed this Citie with all the circuite round about and the ſituation as I haue informed his maieſtie thereof. They haue marked a place to build a ſtrong Fort, whereat the countrey remaineth very well contente. And it ſtandeth in a good ſituation, and in a conuenient place on a high mount which doeth lye vpon the entering in of the Harbour, & ſo cutteth ouer to a point of land, leauing in the Fort as much ſpace as wil containe 3000 perſons, without ioyning thereunto any part of the coaſt. So the M. del campo hath named the fort Citadella. He left me great ſtore of yron worke, tooles, eight workemen, and 200 Negros, which are the kings. And the Iſland doth finde 400 pioners which are continually at worke. His maieſtie hath ſent me a warrant to ſpend the prouiſion of the Iſland, & to take thoſe rents which his maieſty hath here, & to certifie his maieſtie what there is wanting for the maintaining of the workmen & that they may haue all things neceſſary. So I haue ſent to Nueua Eſpanna, for ſuch things as are here wanting. I haue writtẽ to the M. of the field, which is gone to Hauana, informing him that it doeth greatly import that the worke with all expedition ſhould go forward, ſeeing that it is begun for the defence of the Iſland. And we doe defend it as well as we can from the enemie, in reſpect of the great danger which otherwiſe might happen, if the enemie ſhould come and finde it begun, and not ended. And likewiſe that his maieſtie would ſend me that which I do requeſt. And the moſt principal thing of al is, to ſend more Negros. And ſending me all theſe things which be needful, I truſt in God I ſhal in ſhort time build vp the fort, to defend vs from the enemie. The fort muſt be builded triangle wiſe: for it will reach into the bay: and we ſhal be able to plant in the ſame 40 pieces of good ordinance, Canon, Demi-canon, and Coluerine. The M. of the field, hath promiſed to ſend me ſome from Hauana. For that he is determined to caſt ſome there, by reaſon of the great ſtore of copper, which now of late is found in Hauana: for here we haue as yet but ſmall ſtore of ordinance to defend vs. I looke for 5 Canons which his maieſtie ſhould ſend from Spaine, with ſhot and powder, and al kinde of weapons, becauſe that here is great want in the Iſland. His maieſtie hath ſent the whole number of 200 ſouldiers, and in the companie there came two capitaines. The corps de Guard is kept in the market place: and twiſe in a moneth I muſter all the men in the Iſland, and finde very neere 1500 fighting men, and 80 horſemen. The forte when it is ended will be the ſtrongeſt that his maieſtie hath in all the Indies. And now the people of the countrey ſleepe in ſecurity. For commonly before, the Engliſhmen would come and beard vs to the hauens mouth. God keep your honour, and ſend you long health. From Puerto Rico the 20 of Nouember 1590.

The Gouernour DIEGO MENDEZ DE VALDES.

Pedro de Valdes priſoner in England.

Iohn Baptiſta Antonio the generall Ingenour of the Weſt Indies.

A ſtrong fort newly builded in S. Iuan de puerto Rico.

This Fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland. 1598.

Copper mines found neere Hauana.

200 ſouldiers ſent to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico.

1500 fighting men in S. Iuan de puerto Rico Iſland.

The boldnes of the Engliſh.

A letter to *Iohn Lopez Canauate*, Alderman in the towne of *Canauate* in *Spaine* written from his ſeruant *Iuan de Porua Canauates*, from *Hauana* the ſeuenteenth of October 1590, touching the ſtate of the ſaid place.

This is to giue you to vnderſtand, that ſince my departure from S. Lucar I haue written vnto you twiſe of mine arriuall here, and what ſucceſſe I haue had. And nowe you ſhall vnderſtand that I am determined to goe for Nueua Eſpanna. For I ſtay but opportunitie of time. For here is great watch dayly kept and great looking to the ſouldiers in keeping of them together, for running away. But neuertheleſſe I hope in God, to finde ſome friend to conuey mee away from hence. This countrey is ſo cloſe and narrow, that if a man ſteale not away hidden in ſome ſhippe, it is not poſſible for him to eſcape, nor to goe a league out out of the towne, no way but by ſea. And becauſe the harbour is ſo cloſe, it is the beſt harbour and the ſureſt in the world. The harbour is made in this order. The entrie in towarde the land is by a narrow ſtreight chanel, which continueth as long as a caliuer ſhot, and from that place the riuer openeth broader and broader: There are in the entring in, two points which make with the lande, whereupon are newly builded two ſtrong forts, which are fortified with very great ſtore of

The ſouldiers run away from Hauana.

The boldnes of the Engliſh.

18 ſhips builded in Cuba againſt England.

ordinance: beſides another ſtrong and famous Forte which is in the Citie, ſo that it is impoſſible to take it. There are in theſe three Fortes, a thouſand ſouldiers in Gariſon. And likewiſe here are two galies to keepe the coaſt. Yet for all this, the audacious Engliſhmen being without all ſhame are not afraid to come and dare vs at our owne doores. Our iourney to goe for England is moſt certaine in the yeere 1592. Here are making with great expedition 18 ſhips, which are called Frigats for that effect. They are very ſtrong ſhippes, and will drawe but very litle water, whereby they may enter amongſt the ſhoulds on the banckes of Flanders: they are builded the higher becauſe here is great ſtore of timber and excellent good and incorruptible. It is reported that the fleete will depart from hence in February, by reaſon that at that time the Engliſhmen are not departed out of their owne countrey. And thus I reſt, From this Iſland of S. Chriſtopher in Hauana this preſent day on S. Lukes euen; the 17 of October 1590.

Your Worſhips ſeruant, IOHN DE PORVA CANAVATES.

A letter from *Mexico*, of *Sebaſtian Biſcaino* to his Father *Antonio Biſcaino* in *Corchio* in *Spaine*, touching the great profit of the trade to *China*, and ſomewhat of M. *Thomas Candiſh*. Written the 20 of Iune 1590.

Acapulco the harbour where the ſhips lie that goe for China.

Frō Acapulco to China aboue 2000 leagues.

Flemiſh wares good in China.

A wonderfull gaine.

M. Thomas Candiſh.

Hauing written to your worſhip by a friend of mine at large, nowe I will be ſomewhat ſhort. And this is onely to giue you to vnderſtand, that foure moneths paſt, I came from China, and landed in Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, which is the harbour where the ſhips that goe downe to China lye: and all the marchants of Mexico bring all their Spaniſh commodities downe to this harbour, to ſhip them for that countrey. It is one of the beſt harbours in all Nueua Eſpanna; and where the ſhips may ride moſt ſafely without all kinde of danger. For it lyeth vnder a necke of land, and behind a great point. And in this harbour here are foure great ſhips of Mexico of 600 and 800 tunnes a piece, which onely ſerue to cary our commodities to China, and ſo to returne backe againe. The order is thus. From hence to China is aboue two thouſand leagues, farther then from hence to Spaine. And from hence their two firſt ſhips depart at one time to China: and are 13 or 14 moneths returning backe againe. And when thoſe two ſhips are returned, then the other twaine two moneths after depart from hence. They goe now from hence very ſtrong with ſouldiers. I can certifie you of one thing; That 200 ducates in Spaniſh commodities, and ſome Flemiſh wares which I caryed with me thither, I made worth 1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that with thoſe ſilkes, and other commodities which I brought with me from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by the voyage: and had gotten more, if one packe of ſome ſilkes had not bene ſpoiled with ſalt water. So as I ſayd, there is great gaine to be gotten if that a man returne in ſafetie. But the yeere 1588 I had great miſchance, comming in a ſhip from China to Nueua Eſpanna: which being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Engliſhman which robbed vs and afterward burned our ſhip, wherein I loſt a great deale of treaſure and commodities.

Golde mynes ſiluer mynes and Pearles, in China.

Fine linnen cloth greatly eſteemed in China.

Not aboue one thouſand Spaniards in the Philippinas.

If I ſhould write to you of the ſtate of this countrey of China, and of the ſtrange things which are there, and of the wealth of the countrey, I were not able to doe it, in an whole quier of paper. Onely I may certifie you, that it is the goodlieſt countrey, and the richeſt, and moſt plentifull in all the world. For here are great ſtore of golde mynes, ſiluer mynes, and pearle, great ſtore of cotten cloth: for the countrey people weareth nothing elſe but fine cotten cloth, which is more accepted then ſilkes. For here is great ſtore of ſilkes, & they are good cheape. Al kinde of victuals, as bread, fleſh, wines and hennes and all kindes of foules, are very plentifull. Here are great ſtore of freſh riuers. The people are very louing. Here are very faire cities and townes with coſtly buildings, better then thoſe in Spaine. And the countrey people go very richly apparelled, both in ſilkes and gold. But here we haue order from the king of Spaine, that a Spaniard may not dwell in China, aboue 3 yeres, and afterwards they muſt returne again into Nueua Eſpanna, and other ſouldiers muſt come in their places. The countrey is very vnwholeſome for vs Spaniardes. For within theſe 20 yeres of 14000, which haue gone to the Philippinas, there are 13000 of them dead, and not paſt 1000 of them left aliue. There is a place in China which is an harbour, called Macaran, which the king hath giuen to the Spaniards freely: which ſhall be the place where the ſhips ſhall come and trafficke. For in this harbour there is a great riuer which goeth vp into the maine land, vnto diuers townes and cities, which are neere to this riuer. And thus troubling you no farther I reſt. From Mexico the 20 of Iune 1590.

Your obedient ſonne, SEBASTIAN BISCAINO.

A Letter of *Bartholomew Cano* to *Peter de Tapia* in *Siuill*, from *Mexico* the 30 of May 1590, touching the ſtate of *Nueua Eſpanna*, and the Fleet of that yeere.

BEcauſe I haue anſwered your letters which I haue receiued in the laſt Fleet, as touching that matter I haue no more to ſay. The occaſion of my writing vnto you at this time, is to giue you to vnderſtand, that thoſe commodities which came in the laſt Fleet, were ſold at the firſt good cheape, and thoſe that bought them, got much by them. For now at this inſtant white Roan cloth is ſolde for 8 or 9 reals a vare. The cauſe of this was, by reaſon there came a carauel of Aduiſe from Hauana; which brought vs newes, how the armie that his maieſtie did ſend for England, was all ſpoiled and caſt away: and therefore they of Spaine did write that there would come no Fleet from Spaine hither this yeere: And this is the cauſe that all linnen cloth is very deere in theſe parts. Wines alſo are very deere: for they are ſold for 90 and 100 deminas a pipe. When the Frigats departed from hence in Auguſt laſt 1589. Cochinilla was ſold at that inſtant for 50 peſos the quintall; and now it is ſold for 55 peſoes. And ſince that newes came from Spaine in a carauel of S. Lucar, that it was ſolde there for 72 ducates the quintall, there are laden in this Fleet 14000 Arouas of Cochinilla, and 7000 Arouas more were laden in the Frigats which departed before the Fleet. There is laden in the Fleet great quantitie of treaſure, more then hath bene ſent to Spaine theſe many yeres, both for the Kings and the Vice-royes account. And the marchants and gentlemen of all theſe prouinces doe ſend great quantitie to ſupply the Kings wants: for that his maieſtie hath written to the Vice-roy and to the gentlemen of theſe countreyes to ayde him with much money towardes the maintenance of his warres againſt France and other places, & therefore they haue ſent good ſtore: God ſend it well to Spaine. There are likewiſe laden aboord the Fleet to the number of 100000. hides, and great ſtore of other kindes of this countrey commodities. So that the the Fleet goeth very richly laden. Quicke ſiluer is here very deere, for here is almoſt none to bee had for any money to worke in the gold mynes: for without Quicke ſiluer wee cannot refine our gold. And no man vpon paine of death may bring any from Spaine hither; but all muſt come for the Kings account: and ſo the King doeth ſell it here: there is exceeding great gaine therein. And thus I reſt: From Mexico, the 30 of May 1590.

BARTHOLOMEVV CANO.

A letter of Frier *Alonſo* new elected Biſhop of *Mechuacan*, to the king of *Spaine*, written in *Peru* in the citie *de los Reyes* the firſt of March 1590, touching the ſtate of *Arica* a chiefe Hauen in *Peru*.

VPon Chriſtmas euen the yere 1589, I receiued your maieſties commiſſion in Potoſſi. For which I am and ſhall be continually bound to pray for your maieſties long health, for the great benefits which your maieſtie hath beſtowed vpon me, in ſending me to Mechuacan: whereby my great trauell and paines may be recompenced, which I haue taken with that vngrateful and deſperate people of the riuer of Plate, which they haue bene the occaſion of, in dealing ſo badly with me their Paſtour, which haue counſelled them, that they ſhould haue a great care to ſerue God, and be dutifull to your maieſtie, according as euery good and true ſubiect ought to do. Now for this gift which your maieſtie hath beſtowed on me, I moſt humbly kiſſe your maieſties handes a thouſand times. Thus preſently I departed from Potoſſi ſomewhat ſickely, to accompliſh that which your maieſtie hath commanded me. So I arriued at Lima in ſafetie the firſt of February by the way of Arica, which is an hauen towne, where they imbarke all the barres of ſiluer. And there I haue ſeene what is done, & what they haue prouided againſt the Engliſhmen in that hauen: which is; That there is a litle fort made hard by the waters ſide, with certaine ſmall pieces of ordinance in the ſaid fort to offend the enemie, if occaſion ſhould ſerue that they ſhould offer to come into the harbour and offer any violence. But the principall thing of all that we want is to haue ſouldiers, foote men, and horſemen. For according as I am informed, here want 100 men which ſhould keepe the coaſt, if they ſhould offer to land and march vp into the countrey. And likewiſe the people of this countrey haue told me, that if vpon an high mount which is here in the harbour neere to the hauens mouth, on the Southſide of the harbour where the ſea doth beat, ther were two or three great Canons planted on the top of the hill, (where very good watch is continually kept) from that place they may reach to doe the enemie great hurt, a league into the ſea. The new Vice-roy Don Garcia Vrtado de Mendoça, worthy of that dignitie, is in great fauour with al thoſe of theſe

The people of the Riuer of Plate.

100 men wanting.

Good watch continually kept.

realmes: for that he is a great ſolliciter both by ſea and land in all kinde of diligence, not looſing one houre in your ſeruice, and that which he hath in charge. With as much ſpeed as may be I will depart from hence to Mechuacan, to ſerue that church and your maieſty: and there I will remaine according to your maieſties commandement, with the bulles or indulgences. Our Lord keepe your maieſty many yeres in his holy ſeruice. From the city de los Reyes the firſt of March 1590.

Frier Alonſo biſhop of Mechuacan.

A letter of *Don Iohn de Miramontes Suaſola* to *Don Iohn Garcias de Penaloſa* from *Arica* on the coaſt of *Peru* the tenth of March 1590.

After my long trauell and badde ſucceſſe, my fortune brought mee to the Indies; where being void of all hope, and full of griefe, I am become a ſouldier: a thing in this countrey which is moſt hated of all other things, not onely of men, but of the wilde beaſts: and is an occupation which is choſen of idle perſons. The occaſion of this is, that there haue bene in theſe ſeas, and yet are certeine Engliſh rouers: and in ſeeking of them I haue trauelled theſe three yeres: the one of the yeres a ſouldier, and the other two yeeres I haue gone for captaine and enſigne-bearer. And at this time here is arriued Don Garcias Vrtado de Mendoça viceroy of theſe realmes: who hath choſen me to be chiefe enſigne-bearer of an army which departed from hence to ſcoure the coaſt. For here we haue newes of the enemy, which is comming vpon the coaſt: for wee haue ſtayed for their comming theſe foure moneths the ſame way which they muſt come, in a hauen called Arica, which is the firſt entry of Peru. So I haue 90 pezos a moneth, beſides other profits, at nine reals the pezo; & foure ſhares at nine reals the pezo. So that I haue 1800 pezos euery yere of pay: for the viceroy is my dere friend, and maketh great account of me. And I haue alwayes 400 ducats in my cheſt to goe like a man. I beſeech God ſend vs quietneſſe. But yet it is the part of a gentleman to ſerue the king his maſter in theſe actions. And thus I reſt. From the harbour of Arica the tenth of March 1590.

Engliſh men in the South ſea ſought 3 yeres.

This was M. Chidleys fleet, whereof the Delight was in the ſtreights of Magelan in Ianuary and Feb. 1589.

I kiſſe your worſhips hands, and am at your commandement

Don Iohn de Miramontes Suaſola.

There are foure great galeons of 350 tunnes a piece, which are in Arica men of warre, with a Generall, Admirall, Viceadmirall, with great ſtore of ſouldiers which keepe this hauen: for the viceroy hath intelligence that there are certeine Engliſhmen of war comming thither. This hauen of Arica is the beſt harbour in all the South ſea: for all the ſiluer which commeth from the mines of Potoſſi, is ſhipt in this harbour, and ſo brought to Lima. And likewiſe all the commodities which come from Spaine, and all the kings quickſiluer, is vnladen in this harbour, and ſo carried to the city of Lima and other places, where the mines of ſiluer are.

This was M. Iohn Chidleys fleet.

A letter of the Licenciate *Chriſtopher Vſlano* to *Gonſaluo de Solana* in in the city of *Enciſa* in *Spaine*, written from the city of *Potoſſi* in *Peru* the 20 of Iuly 1590, touching a great plague in *Peru*, and the ſhortneſſe of the paſſage from the riuer of *Plate* into *Potoſſi* in *Peru*.

The laſt yeere 1588 I receiued letters from your worſhip and from my ſiſter: and ſince that time I haue receiued none, nor in the fleet which came to Cartagena 1589. And this yere 1590 there hath bene great want of corne in this kingdome of Potoſſi: for that there hath beene no raine in this kingdome of long time. For in March the husbandmen vſe to ſowe their corne: and in Aprill Winter doth begin. And if in April there be no raine, the corne which is ſowen will conſume away: and ſo for want of raine we haue had two badde yeres of corne. And likewiſe here hath bene in theſe countreys of Potoſſi, and in the city De la paz, great ſickneſſe among the Indians, Mullatos, and Meſtiços, called the ſmall pocks, and a certeine plague, which hath deſtroyed all this countrey. And there haue no olde people died, nor Spanyards, but onely this countrey people, from one yeere to 30 yeeres of age: ſo for want of Indians we can not worke in the mines. This ſickneſſe runneth al along the coaſt of Peru, and hath paſſed into the ſtreights of Magalianes, whence we haue newes that thoſe ſouldiers which were ſent from Spain thither to build thoſe forts are moſt of them dead, & eſpecially the workemen which came to make the forts. The Generall Don Diego de Aboles hath written to his maieſty to ſend more ſouldiers and more workemen, whereby theſe three forts might be builded according to the kings commandement. This ſickneſſe came firſt from Cartagena to this countrey, which is 1000 leagues diſtant: and, as I ſayd, it hath gone all Peru ouer,

Famine.

Plague.

to the vtter vndoing of this countrey: I pray God to ceaſe it. I pray you when you write any letters to mee, ſend them in thoſe ſhippes which come to Sainct Thomé, and take in Negros. And there are great ſtore of ſhips which goe to Sainct Thomé for Negros, and it is but 15. dayes ſailing ouer a gulfe to Braſill. And from Braſill their ſhippes bring their Negros to a hauen called The hauen of Buenos Aeres, which is within the entrance of the mightie riuer of Plate. And from this harbour all kinde of Spaniſh and Portugall commodities are caried to this citie of Potoſſi in carts and on horſes: for it is but 10. or 12. dayes iourney, and the countrey is very plaine for carts to trauaile. And from Potoſſi to this harbour is great ſtore of treaſure brought to buy that countrey commodities, and ſo they are ſhipped for Portugall: and the ſhips go and come againe in ſhort time. If his maieſtie will conſent that we may haue traffique from Spaine to this harbour, it will be very profitable: and in fiue or ſixe moneths I ſhall heare from you, & you ſhall doe the like from me. And by the way of Cartagena it is ſometime 2. yeres before we can receiue your letters from Spaine. By this way my brother may write, and ſo by this meane the letters may ſpeedily come to my hand. And thus I reſt. From this citie of Potoſſi the 20. of Iuly 1590.

Peru vtterly vndone with the plague.

A ſhort paſſage from Buenos Aeres in the riuer of Plate to Peru.

The tediousneſſe of the way by Cartagena to Peru.

The Licenciate CHRISTOPHER
VSLANO.

A letter of *Steuen de Treſio* to *Alonſo Martines Vaca* in *Siuil* from *Panama* the 21. of Auguſt 1590. touching the kings deſire to borrow money vpon priuie ſeales, and the want of the countrey.

It may pleaſe your worſhip to vnderſtand, that I haue receiued a packet of letters from you, wherein you write vnto me of the great miſeries and the calamities of Spaine. And I promiſe you that theſe countreys are in no leſſe. For here is great want of corne and other kind of prouiſion: for here is almoſt none to be had for any money, by reaſon that from Lima there is no ſhipping come with maiz. Here wee haue had newes from Spaine of the great prouiſiō which is making ready for thoſe great wars which his maieſtie is in preparing, & of the great ſums of money that his maieſtie ſtandeth in neede of: So that it doth put vs all that are dwellers here in ſuch a perplexitie and confuſion, that we know not what we ſhall doe. I pray God his maieſtie take not away our money which wee haue ſent to Spaine in the fleete. For here are marchants that haue ſent ſome 200000. pezos, ſome 100000. pezos, ſome 60000. ſome more ſome leſſe, to haue it imployed in commodities of that countrey. Although the king hath ſent hither his ſcedule or bill of aſſignement ſigned and ſealed by his maieſtie, which hath bene proclaimed here: The contents whereof are, That what man ſoeuer marchant or other will ſend their money into Spaine in that fleete, his maieſtie will not take away any part or portion thereof, (which in ſo doing will bee a great comfort vnto vs all) yet here we were in doubt that hee would take it from vs all. Newes from the citie of Lima as yet we haue none: But I can certifie your worſhippe, that all things are very deere here, and that we ſtand in great extremitie for want of victuals; and likewiſe we haue great want of money. Alſo here is order come from the king with certaine priuie ſeales for to lend his maieſtie money, for that hee hath great neede thereof. This countrey at this inſtant is very poore, and there are none that can lend the king at this time any money at all, by reaſon that this lande is left ſo vnprouided of money: But wee are looking for great ſtore of money, which is to come from Lima and from The Valles.

Priuie ſeales to borrow money ſent into Peru.

Abundance of money to come from Lima and from The Valles.

From Panama the 12. of Auguſt 1590.

STEVEN de TRESIO.

A letter of the Licenciate *Iohn de Labera* to the Licenciate *Alonſo Sapata de Henao* in *Caſtile* in *Calamea de la Sorengo*, written from *S. Fee de Bogota* in the new kingdom of *Granada*, the 10. of May 1590. touching the rich ſiluer mines of *Marequita* newly found out, and the long way thither by the riuer of *Magdalena*.

With other letters which I diſpatched frō hēce in Auguſt 1589. I wrote vnto your worſhip by 2. or 3. wayes: but I know not whether you haue receiued them or no. Preſently after I departed to the gouernment of Popayan, which ioyneth with the citie of Quito in the coaſt of Peru, in companie of the gouernors lieutenant Don Diego Ordonez de

Lara

The citie of Santa Fee in the new kingdom of Granada.

Great ſtore of metal found in the newe mines of Marequita.

The great riuer of Magdalena.

The richeſt mines in all Peru.

Lara of Salamanca. But I was faine to forſake his companie, by reaſon I fell ſicke in the citie of Marequita, where they haue diſcouered the great ſiluer mines: which citie is aboue 200. leagues from Cartagena: where I remained a certaine time very ſicke. And becauſe this countrey is extreme hotte, and I euery day grewe worſe and worſe, I was faine to trauaile 30. leagues further vp into the maine land to a citie called S. Fee in the new kingdom of Granada, being on the coaſt of Peru: which is a cold countrey: where I am admitted a procurator, for that the Roial audience is kept in this citie. So I finde my ſelfe very healthy of bodie, by reaſon this countrey is full of all kind of victuals, very good and very plentifull, as bread, cheeſe, bacon, beefe, great ſtore of hennes, and great ſtore of comfeitures. Onely here is want of golde: ſo that this countrey will be vtterly vndone, if the mines of Marequita help not to reſtore the ſame again: whereof there is good hope: for here is great ſtore of metall already found, and the workmen are in hand to refine the ſaid metal: ſo that we are in good hope that great ſtore of ſiluer will be found in theſe mines of great value and profite to his maieſtie. This riuer is called The great riuer of Magdalena. There is a fiſh in the riuer called Cayman, which followeth after the canoas: and if it can reach any man in the canoa, it will haile him out and deuoure him. All night they lie in the ſand on ſhore. In this riuer as we are going vp, there is at certaine ſeaſons great ſtore of lightning and thunder, with ſuch abundance of raine, as though the ſkies would fall downe: and ſo it doth continue from midnight vntil morning: ſo that we are faine to go aboord the canoas, & with certaine broad leaues which grow in the countrey, the mariners make a couering to caſt ouer the wares which are laden in the canoas: and it doth keepe both the raine & ſunne from vs which are paſſengers. The canoas are drawen vp this riuer of Magdalena by maine force of the mariners in rowing and haling them with ropes. There are 7. or 8. Indians commonly which guide theſe canoas, beſides the Maſter which keepeth the helme, and the paſſengers. We are commonly two moneths in going vp this riuer. It is 150. leagues to the landing place. And there the marchants vnlade their marchandiſe, which serue for all the cities and townes which are in this newe kingdome of Granada. And the marchants lade the canoas backe againe from thence with great ſtore of ſiluer and golde which is gotten out of the mines for Cartagena, and there it is ſhipped for Spaine. And likewiſe here is great quantitie of treaſure laden in theſayd canoas which is for the kings cuſtome and other dueties which are paid: But they are but a moneth or three weekes going downe the riuer to Cartagena. Theſe are the richeſt mines in all Peru. And thus I reſt.

From Santa Fee de Bogota in the new kingdome of Granada in Peru the 10. of May 1590.

The Licenciate IOHN de
LABERA.

A letter of *Hieronymo de Nabares* to the licenciat *Iohn Alonſo* dwelling in *Valladolid*, written from *Panama* to *Siuil* the 24. day of Auguſt 1590. touching the gainefulnes of the trade to the *Philippinas*, and the extreme feare they haue of the Engliſhmen.

The great profite of the trade to the Philippinas.

NOt long agone I wrote to your worſhip from Panama by the way of Hauana: giuing you to vnderſtand of my being here, & of the ſtate of theſe countreys. After I departed from *Spaine*, in 37. dayes wee arriued at Cartagena: and from thence I tooke ſhipping to goe to Nombre de Dios, which is 80. leagues from Cartagena: and in 4. dayes wee got thither. And from thence I went to Panama: where I haue remained theſe 20. dayes, till the ſhippes goe for the Philippinas. My meaning is to carie my commodities thither: for it is conſtantly reported, that for euery hundred ducats a man ſhall get 600. ducats cleerely. Wee muſt ſtay here in Panama from Auguſt till it be Chriſtmaſſe. For in Auguſt, September, October and Nouember it is winter here, and extreme foule weather vpon this coaſt of Peru, and not nauigable to goe to the Philippinas, nor to any place elſe in the South ſea. So that at Chriſtmaſſe the ſhips begin to ſet on their voyage for thoſe places: and then in theſe parts the ſummer beginneth with very faire weather, and alwayes we ſhall haue the windes with vs. For in Iuly vntil October here is terrible thundering and lightening with extreme raines, ſo that it is not poſſible to go any way in this countrey. Here are in Panama 10. great ſhips of 500, 400, 300, & 200. tuns apiece, & ſome 15. barkes which vſe commonly to ſaile in the South ſea to Lima, to the Valles, to Arica, and to the Philippinas. This countrey in the ſummer is ſo extreme hotte, that it is not poſſible to trauel in the day time: it ſtandeth in 8. deg. & ½. and all this coaſt is in 9. and 10. deg.. Here is great ſtore of adders, ſnakes and toades, which are in the houſes, but they doe but ſmall hurt. Here bread, wine, and bacon are very deere, by reaſon the countrey doth not yeeld it: for it is brought from Peru. A li. of bread is worth here 2. rials of plate: a quart of wine is ſolde for 4. rials: for none groweth here. Here are very few ſheep, and thoſe extreme deere. The only food here for fleſh, are oxen, kine, buls & heffkers: you may buy 20. li. of beefe for one rial of plate. Their ſmalleſt money of ſiluer is a rial of plate, & very few of them, but all pieces of 4. & 8. For the ſiluer mines which dayly be found in Peru be wonderfull to bee ſpoken of. If a man did not ſee the ſiluer made, hee would neuer beleeue it: for the very earth which commeth out of the mines, & is afterward waſhed, being but 3. or 4. yeres on a mount, yeeldeth great ſtore of ſiluer afterwards againe. But as here we get much, ſo our charge in meat, drinke and apparell doth coſt very much. As for fruite here is none that is good, but onely muſke melons, and they are ſold for 6. or 8. rials apeece. I can certifie your worſhip of no newes, but only, that all this countrey is in ſuch extreme feare of the Engliſhmen our enemies, that the like was neuer ſeene nor heard of: for in ſeeing a ſaile, preſently here are alarmes in all the countrey. I pray you to write vnto me as touching the wars that his Maieſtie hath with our enemies, and howe his Maieſtie doth preuaile. And thus I reſt. From Panama in the firme land the 28. of Aug. 1590.

Twenty li. of beefe may bee bought for ſixe pence in Peru.

The Engliſhmen extremely feared in Peru.

HIERONYMO de
NABARES.

A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of Iune 1591. againſt certaine Spaniſh ſhips & gallies in the Weſt *Indies*, by 3. ſhips of the honorable ſir George Carey knight, then marſhall of her Maieſties houſhold, and captaine of the Ile of *Wight*, now lord Hunſdon, lord Chamberlaine, and captaine of the honourable band of her Maieſties Penſioners.

The 13. of Iune 1591. being ſunday, at 5. of the clock in the morning we deſcried 6. ſaile of the king of Spaine his ſhips. Foure of them were armadas, (viz. the Admirall and viceadmirall of 700. tuns apeece, and the other 2. of 600. apeece) and the other 2. were ſmal ſhips, each of them about 100. tuns. We met wᵗ them off the Cape de Corrientes, which ſtandeth on the Iland of Cuba. The ſight of the foreſaid ſhips made vs ioyfull, hoping that they ſhould make our voyage. But aſſoone as they deſcryed vs, they made falſe fires one to another & gathered their fleet together, lying all cloſe by a wind to the Southwards. We therefore at 6. of the clock in the morning (the wind being at Eaſt) hauing made our prayers to almighty God, prepared our ſelues for the fight: And (in hope they had bene of the Cartagena fleete) wee bare vp with our admirall and viceadmiral, to determine of the combate for the better directiõ therof. Our parle being ended, our admiral, viceadmiral, & the Hopewel gaue their admiral the prow, bringing themſelues to leeward of him. We in the Content bare vp with their viceadmiral, and (ranging along by his broad ſide aweather of him) gaue him a voley of muskets and our great ordinance: then comming vp with another ſmall ſhip ahead of the former, wee hailed her in ſuch ſort, that ſhee payd roome. Thus being in fight with the little ſhip, we ſaw a great ſmoke come from our admiral, and the Hopewel & Swallow forſaking him with all the ſailes they could make: whereupon bearing vp with our admiral (before we could come to him) we had both the ſmall ſhips to windward of vs, purpoſing (if we had not bene too hotte for them) to haue layd vs aboord. Thus (the fight continuing between vs and them 3. houres) we were forced to ſtand to the Northwards, the Hopewel and the Swallow not comming in all this while to ayd vs, as they might eaſily haue done. Our admirall by this time being in fight with their viceadmiral, and another great ſhip of theirs, ſtood off to ſea with his topgallant ſaile, and all the ſailes he could make: then might the Hopewel & the Swallow haue payd roome to ſecond him, but they failed him as they did vs, ſtanding off cloſe by a wind to the Eaſtward. All this time we were forced to the Northwards with 2. of their great ſhips and one of their ſmall. They hauing a loom gale (wee being altogether becalmed) wᵗ both their great ſhips came vp faire by vs, ſhot at vs, and on the ſudden furled their ſpritſailes & mainſailes, thinking that we could not eſcape them. Then falling to prayer, we ſhipped our oars that we might rowe to ſhore & anker in ſhallow water where their great ſhips could not come nie vs, for other refuge we had none. Then 1. of their ſmal ſhips being manned from 1. of their great, & hauing a boat to rowe thẽſelues in, ſhipped her oars likewiſe & rowed after vs, thinking wᵗ their ſmall ſhot to haue put vs frõ our oars, until yͤ great ſhips might come vp with vs: but by yͭ time ſhe was within musket ſhot, the Lord of his mercie did ſend vs a faire gale of wind at the Northweſt off the ſhore. What time (they being all to leeward of vs) wee ſtood to the Eaſt. The ſmall ſhip was vnder our lee within Falcon ſhot, and another great ſhippe lay to the Weſtward, ſo that wee could no way poſſibly eſcape them vpon that boord: then (we thinking to auoyd them by caſting about to the Weſtwards) the other great ſhippe gate vnder our lee, and the ſmall ſhip on our weather quarter, purpoſing to make vs pay roome with the great ſhip, by force of her ſmall & great ſhot. Then (we being larboord tacked, and they ſterboord) we made her ſpring her looffe, and by a fortunate ſhot which our gunner made, pierced her betwixt winde and water. Hereupon ſhee was forced to lay herſelfe vpon the carena, and to ſtand with one of the other ſhips for ayde. Afterward (commending our ſelues to almightie God in prayer, and giuing him thankes for the winde which he had ſent vs for our deliuerance) we looked forth and deſcryed two ſaile more to the offen: theſe we thought to haue bene the Hopewell, and the Swallow that had ſtoode in to ayde vs: but it prooued farre otherwiſe, for they were two of the kings gallies. Nowe hauing a loome gale of winde, wee ſhipped our oars, and rowed off the ſhore: and our watch was no ſooner ſet, but wee eſpied one gallie vnder our lee hard by vs, boging vp with vs. Then (becauſe it was euening) one of the great ſhips diſcharged fixe great ſhot at vs, to the ende the gallies ſhould knowe that wee were the ſhippe they looked for. Then the gallie came vp, and (hayling vs of whence our ſhippe was) a Portugall which wee had with vs, made them anſwere, that we were of the fleete of Tierra firma, and of Siuil: with that they bid vs amaine Engliſh dogs, and came vpon our quarter ſtar-boord: and giuing vs fiue caſt pieces out of her prowe, they ſought to lay vs aboord: but wee ſo galled them with our muskets, that we put them from our quarter. Then they winding their gallie, came vp into our ſterne, and with the way that the gallie had, did ſo violently thruſt in the boordes of our captaines cabbin, that her noſe came into it, minding to giue vs all their prowe, and ſo to ſinke vs. But wee being reſolute, ſo plyed them with our ſmall ſhot, that they could haue no time to diſcharge their great ordinance: and when they began to approch, wee heaued into them a ball of fire, and by that meanes put them off: whereupon they once againe fell aſterne of vs, and gaue vs a prowe. Then hauing the ſecond time put them off, wee went to prayer, and ſang the firſt part of the 25. Pſalme, prayſing God for our ſafe deliuerance. This being done, we might ſee 2. gallies and a frigat all three of them bending themſelues together to encounter vs: hereupon we (eftſoones commending our eſtate into the hands of God) armed our ſelues, and reſolued (for the honour of God, her Maieſtie, and our countrey) to fight it out till the laſt man. Then ſhaking a pike of fire in defiance of the enemie, and weauing them amaine, we bad them come aboord: and an Engliſhman in the gallie made anſwer, that they would come aboord preſently. So managing our ſelues to our furniture, and euery moment expecting the aſſault, wee heard them parle to this effect, that they determined to keepe vs companie till the morning, and then to make an end with vs: then giuing vs another ſhot from one of the gallies, they fell aſterne. Thus our fight continued with the ſhippes and with the gallies, from ſeuen of the clock in the morning till eleuen at night. Howbeit God (which neuer faileth them that put their truſt in him) ſent vs a gale of winde about two of the clocke in the morning at Eaſtnortheaſt, which was for the preuenting of their crueltie, and the ſauing of our liues. Alſo (the Lord be praiſed for it) in all this dangerous fight, wee had not one man ſlaine, and but 2. hurt: but our ſayles and ropes were ſo rent with their ſhot, that it was wonderfull to behold: our maine maſt alſo was ſhot cleane though, whereby wee were in exceeding great danger. Thus our conſortes forſooke vs, and left vs in theſe extremities. The next day being the 14. of Iune in the morning, wee ſawe all our aduerſaries to lee-ward of vs, and they eſpying vs, chaſed vs till 10. of the clocke, and then ſeeing they could not preuaile, gaue vs ouer. So that day about 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, we bare vp to the Southweſt, in hope to finde our conſortes, but we had no ſight of them at that time, nor afterward. Then ſtoode we in all that night for the Cape of S. Anthonie, hoping there to ſee our Admirall according to his direction. The 15. day of Iune early in the morning, we deſcryed the Spaniſh fleete againe, being within 5. leagues of Cape S. Anthonie. Then (hauing no ſight of our conſortes) wee ſtoode for the place according to the direction of our owner ſir George Carey, where we did plie for the ſpace of 23. dayes, and neuer could ſee any ſayle but two frigats, which wee gaue chaſe vnto the 24. of Iune, and could not fet them vp. Thus wee giue God moſt humble thankes for our ſafe deliuerance from the cruell enemie, which hath beene more mightie by the prouidence of God, then any tongue can expreſſe: to whom bee all prayſe, honour, and glory, both now and euer, Amen.

A fight from 7. in the morning till 11. at night.

Appendix.

The barke called The Content had but one Minion, one Falcon, one Saker, & 2. port-baſes. She continued fight (from ſeuen in the morning til ſunſet) with 3. armadas of 600. and 700.

tunnes apiece, and one ſmall ſhippe of 100. tunnes, not being aboue muſket ſhot from any of them. And before the ſunne was ſet, there came vp to her two of the kings gallies. Beſides, the Armadas ſhot their great ordinance continually at her, not ſo few as 500. times. And the ſides, hull, and maſtes of the Content were ſowed thicke with muſket bullets. Moreouer, all their ſheats, tops and ſhrowdes were almoſt cut inſunder with their great & ſmall ſhot. There paſſed from the gallies (each whereof came thriſe vp to her, & diſcharged fiue great pieces at a time, out of euery their prowes forthright, within three yards of her poope) through her maine ſaile 19. great ſhot, through her main top-ſaile foure: through her fore-ſaile ſeuen: through her fore-top-ſaile fiue: and through her maine maſte one. The vpper part of the Content was hurt in fiue places. Onely 13. men continued this fight, the reſt being in holde.

A frigat of the Spaniards (being afterward taken) confeſſed, that there were in the gallies about 40. Spaniards ſlaine, and many were hurt in that combate.

The names of thoſe 13. perſons that continued the fight.

Nicolas Liſle, Captaine,
M. Major, Lieutenant.
William King, Maſter.
Iohn Barwick, Mrs. mate,
William Clement, gunner,
Thomas Houldſhips, Bote-ſwaine,
Charles Creame.
Thomas Godfrey.
Giles Thornton.
Iohn Pells.
Iohn Bourel.
Ralph Grey.
William Heore.

The names of the reſt be theſe following.

Iohn Pie.
Iohn Smith.
Iohn White.
Iohn Butcher.
Iohn Brooke.
Iohn Twopenie.
Edmund Giggs.
William Bateman.
William White.
Laurence Shellie.

A true report of a voyage vndertaken for the Weſt *Indies* by *M. Chriſtopher Newport* Generall of a fleete of three ſhippes and a pinneſſe,

viz. *The golden Dragon* Admirall, whereof was Captaine M. *Newport* himſelfe; *The Prudence* Vice-admirall, vnder the conduct of Captaine *Hugh Merrick*; *The Margaret* vnder Captaine *Robert Fred*; and *The Virgin* our pinneſſe vnder Captaine *Henry Kidgil*: Begun from *London* the 25. of Ianuarie 1591. Written by M. *Iohn Twitt* of *Harewich*, Corporall in the *Dragon*. In which voyage they tooke and burnt vpon the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, within the bay of *Honduras*, and other places, 3. townes, and 19. ſaile of ſhippes and frigats.

The 12. day of Februarie An. 1591. we ſet ſaile from Douer roade, and hauing a proſperous winde, the 27. day of the ſame moneth wee fell with Cape Cantin on the coaſt of Barbarie, and on the 28. wee arriued at Santa Cruz roade, where hauing refreſhed our ſelues ſome 3. or 4. dayes, we put off to ſea againe, and about the 5. of March wee paſſed by the Iland of the Canaries: and hauing a fauourable wind, the 4. of April An. 1592. we fell with Dominica in the Weſt Indies: where making ſtay a day or two, wee bartred with the Saluages for certaine commodities of theirs, viz. Tabacco, hennes, Potato rootes &c.

Paſſing from thence to a watering place on the other ſide of the cliffe, wee tooke a Portugall ſhip of Liſbone of 300. tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300. Negros young and olde. Which ſhip we tooke along with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto rico, where we landed the marchant and one Spaniard more within a league of the towne, and landing ſome 20. or 30. muſketiers, ſome 20. horſemen made towards vs; but wee retired to our boates without any ſeruice done.

The 9. we lay houering all day before the towne, the caſtle making a ſhot or two at vs.

The reaſon why wee ſet the Portugall marchant aland there was, for that he hoped to helpe vs to ſome money for his Negros there, but he falſified his worde with vs, ſo that paſſing along to the Weſtermoſt ende of the ſayde Iland, about ſome 9. or 10. leagues from the towne wee landed the Negros, and ſunke their ſhip.

The 11. of Aprill we paſſed from thence to Mona ſome 15. leagues off, where we landed: there were on the Iland about 19. ſoules, the children of an olde Portugall, and his wife who affoorded vs ſuch fruits as their Iland yeelded, viz. ſwines fleſh, Potato rootes, &c.

From thence along wee paſſed to Saona, a long Iland and very fruitfull, replenished with ſtore of wilde beaſtes and ſwine, where we landed, hunted, and trained our men.

Paſſing from hence Weſtward along the South coaſt of Hiſpaniola, wee deſcryed a frigat, which wee chaſed and tooke; wherein were 22. iarres of copper-money, being bound for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, to buy wine there.

The next day we tooke 2. ſmall frigats more, but nothing of any value in them.

The 15. of Aprill at night wee ſacked a towne in the ſayde Iland of Hiſpaniola called Ocoa, where was an Ingenio, wherein we found ſugar & poultrie great ſtore, but the people had diſcouered our ſhips ouer night, and were fled into the mountaines. This town ſtandeth a league from the ſeaſide, conſiſting of ſome fortie or fiftie houſes. They brought vs much cattell, and two wayne loades of ſugar, to ranſome the towne. While this action was perfourmed, Robert Freed of Harwich, captaine of the Margaret, tooke two frigats with certaine Spaniards on the other ſide of the bay, which came to lade ſugar there at an Ingenio.

After we had here refreſhed our ſelues, wee ſtode along for Cape Tiburon, where we watered: and making no ſtay there, about the 23. of Aprill wee left our ſhippes in a faire road-ſted vnder an Iland not inhabited, and with our frigats which wee had taken before, wherein wee ſhipped all our ſtrength which poſſibly wee could affourd, leauing onely ſo fewe aboord our ſhippes as could hardly if neede had bene, haue wrought them; we paſſed along by the ſayd Iland to the Northweſt part of Hiſpaniola, to a towne called Yaguana; where the 27. in the morning 2. houres before day we landed; but wee were diſcouered by meanes of a frigat that lay laden with victuals, bound for Carthagena, the men of which frigat recouering on lande before vs, gaue an alarme to the towne, who were preſently vp in armes to the number of a hundred & fiftie horſes. Wee marched notwithſtanding along to the towne, hauing a Spaniard for our guide, where by that time the day brake, we were before the towne, where vpon a faire greene making a ſtand, we were encountred by the horſemen hauing no ſtrength of foote, but certaine few looſe ſhot which lay in a low valley at the entrie of the towne. The horſemen charged vs very fiercely, but ſeeing they could not preuaile, brought in a droue before them of two hundred beaſtes or more: and ſo forcibly thinking to haue broken our array, it pleaſed God to cauſe their cattell to returne backe vpon themſelues: and thus their owne deuice ſorted out to their owne detriment. In this ſkirmiſh wee ſlewe their gouernour, a man very hardy, and of great valure.

This towne ſtandeth from the waters ſide a league.

In the end, by reaſon of the Spaniards brags which they gaue out, (as by the life of their wiues and children, &c. that not one of vs ſhould goe aboord againe) a greater doubt of intercepting of vs and of our boates was ſtroken into our captaines hearts then needed: and ſo for that time we retired to our boates not entring the towne, and ſo paſſed with our boates to our ſhips againe; where the ſame night our captaine determined to goe vp with our ſhippes, but it fell ſo calme, that all the next day vntill night we could not get vp, and they hauing diſcouered vs, baricadoed vp their way, and conueyed all that they had into the mountaines, leauing their houſes onely bare and naked, notwithſtanding we landed, and with great difficultie wee paſſed their baricados with the loſſe of two men at both conflicts, entred their towne and fired it, leauing not an houſe vnburnt, being a towne of three ſtreetes hauing about 150. houſholds.

The ſame night wee paſſed with our boates to a ſmall village called Aguaua, where we found excellent fruites of the countrey, which by reaſon of their cowardly brags wee alſo ſet on fire.

Being thus fruſtrated of our pretended voyage, we ſtoode for the bay of Honduras, and about the ninth of May we diſcouered in the afternoone a ſaile thwart of the bay of Truxillo, with whom we ſtoode, and hauing a Spaniſh flagge out, they miſtruſted vs not, vntill we had almoſt ſet them vp: and then wee went off with our boate, and tooke them within ſhot of the caſtle, and with our boates wee went and ſet three or foure frigats which rode afore the towne, the caſtle playing vpon vs with their ordinance.

They thought ſome fleete had bene come from Spaine, for ſo they expected.

Our captaine hauing vnderſtanding by the Spaniards that there were three ſhippes more at Puerto de Cauallos, ſtood along that night for that place, but it fell out to bee ſo calme, that it was the fifteenth day of May or euer wee came there, the ſhippes hauing peraduenture diſcouered vs, ſtole alongſt the ſhoare towards Truxillo, ſo that being voyde of that hope, we landed; the inhabitants forſaking the towne, fled into the mountaines. Wee remained in the towne all night, and the next day till towards night: where we found 5. or 6. tuns of quick ſiluer, 16. tuns of old ſacke, ſheepe, young kids, great ſtore of poultrie, ſome ſtore of money, & good linnen, ſilkes, cotton-cloth, and ſuch like; we alſo tooke three belles out of their church, and deſtroyed their images. The towne is of 200 houſes, and wealthy; and that yere there were foure rich ſhips laden from thence: but we ſpared it, becauſe wee found other contentment. And hauing taken our pleaſure of the towne, as aforeſayd, wee returned aboord our ſhips, ſtanding backe againe for Truxillo, wee diſcouered one of the ſhippes which was laden at Puerto de Cauallos: but they had eſpied vs before, as it ſhould ſeeme; for they had conueyed away as much as poſſibly they could aſhore, and ſet their ſhip on fire; which ſo ſoone as we had diſcried, we made to her with our boats, and quenched the fire, and loaded vp with hides the ſhippe which we tooke at our firſt comming; for ſhe had but a thouſand hides in her, and certeine iarres of balſamum: which being accompliſhed, wee ſunke the ſhippe with the reſt of the goods, and ſo ſtood alongſt the coaſt for Truxillo. It fell out to be ſo calme, that we were two and twenty dayes ſailing backe that we had ſailed in ſixe dayes, which was about fortie leagues: ſo that when we came before Truxillo, which was about the ſixth of Iune, we found another of the ſhips there, but cloſe vnder the caſtle, her ruther vnhanged, her ſailes taken from the yards, &c. notwithſtanding we entered her, but they had placed ſuch a company of muſketiers vnder a rampire, which they had made with hides and ſuch like, that it was too hote for vs to abide, and ſo betaking vs to our ſhippes againe, and ſtanding out of the bay into the ſea, wee diſcouered great ſtore of ſhot intrenched in thoſe places where they ſuſpected we would haue landed. That night there fell ſuch a ſtorme of raine, thunder, lightening and tempeſtuous weather, that our ſhips were diſperſed either from other. And hauing determined all of vs to meet at a certeine Iſland, where wee purpoſed to water and refreſh our ſelues; by meanes of the ſtorme and other contagious weather which followed, we were fruſtrated of that hope.

We had loſt our prize, and certeine frigats with the men. Two of our ſhippes went to ſeeke our prize and our men: and other two of vs came homeward. And ſo we parted, not hearing either of other vntill we came into England.

Our place of meeting ſhould haue beene at the Tortugas neere vnto the point of Florida, but the Golden dragon and the Prudence were put to leeward of this place: neuertheleſſe wee fell with certeine iſlands within the point of Florida, were the captaine of the Dragon M. Chriſtopher Newport ſent his pinneſſe on ſhore with certeine ſhot to ſeeke for freſh water, where wee found none; but found the Sauages very courteous vnto vs, who came breſt high into the ſea, and brought vs a line to hall in our boat on ſhore, and ſhewed vs that vp into the land Northward was freſh water, and much golde. And one Michael Bagge of Ipſwich boatſwaines mate of the Dragon, had giuen him by one of the Sauages for an olde ruſty hatchet, a piece of golde wound hollow, and about the bigneſſe and value of an Engliſh angell, which the Sauage ware hanging about his knee, with two pieces of fine ſiluer plate, whereof one the ſayd Sauage gaue Iohn Locke, maſters mate of the Dragon, being foureteene groats in value, for an olde knife; the other piece he gaue to one William Wright a ſailer, for an olde knife: which pieces of ſiluer were in forme like vnto the boſſe of a bridle. Theſe Sauages were farre more ciuill then thoſe of Dominica: for beſides their courteſie, they couered their priuities with a platted mat of greene ſtraw, about three handfuls deepe, which came round about their waſte, with the buſh hanging downe behinde.

The next day in the morning very early, there came a frigat of the iland of Cuba of 30 tunnes, put in by weather, which was bound for Hauana, wherein were fifty hogges; to which we gaue chaſe all that day, paſſing the gulfe of Bahama, and about fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, after a ſhot or two made at her, ſhee yeelded vnto vs: wee hoiſted out our boat, and went aboord, where we found ſome fiue Spanyards, fiue and fifty hogs, and about ſome two hundred weight of excellent tabacco rolled vp in ſeynes. We lightened them of their hogges and tabacco, and ſent the men away with their frigat.

In this voyage we tooke and ſacked foure townes, ſeuenteene frigats, and two ſhips, whereof eight were taken in the bay of the Honduras; of all which we brought but two into England: the reſt we ſunke, burnt, and one of them we ſent away with their men. And to make vp the full number of twenty, the Spanyards themſelues ſet one on fire in the bay of the Honduras, leſt we ſhould be maſters of it.

We ſhaped our courſe from Florida homeward by the iſle of Flores one of the Açores, where we watered, finding ſir Iohn Burgh there, who tooke vs to be Spanyards, and made vp vnto vs; with whom wee ioyned in the taking the mighty Portugall caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Chriſtopher Newport with diuers of vs was placed in her as captaine by the Generall ſir Iohn Burgh to conduct her into England, where we arriued in Dartmouth the ſeuenth of September 1592.

The voyage made to the bay of *Mexico* by M. *VVilliam King* Captaine, M. *Moore*, M. *How*, and M. *Boreman* Owners, with the *Salomon* of 200 tunnes, and the *Iane Bonauenture* of 40 tunnes of Sir *Henry Palmer*, from *Ratcliffe* the 26 of Ianuary 1592.

The Salomon was manned with an hundred men, all mariners, and the Iane with ſixe and twenty, all likewiſe mariners. Wee came firſt to the Downes in Kent, and neuer ſtrooke ſaile in paſſing thence, vntill we came to Cape S. Vincent on the coaſt of Portugall. From thence we ſhaped our courſe to Lancerota one of the Canarie iſlands, where we landed threeſcore men, and fetched a carauell out of an harborow on the South ſide, and from a ſmall Iſland we tooke a demy-canon of braſſe in deſpight of the inhabitants, which played vpon vs with their ſmall ſhot at our firſt landing: of whom we ſlew three; and gaue them the repulſe. Thence we went to the Grand Canaria, where wee boorded a barke lying at anker: out of which wee were driuen by great ſtore of ſhot from the Iſland. From thence wee directed our courſe for the Weſt Indies, and fell with the iſle of Dominica about the tenth of April. There at a watering place we tooke a ſhippe of an hundred tunnes come from Guiny, laden with two hundred and ſeuenty Negros, which we caried with vs to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and there comming thorow El paſſaje, we gaue chaſe to a frigat which went in to S. Iuan de Puerto Rico, and in the night we ſent in our ſhallope with foureteene men. And out of the harborow we tooke away an Engliſh ſhippe of ſeuenty tunnes, laden with threeſcore tunnes of Canary-wines, in deſpight of the caſtle and two new bulwarks, being within caliuer ſhot. Theſe two prizes we caried away to the Weſtermoſt part of the iſland, and put the Negros, except fifteene, all on land in a Spaniſh carauell which the Iane Bonauenture tooke: and we caried away one of the former prizes, and ſet fire on the other. We paſſed thence by the iſle of Mona, where we watered, and refreſhed our ſelues with potatos and plantans, and ſo came to the iſle of Saona: and from thence arriued at the mouth of the riuer of Santo Domingo. And as we ſailed to Cape Tiburon, three leagues to the Weſtward of Santo Domingo we tooke a boat of fifteene tunnes, which had certeine iarres of maloſſes or vnrefined ſugar, with three men; which men with their boat wee caried with vs to Cape Tiburon, which, in reſpect of ſeruice done vnto vs in furniſhing vs with freſh water, we diſmiſſed. Thus contrary to other Engliſhmens courſes we ſhaped ours to the Southward of Iamaica, and our ſhallop with 12 men ranged the coaſt but found nothing. Thence we ranged the three iſlands of the Caimanes, and landed at Grand Caiman, being the Weſtermoſt, where we found no people, but a good riuer of freſh water; and there we turned vp threeſcore great tortoiſes; and of them we tooke our choiſe, to wit, fifteene of the females, which are the beſt and fulleſt of egges, whereof two ſerued an hundred men a day. And there with ſtones we might kill turtle doues, wilde geeſe, & other good fowles at our pleaſures. Thence we came to Cape de Corrientes on Cuba to water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and ſo went ouer for the Tortugas, without taking of any new prize: and thence cut ouer to Rio de puercos on the coaſt of Cuba. There we tooke a ſmall barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty liue hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather ierkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats tongues, and 20 oxe hides. Then paſſing thence, within foure dayes we tooke a ſhip of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, & ſalſaperilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current ſet vs to the Eaſt to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigat of 20 tunnes, hauing certeine pieces of Spaniſh broad cloth & other ſmall pillage: there continuing off the Matanças 12 dayes, with the winde ſo Weſterly that we could hardly recouer Hauana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoiſes, which we ſunke, ſauing ſome of the tortoiſes, & ſetting the men on ſhore. Then at length we recouered vp to Hauana, where we came ſo neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they outreached vs with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, hauing 27 banks on a ſide, and fought with vs another houre; which for that time left vs by reaſon of the increaſing of the winde. Then paſſing alongſt nine leagues to the Weſtward we found out an excellent harbour, hauing three fadome water at the flood, able within to receiue a thouſand ſaile, where we found hog-houſes, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incountered by the gallies, which had followed vs, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes within caliuer ſhot: but wee made ſuch ſpoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gaue vs ouer, with their great loſſe. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward ſixe leagues off this harbour of Cauannas, we met with maſter captaine Lane, Generall of maſter Wats his fleet, and captaine

Iamaica.

A good riuer of freſh water in Grand Caiman.

Preſeruing of hogs-fleſh.

The excellent hauen of Cauannas.

Roberts, in the Exchange, a ſhip of Briſtol, of an hundred and forty tunnes, and maſter Beniamin Wood with his foure ſhips which were ſet out by my lord Thomas Howard with captain Kenel of Limehouſe captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together eſpied a ſhip of ſome 50 tunne, which we chaſed with their boats; but my ſhallope firſt boorded her, and tooke her: which had in her ſacke, Canary-wine, muſcadell, tent in iarres, and good ſtore of oile in iarres. The ſhip we vnladed and burned: the men ran on ſhore. Hence wee came all together, being about 13 ſailes, before Hauana; but paſſing by we gaue chaſe to a ſhip of 60 tun, which entred into an harbour a league to the Northweſt of Hauana, which with boats was boorded, and found to be of Puerto de Cauallos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, ſalſa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good ſtore of balſamum: and ſhe had foure cheſts of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ſhip into England. Thus ſpending a ſeuennight in lying off and on for purchaſe, and finding nothing come, I ſet ſaile for England, and arriued at Douer about the tenth of Nouember 1592.

A briefe note of a voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ſhips, the *Penelope* of Captaine *Raimond*, Admirall, the *Merchant royall*, whereof was Captaine, *Samuel Foxcroft*, Viceadmirall, the *Edward Bonauenture*, whereof was Captaine, M. *Iames Lancaſter*, Rereadmirall, with a ſmall pinneſſe. Written by *Henry May*, who in his returne homeward by the *Weſt Indies* ſuffred ſhipwracke vpon the iſle of *Bermuda*, wherof here is annexed a large deſcription.

The tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plymmouth with the ſhips aforeſayd. In May following wee arriued at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Iſlands. Alſo toward the end of this moneth we tooke a Portugall ſhippe being bound for Braſil, within three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which ſerued greatly to our refreſhing. The 29 of Iuly following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Sperança, where we ſtayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reaſon of ſickneſſe in our fleet was ſent home for England with diuers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of three pence, a ſheepe for a broken knife or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the Penelope & the Edward Bonauenture weyed anker, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Sperança. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempeſt or huricano. This euening we ſaw a great ſea breake ouer our admirall the Penelope, and their light ſtrooke out: and after that we neuer ſaw them any more. In October following we in the Edward fell with the Weſtermoſt part of the iſle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Alſo the next day we came to an anker at Quitangone a place on the main land of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the Northward of Moçambique, where the Portugels of the iſle of Moçambique fetch all their freſh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a veſſell like a barge, with one matſaile of Coco nut leaues. The barge is ſowed together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with wooden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine corne called millio, hennes, and ſome fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with vs, and diſmiſſed the reſt. From this place we went for an iſland called Comoro, vpon the coaſt of Melinde, which ſtandeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which iſland we ſtayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on ſhore, among whom was William Mace our maſter, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on ſhore againſt our ſhip; they hauing firſt betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the iſle of Zanzibar, on the coaſt of Melinde, whereas wee ſtayed and Wintered vntill the beginning of February following.

A Portugall ſhip taken.

They double the cape of Buena Eſperanza.

Quitangone neere Mozambique.

The iſle of Comoro.

They Winter at the iſle of Zanzibar.

The ſecond of February 1592 wee weyed anker, and ſet ſaile directly for the Eaſt Indies; but hauing calmes and contrary windes, wee were vntill the moneth of Iune before wee could recouer the coaſt of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreſhing. In this moneth of Iune we came to an anker at the iſles of Pulo pinaom, whereas we ſtayed vntill the firſt day of September, our men being very ſicke, and dying apace. This day we ſet ſaile, and directed our courſe for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at ſea, but wee tooke a ſhippe of the kingdome of Pegu of ſome fourescore tunnes with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinneſſe of ſome eighteene tunnes at her ſtearne, both laden with pepper.

The iſles of Pulo pinaom.

But their pinneſſe ſtole from vs in a guſt in the morning. Here we might haue taken two ſhippes more of Pegu laden likewiſe with pepper and rice. In this moneth alſo we tooke a great Portugall ſhip of ſix or ſeuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, cheſts of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Beſides this we tooke another Portugall ſhip of ſome hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. Theſe ſhips were bound for Malaca with victuals: for thoſe of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, becauſe that victuals there are very ſcarce.

The iſle of Nicubar.

In the moneth of Nouember 1592 we ſhaped our courſe for the iſland of Nicubar lying certeine leagues to the Northweſt of the famous iſland of Sumatra; whereas within ſhort time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreſhing: for after wee arriued there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboord vs in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought vnto vs reals of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diuing in the ſea, which were loſt not long before in two Portugall ſhips which were bound for China, & were caſt away there. This was the furtheſt place that we were at to the Southeaſt: and heere becauſe our company by this time was much waſted and diminiſhed, we reſolued to turne backe to the iſle of Zeilan. Wherfore we weyed anker in the moneth of Nouember, and arriued at Zeilan about the end of the ſame moneth. In this iſland groweth great ſtore of excellent cinamom, and the beſt diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to ſtay to make vp our voyage: whereof hee conceiued great hope, by certeine intelligence which wee had receiued; but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and euery day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being ſicke and like for to die) would not ſtay, but would needs go home.

They returne homeward.

The 8 of December 1592 we ſet ſaile homeward, but ſome 15 dayes before we had ſight of the cape of Good hope, we were forced to ſhare our bread, by reaſon we had certeine flies in our ſhip, which deuoured moſt part of our bread before we were aware: ſo that when we came to ſharing, we had but 31 pound of bread a man to cary vs into England, with a ſmall quantity of rice a day.

They double the cape of Bona Speranza.

The laſt of March 1593 we doubled the cape of Bona Sperança.

The iſle of S. Helena.

In Aprill next inſuing we came to anker at the iſland of S. Helena, whereas we found an Engliſh man a tailer, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: ſo we ſending our boat on ſhore with ſome ten men, they found this Engliſh man in the chapell; who by reaſon of the heat of the climat was inforced to keepe himſelfe out of the Sun. Our company hearing one ſing in the chapell, ſuppoſing it had bene ſome Portugall, thruſt open the doore, and went in vnto him: but the poore man ſeeing ſo many come in vpon him on the ſudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was firſt in ſuch a feare, not hauing ſeene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Engliſhmen, and ſome of them of his acquaintance, in ſuch ioy, that what betweene exceſſiue ſudden feare & ioy, he became diſtracted of his wits, to our great ſorowes. Here we found of his drying ſome 40 goats. The party had made him for want of apparell two ſutes of goats ſkinnes with the hairy ſide outwards, like vnto the Sauages of Canada. Here we ſtayed all this moneth. This man liued vntill we came to the Weſt Indies, and then he died.

The ſtrange force of ſudden feare and ſudden ioy.

The iſle of Trinidad in the Weſt Indies.

In the moneth of Iune 1593 we arriued at the iſland of Trinidad in the Weſt Indies, hoping there to finde refreſhing: but we could not get any, by reaſon that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betweene the iſland and the maine; and for want of victuals the company would haue forſaken the ſhip: whereupon the captaine was inforced to ſweare euery man not to forſake the ſhip vntill we ſhould ſee further occaſion. Out of this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleaſed God to deliuer vs; from whence we directed our courſe for the iſle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico, but fell with the ſmall iſle of Mona, where we abode ſome fifteene dayes, finding in that place ſome ſmall refreſhing. And heere arriued a ſhip of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monſieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreſhed vs with bread and other prouiſion, which we greatly wanted. And ſo we tooke our leaues the one of the other.

The iſle of Mona.

Cape Tiburon.

In Iuly hauing foule weather at Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to ſet ſaile, directing our courſe for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the cape we had a guſt from the ſhore, which caried away all our ſailes from the yards: ſo that we had left but one new forecourſe to helpe our ſelues withall: which canuas the aforeſayd Frenchman did helpe vs withall. Alſo hauing doubled the foreſayd cape in the diſtreſſe aforenamed, the forſayd capitan de la Barbotiere with his pinneſſe gaue chaſe vnto vs againe; who being come nere vnto vs, I went aboord him, certifying him what diſtreſſe we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not any thing in his ſhippe, but what he could ſpare he would helpe vs withall. So to conclude, we agreed with him for canuas. Moreouer, he ſayd that if we would go with him to an harbour called *Gonnauy,

*Or Guanaba.

which is to the Northward of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe vs with freſh victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboord our ſhip, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowen vnto the company; which no ſooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we ſtaied with the aforeſaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but ſmall refreſhing we could get, becauſe the Spaniards ſtood in ſome feare of the Frenchman of war, ſuppoſing our ſhip to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize: neuertheleſſe hee certified them to the contrary. And in ſtaying ſo long with him, and hauing little refreſhing, our company began to be in a mutiny, and made report that the captaine & I went aboord the Frenchman but to make good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I proteſt before God, that our care was to get victuals wherby we might haue bene gone from him. But in the meane time a great part of our company had conſpired to take away the Frenchmans pinneſſe, and with her to boord the man of warre. While theſe things were in complotting, one of their conſorts went aboord the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conſpiracy. Whereupon the captaine of the French ſhip ſent for our captaine and me to come aboord to dinner: and we ſtayed with him all the afternoone, being inuited vnto ſupper: and being at ſupper, he himſelfe would not a great while come to vs: but at length hee came. At his comming wee aſked of him what newes. Who anſwered vs, that either we muſt depart from him, or els he muſt goe ſeeke ſome other harborow. Whereupon I tolde captaine Lancaſter; who prayed me to tell him that rather then we would be any hindrance vnto him, we would be gone. But in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, the Frenchman weyed & ſet ſaile: which we perceiued, and aſked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine & me, that he kept vs for his ſecurity, and that our men had purpoſed as is aforeſayd. When he came thwart our ſhippe, it blew a prety gaile of winde: the boat being aſterne of them, hauing in her two Moores & two men of Pegu, which we had giuen them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worſe then before, & did threaten vs very ſore that we ſhould pay his voyage. In the meane time the Edward ſeeing vs paſt, weyed and ſet ſaile to go for England: and they did ſhare among them all the captaines victuals & mine, when they ſaw the Frenchman keepe vs as priſoners. So the next morning we went to ſeeke out the Frenchmans pinneſſe: which being at Laguna we ſhot off a piece, & ſo ſhe came to vs, hauing in her three more of our company, Edmund Barker our lieutenant, and one Iohn Weſt, and Richard Lucland one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of; & he could not deny, but that there was ſuch a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinneſſe to ſeeke their boat: and in the meane time they would go to ſee if they could ouertake our ſhippe. And the next day we ſhould meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas: ſo the next morning we met together all three of vs, but heard no newes of his boat. So he hauing Spanyards and Negros aboord of vs, requeſted to haue them. Our captaine deſired him to ſend his boat aboord our ſhippe, and he ſhould haue them with all his heart. So with much adoe he ſent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his boat were not aboord the ſhip. They anſwered no. So that then Monſieur de la Barbotiere was ſatiſfied: and then we were great friends againe, to all our ioyes.

The 12 of Auguſt 1593 our captaine was ſent aboord our ſhip: but before his departure he requeſted the captaine of the French ſhip that he would giue mee paſſage home with him, to certifie the owners what had paſſed in all the voyage, as alſo of the vnrulineſſe of the company. And this day we tooke our leaues the one of the other; the Edward for England: and we bare in for Gonnany, where afterwards we found the Frenchmans boat.

The laſt of Nouember 1593 Monſieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna in Hiſpaniola. The 17 of December next inſuing it was his fortune to haue his ſhip caſt away vpon the Northweſt part of the iſle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themſelues at noone to be to the Southward of the iſland twelue leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heigth: the which they had. And being, as it ſhould ſeeme, after they had their wine, careleſſe of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were caſt away: and I being but a ſtranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen & others, it pleaſed God to appoint me to be one of them that were ſaued, I hope to his ſeruice & glory. We made account at the firſt that we were caſt away hard by the ſhore, being hie cliffs, but we found our ſelues ſeuen leagues off: but with our boat and a raft which we had made & towed at our boats ſterne, we were ſaued ſome 26 of vs; among whom were no more Engliſh but my ſelfe. Now being among ſo many ſtrangers, & ſeeing not roome for the one halfe, I durſt neither preſſe into the boat, nor vpon the raft, for feare leſt they ſhould haue caſt me ouerboord, or els haue killed me: ſo I ſtayed in the ſhip which was almoſt full of water, vntill the captaine being entred the boat, called me vnto him being at hand, for that it ſtood vpon life or death: and ſo I preſently entred, leauing the better halfe of our company

They wracked vpon Bermuda the 17 of December 1593.

The deſcription of the iſle of Bermuda.

The ſauing of the carpenters tooles was their preſeruation.

A bark ſtrangely built & furniſhed.

Hogs in Bermuda.

Good harbors in ỹ Eaſt part of Bermuda.

An excellent fiſhing for pearles in Bermuda.

The people nere Cape Briton vſe traffike of rich furres.

to the mercy of the ſea. After this we rowed all the day vntil an houre or two before night yer we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on ſhore, being all the day without drinke, euery man tooke his way to ſee if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found freſh water to all our great comforts, being only raine water: and this was all the freſh water that we found on ſhore. But there are in this Iſland many fine bayes, wherin if a man did dig, I thinke there might be found ſtore of freſh water. This Iſland is diuided all into broken Iſlands: and the greateſt part I was vpon, which might be ſome 4 or 5 miles long, and 2 miles & a halfe ouer; being all woods, as Cedar & other timber, but Cedar is the chiefeſt. Now it pleaſed God before our ſhip did ſplit, that we ſaued our carpenters tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and hauing recouered the aforeſaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, & in the end built a ſmall barke of ſome 18 tun, for the moſt part with tronnels and very few nailes. As for tackling we made a voyage aboord the ſhip before ſhe ſplit, and cut downe her ſhrowds, and ſo we tackled our barke, and rigged her. In ſtead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoiſes; and aſſoone as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of vs a ſmall ſticke in our hands, did plaiſter the morter into the ſeames, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no ſooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a ſtone. In this moneth of April 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afrayd our water ſhould faile vs; and therfore made the more haſte away: and at our departure we were conſtrained to make two great cheſts, and calked them, and ſtowed them on ech ſide of our maine maſt, and ſo put in our prouiſion of raine-water, and 13 liue tortoiſes for our food, for our voyage which we intended to Newfoundland. In the South part of this Iſland of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are ſo leane that you can not eat them, by reaſon the Iſland is ſo barren: but it yeeldeth great ſtore of fowle, fiſh and tortoiſes. And to the Eaſtward of the Iſland are very good harbours, ſo that a ſhippe of 200 tun may ride there landlocked, without any danger, with water enough. Alſo in this Iſland is as good fiſhing for pearles as is any in the Weſt Indies, but that the place is ſubiect to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine: but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather. The 11 of May it pleaſed God to ſet vs cleere of the Iſland, to the no little ioy of vs all, after we had liued in the ſame almoſt the ſpace of 5 moneths. And the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a freſh water riuer, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballaſt. And here the people of the countrey came vnto vs, being clothed all in furs, with the furred ſide vnto their ſkins, & brought with them furres of ſundry ſorts to ſell, beſides great ſtore of wild ducks: ſo ſome of our company hauing ſaued ſome ſmall beads, bought ſome of their ducks. Here we ſtayed not aboue foure houres, and ſo departed. This ſhould ſeeme to be a very good countrey. And we ſaw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with diuers, but none would take in a man of vs, vntill it pleaſed God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which receiued vs all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ſhip, wherein I left capitan de la Barbotier my deere friend, and all his company, and ſtayed my ſelfe aboord the Engliſh barke: and hauing paſſage in the ſame, in the moneth of Auguſt I arriued at Falmouth 1594.

A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. *Robert Duddeley*, now knight, to the Iſle of *Trinidad*, and the coaſt of *Paria*: with his returne home by the Iſles of *Granata*, *Santa Cruz*, *Sant Iuan de puerto rico*, *Mona*, *Zacheo*, the ſhoalds called *Abreojos*, and the iſle of *Bermuda*. In which voyage he and his company tooke and ſunke nine Spaniſh ſhips, wherof one was an *armada* of 600 tunnes. Written at the requeſt of M. *Richard Hakluyt*.

Hauing euer ſince I could conceiue of any thing bene delighted with the diſcoueries of nauigation, I foſtered in my ſelfe that diſpoſition till I was of more yeres and better ability to vndertake ſuch a matter. To this purpoſe I called to me the aduiſe of ſufficient ſeamen, and principally vndertooke a voyage for the South ſeas; but by reaſon that many before had miſcarried in the ſame enterpriſe, I could not be ſuffered to hazard more of her Maieſties ſubiects vpon ſo vncerteine a ground as my deſire: which made me by conſtraint (great charges already by me defrayed) to prepare another courſe for the Weſt Indies, without hope there to doe any thing worth note: and ſo common is it indeed to many, as it is not worth the regiſtring. Neuertheleſſe, I haue yeelded to your former importunity, and ſent you this my iournall to ſupply a vacant roome amongſt your more important diſcourſes.

Now

Nowe being prouided for this laſt enterprize, rather to ſee ſome practiſe and experience, then any wonders or profite, I weighed ancker from Southampton road the ſixth of Nouember 1594. But the winde falling ſcant, it was the 17. day of the ſame moneth before I could put into the Sea. Upon this day my ſelfe in the Beare a ſhippe of 200. tunnes my Admirall, and Captaine Munck in the Beares whelpe vice-admirall, with two ſmall pinneſſes called the Frisking and the Earewig paſſed through the Needles, and within two dayes after bare in with Plimmouth. My buſines at this port-towne diſpatched, I ſet ſaile; whither againe by contrary winds to my great miſfortune, I was inforced to returne backe. I might call it miſfortune; for by this meanes I vtterly (for all the voyage) loſt my vice-admirall; which was the cauſe likewiſe of looſing mine owne pinneſſe, which three were the principall ſtay of my voyage. For at this laſt leauing of England in a ſtorme I loſt mine owne pinneſſe, as is beforeſaid. Notwithſtanding all theſe croſſes all alone I went wandering on my voyage, ſailing along the coaſt of Spaine within view of Cape Finiſter, and Cape S. Vincent, the North & South capes of Spaine. In which ſpace hauing many chaſes, I could meet with none but my coũtreymen or countreys friends. Leauing theſe Spaniſh ſhores I directed my courſe the 14. of December towards the iſles of the Canaries. Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reaſons: The one, in hope to meete my vice-admiral: The other, to get ſome veſſel to remoue my peſtered men into, who being 140. almoſt in a ſhip of 200. tunnes, there grew many ſicke. The firſt hope was fruſtrated, becauſe my vice-admiral was returned into England with two prizes. The ſecond expectation fell out to our great comfort: for I tooke two very fine Carauels vnder the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreſhed and amended my company, and made me a Fleete of 3. ſailes. In the one Carauel called The Intent, I made Beniamin Wood Captaine, in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheared as a deſolate traueller with the company of my ſmall and newe erected Fleete, I continued my purpoſe for the Weſt Indies, and firſt for Cape Blanco in Africa vpon the deſerts of Libya. My laſt hope was to meete my loſt ſhip, and withall to renue my victuals vpon the Canthers, which are Portugal fiſhermen: but the Canthers had bene ſo frighted by Frenchmen, as I could get none. Riding vnder this White Cape two daies, and walking on ſhore to view the countrey, I found it a waſte, deſolate, barren, and ſandie place, the ſand running in drifts like ſnow and being very ſtony; for ſo is all the countrey ſand vpon ſtone (like Arabia deſerta, and Petrea) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with ſome wilde beaſts and people which be tawny Moores, ſo wilde, as they would but call to my Carauels from the ſhore, who road very neere it. But not deſirous to make any longer aboad in this place, by reaſon of the moſt infectious ſerenas or dewes that fall all along theſe coaſts of Africa, I cauſed my Maſter Abraham Kendall to ſhape his courſe directly for the iſle of Trinidad in the Weſt Indies; which after 22. dayes we deſcried, and the firſt of February came to an anker vnder a point thereof called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelicans bay. About 3. leagues to the Eaſtwards of this place we found a mine of Marcazites which gliſter like golde (but all is not gold that gliſtereth) for ſo we found the ſame nothing worth, though the Indians did aſſure vs it was Caluori, which ſignifieth gold with them. Theſe Indians are a fine ſhaped and a gentle people, al naked & painted red, their cõmanders wearing crownes of feathers. Theſe people did often reſort vnto my ſhip, & brought vs hennes, hogs, plantans, potatos, pinos, tabacco, & many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with vs for hatchets, kniues, hookes, belles, and glaſſe buttons. From this bay I fell downe lower to a place called Paracoa, where I deſired rather to ride, becauſe it was a cõuenient place to water, balaſt, ground, & graue my Carauels. Then I commanded al my men to lye on ſhore, after I had cauſed to be made for them a little ſkonce like an halfe moone for their defence, being iealous of the Spaniards, of whoſe eſtate I could gather no certaintie, till frõ Margarita Antonie Berreo for his defence had gotten ſome 300. ſouldiers, a greater number then I was able to encounter withall, hauing then but 50. men, becauſe my Carauels before their comming were ſent away. The Simerones of the yland traded with me ſtil in like ſort. And the Spaniards now prouided for me, began to ſend meſſengers to me in kindneſſe. Notwithſtanding though I had no reaſon to aſſault them, becauſe they were both poore & ſtrong, yet for my experience and pleaſure I marched 4. long marches vpon the yland, & the laſt from one ſide of the yland to the other, which was ſome 50. miles: going and comming through a moſt monſtrous thicke wood (for ſo is moſt part of the yland) and lodging my ſelfe in Indian townes. The country is fertile, and ful of fruites, ſtrange beaſts, and foules, whereof munkeis, babions & parats were in great abundance. Being much delighted with this yland, and meaning to ſtay here ſome time about diſcouering the maine right againſt the ſame (the entrance into the empire of Guiana) being ſhewed the diſcouery thereof by Captaine Popham, who receiued the diſcouery of the ſaide empire frõ one captaine Harper, which being a priſoner learned of the Spaniards at the Canaries

This M. Beniamin Wood was in the end of the yeere 1596. ſent forth with two ſhips, and certaine pinneſſes vpon a voyage for the South ſeas and for China, at the charges of this honourable gentleman Sir Robert Dudley.

A deſcription of Cape Blanco in Africa.

The yſle of Trinidad deſcried.

Punta de Curiapan.

Paracoa, or Parico.

They inſkonce themſelues.

A treaſonable practize of the Spaniards.

They march from one ſide of the yland to the other.

Captaine Harpers intelligence of Guiana.

in the ſelfe ſame maner almoſt, as ſir Walter Ralegh very diſcreetly hath written. The intelligence of Harper, I conceiue, the Captaine hath yet to ſhew in Spaniſh. This diſcouery of Guiana I greatly deſired: yet leaſt I ſhould aduenture all occaſions vpon it onely, I ſent my two Carauels from me the 17. day of February, to try their fortunes in the Indies, not appointing any other place to meet but England, furniſhing them with all the prouiſion that I could ſpare, and diuiding my victuals equally with them, knowing they were able to do more good in the Indies then greater ſhips. The Carauels being gone, I began to enquire priuately of the Sauages concerning the maine ouer againſt vs, and learned that the names of the kingdomes ioyning to the Sea-coaſt were in order theſe. The kingdom of Morucca, the kingdome of Seawano, the kingdome of Waliame, the kingdom of Caribes, the kingdome of Yguirie, and right againſt the Northermoſt part of Trinidad, the maine was called The high land of Paria, the reſt a very lowe land. Morucco I learned to bee full of a greene ſtone called Tacarao, which is good for the ſtone. In Seawano I heard of a Mine of gold to be in a towne called Wackerew, the Captaines name Semaracon. Of Waliame I will ſpeake laſt, becauſe therein I made moſt diſcouery. The Caribes I learned to be man-eaters or Canibals, and great enemies to the Iſlanders of Trinidad. The kingdome of Yguiri I heard to be full of a metall called by the Indians Arara, which is either copper (as I could learne) or very baſe gold. In the high land of Paria I was informed by diuers of theſe Indians, that there was ſome Perota, which with them is ſiluer, and great ſtore of moſt excellent Cane-tabacco. But laſtly to come to Waliame, it is the firſt kingdome of the empire of Guiana. The great wealth which I vnderſtood to be therein, and the aſſurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden Mine in a towne of this kingdome called Orocoa, in the Riuer (as he called it) of Owrinoicke was much to be eſteemed. This Indian ſpake Spaniſh, and whatſoeuer he knew, he reueiled it to my ſelfe onely by a priuate interpreter, not in words alone, but offered vpon paine of life to be guide himſelfe to any place that he ſpake of. This diſcouery of the Mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutined againſt my going, becauſe they ſomething feared the villany of Abraham Kendal, who would by no meanes go. I then wanted my loſt pinneſſe, and was conſtrained to ſend 14. men in my ſhip-boat for this diſcouery, with moſt of the diſcreeteſt men in my ſhip, & gaue them their directions to follow, written vnder mine owne hand. They went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes by the broken lands, which riuer goeth vnder the name of the great Riuer Orenoque, the foreland whereof was called Capulio bearing South & by Weſt, wanting a fourth part, from the point of Curiapan aforeſaid, being 4. leags diſtant. They found the maine (as China is reported) full of freſh Riuers running one into another, abounding with fiſh, and a land al woody, ſeeming to haue great ſtore of ſtrange beaſts and foules, & very populous. They entred into a ſmall riuer called Cabota, the people named Veriotaus, a courteous people. The next riuer they paſſed was called Mana in the kingdome of Tiuitiuas, where the king offered to bring a Canoa full of this golden oare, and to this purpoſe ſent a Canoa, which returned and brought my men this anſwere, that Armago Captaine of the towne of Orocoa and the Mine refuſed them, but if they would come thither, hee himſelfe would make them anſwere. Vpon this my boat went, and at his appointed place hee met them with ſome 100. men in Canoas, and tolde them that by force they ſhould haue nothing but blowes, yet if they would bring him hatchets, kniues, and Iewes-harps, he bid them aſſure me, he had a Mine of gold, and could refine it, & would trade with me: for token whereof he ſent me 3. or 4. Croiſſants or halfe moones of gold weighing a noble a piece or more, and two bracelets of ſiluer. Alſo he told them of another rich nation, that ſprinkled their bodies with the poulder of golde, and ſeemed to be guilt, and farre beyond them a great towne called El Dorado, with many other things. My men being ſatiſfied, and thinking their company too fewe to ſtay among theſe Sauages, and their victuall ſpent, returned. This Balthazar my Indian their guide ranne from them: which diſtreſſe cauſed them to borrow of Armago newe guides, who brought them home another way through a Riuer called Braha by the high land of Paria, and ſo to my ſhip. They accompted Orocoa 150. miles diſtant, ſo they rowed in my boate aboue 250. miles. Their abſence from mee was 16. dayes, making but one nights aboad any where. The report of this made mee attempt my company to goe with them againe. But nowe they were worſe then before; for vnleſſe I would haue gone my ſelfe alone, not one man would goe with me (no albeit I had had commiſſion to hang or kill them) for my men came home in very pitifull caſe almoſt dead for famine; and indeed ſuch was their miſery, as they dranke not in three dayes, for ſo long they were out of the freſh Riuers, before they recouered the ſhippe, and yet the boat was filled with as much victuall, as it could holde.

His two Carauels ſent to range the Indies.

Seawano called perhaps in ſir Walter Raleghs diſcouery Ciawani.

Sir Walter Ralegh ſpeaketh of Saima, and Wikeri in his diſcouery.

This Indians name was Balthasar, who afterward gaue our men the ſlip at their greateſt need.

A riuer called Cabota.

The riuer of Amana and the kingdome of Tiuitiuas are both mentioned by ſir Walter Ralegh.

A people ſprinkled with poulder of gold.

In this time of my boates abſence there came to me a pinneſſe of Plimmouth, of which Captaine Popham before named was chiefe, who gaue vs great comfort. And if I had not loſt my pinneſſes,

Captaine Pophams arriual.

pinneſſes, wherein I might haue caried victuals and ſome men, we had diſcouered further the ſecrets of thoſe places. Alſo this Captaine and I ſtayed ſome ſixe or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Ralegh (who, as wee ſurmized, had ſome purpoſe for this diſcouery) to the ende, that by our intelligence and his boates we might haue done ſome good: but it ſeemed he came not in ſixe or eight weekes after. So Captaine Popham and I helde it not conuenient to ſtay any longer: therefore new watering our ſelues at Paracoa, we ſet ſaile to ſee further of the Indies, leauing the yle of Trinidad the 12. day of March. The 13. I tooke a ſmall prize of ſackes 25. leagues to the Northward of an yland which I ſailed by, called Granata. This prize refreſhed vs well: yet meaning to ſel her at the yle of Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, and ſhaping our courſe thither by the ylands of Santa Cruz and Infierno, I coaſted all the South ſide of the ſaid yle of S. Iohn, till I came to an ancker at Cape Roxo: where riding 14. dayes to expect S. Domingo men, which oftentimes fall with the yland of Mona, and finding none (neither would the Spaniards of S. Iuan de puerto rico buy my prize) I vnladed her, tooke in the goods, and after burned her. This ended, I diſemboqued (where fewe Engliſhmen had done before, by reaſon of the great dangers betweene this yland of S. Iuan de puerto rico and Hiſpaniola) by a little yland called Zacheo. And after carefully doubling the ſhouldes of Abreojos, I cauſed the Maſter, (hearing by a Pilote, that the Spaniſh fleete meant now to put out of Hauana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the fleete diſperſed. The fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to ſcatter many fleetes; which companion left mee not in greateſt extremitie, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cueruo: whither I made the more haſte, hoping to meete ſome great Fleete of her Maieſtie my ſoueraigne, as I had intelligence, and to giue them aduiſe of this rich Spaniſh fleet: but finding none, and my victuals almoſt ſpent, I directed my courſe for England.

They depart from the yle of Trinidad.

A prize taken North of the yle of Granata.

The yles of Santa Cruz and Infierno.

Cape Roxo.

They diſemboque by the yle of Zacheo.

The ſholds called Abreojos, that is, Open thine eyes, or Looke out.

Bermuda.

Flores and Cueruo.

Returning alone, and worſe manned by halfe then I went foorth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this fleete of ſome 600. tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all poſſibilitie with fiftie men to board a man of warre of ſixe hundreth tunnes. And hauing ſpent all my powder I was conſtrained to leaue her, yet in ſuch diſtreſſe without ſailes and maſtes, and hull ſo often ſhot through with my great Ordinance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare ſay, it was impoſſible for her to eſcape ſinking. Thus leauing her by neceſſitie in this miſerable eſtate, I made for England, where I arriued at S. Iues in Cornewall about the latter ende of May 1595, ſcaping moſt dangerouſly in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

A fight of two dayes with a Spaniſh Armada of 600. tunnes.

They arriue at S. Iues in Cornwall in May 1595.

Thus by the prouidence of God landing ſafely, I was kindely intertained by all my friends, and after a ſhort time learned more certaintie of the ſinking of that great ſhippe, being alſo reputed rich by diuers intelligences out of Spaine: which we then ſuppoſed not, & were doubtfull whether ſhe had bin of Biſcay or S. Iohn de Luz in France laden with fiſh onely from Newfoundland.

In this voyage I and my fleete tooke, ſunke and burnt nine Spaniſh ſhips; which was loſſe to them, though I got nothing.

Here follow certaine wordes of the language of *Trinidad* which I obſerued at my being there.

GVttemock.	A man.	Dacutti	The feete.
Tabairo, Dabarah, Or Dabarra.	The heare of ones head.	Cattie	The moone.
Deſſie	The forehead.	Tauraroth	A rope.
Daſereth, or Dacoſſi	An eye.	Arkeano	A paire of cizers.
Dalacoack	The mouth.	Weeuah	The heauen.
Areheh	The teeth.	Harowa	A ſtone good for the head ache.
Daria	The gummes.	Mointiman	Yron or ſteele.
Deſire	The lips.	Howa	Munkeis in generall.
Dill	The tongue.	Carotta	A thing like pappe.
Dudica	The eares.	Sakel	It is well, or I am well.
Dacan	A hand.	Techir	A bracelet.
Dacabbo	The palme of the hand.	Bodad	A boxe or cheſt.
Dadena	The wriſt.	Mentinie	A tree.
Dacurle	A knee.	Addehegaeno	A glaſſe.
Daddano	The calfe of the legge.	* Calcouri	Gold.
Dabodda	The toes.	Perota	Siluer.
			Tacorao

*It is before in this voyage called Calcurie.

Tacorao	a green ſtone.	Arrara	copper.
Caulpiri	A white ſtone.		
Caſparo	A ſword.	Tibetebe	cockles.
Marrahabo	a bow.	Semaro	an arrow.
Huculle	A bow-ſtring.		
Halete	A Potato roote.		
Caerwoda	A ſweete root.		
Mauriſſe	Wheat.	Queca	A baſket.
Yeddola	A knife.	Sambolers	A hat.
Beyou	A pipe.	Callit	Bread.
*Oronuic	Water.		
Arguecona	A paire of cizzers.		
Heldaro	A ſpoone.		
Hemachugh	A bread which they eate.		

Hicket	Fire.	Walrowa	A parrot.
Vreit	Tabacco.	Barudda	A combe.
Addoth	A ſticke.		
Barrennaire	A button, or beads.		
Curaballa & Sibath,	for 2 ſundry ſtones: but Sibath in general ſignifieth a ſtone.		
Tolletillero	bels.	Vllaſſo	a Tuny-fiſh.
Bohery	A flying fiſh.	Bara	Water.
Haddalle	The Sunne.		
Babage-Canoaſeen	The maner of the Indians hailing of a ſhip, calling it after the name of their Canoas.		
Non quo, Or Non quapa	I know not, Or I cannot tell.		

* The name of the riuer Orenoque may ſeeme to be deriued from this word.

The victorious voyage of Captaine *Amias Preſton* now knight, and Captaine *George Sommers* to the Weſt *India*, begun in March 1595.

Wherein the yle of *Puerto Santo*, the yle of *Coche* neere *Margarita*, the fort and towne of *Coro*, the ſtately city of *S. Iago de Leon* were taken ſacked and burned, and the towne of *Cumana* ranſomed, & *Iamaica* entred. Written by *Robert Dauie* one of the company.

Captaine Amias Preſton, and captaine Sommers, both valiant gentlemen & diſcreet commanders, lying ready with two tall ſhips, the Aſcenſion and the Gift, and a ſmall pinneſſe at Plimmouth, for the ſpace of a moneth attending the comming of captaine Iones their conſort, which in al that time, through the bad dealing of thoſe which he put in truſt, could not make his ſhip in readines, according to his appointment, the 12. of March 1595. ſet forward on their voyage for the Weſt Indies. We with captaine Iones in the Derling, and Captaine Prowſe in the Angel, followed after them the 19. of the ſaid moneth. The laſt of March, captaine Preſton by giuing chaſe to a ſaile, was ſeparated from captaine Sommers, and his pinneſſe, ſo that they vtterly loſt ſight each of other: whereupon captain Preſton in his ſhip alone, reſolued to ſurpriſe the yle of Puerto ſanto, and ſhortly after came before the ſame. This yland ſtandeth in the Northerly latitude of 33. degrees, and lieth to the Northward of the yle of Madera, and is inhabited by old ſouldiers, which the kings of Portugal were wont to reward for their former olde ſeruices, by placing of them there. This yland is rich in corne, wine, & oile: and hath good ſtore of ſheep, aſſes, goats & kine: they haue alſo plenty of foules, fiſhes & fruits. Captaine Preſton comming before this yland with one ſhip only ſought with 2. long boats to land his men & to force the ſame: but the people were on ſhore in warlike array, with baricados & trenches made, ready to withſtand them. Wherupon, conſidering the great danger, and diſaduantage of the place, he cauſed his people to returne abord againe. And the next morning 3 or 4 houres before day, he landed in a place of greater ſecurity, with 60 men onely, who lay cloſely in a chapel, to defend themſelues from the raine til break of the day, and ſo marched forward vpon the backs of their enemies, which kept their baricados vpon the ſhore. By this time the enemie was 500 ſtrong. But, being ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed, after ſome reſiſtance of our muſkets, when they ſaw our pikes approch, and had taſted ſomewhat of their force they began to flee into certaine thickets & ſhrubs, thinking from thence to gall our men: but with very litle or no loſſe at all, our men diſlodged them of that place alſo. Hereupon, they all fled toward the chiefe towne of the yland: but once againe they thought to make a new ſtand at a certaine houſe by the way, from whence they were repulſed by captaine Roberts. So in the flight part of them were ſlaine, and an enſigne, which one captaine Haruey an Engliſh man had loſt not long before, was recouered: and the chiefe towne it ſelfe was by our men wholly woon and poſſeſſed. But before the entrance of our men they had conueighed their wiues, their children, and the reſt of their goods into an exceeding high hil which ſtandeth neere the towne, and could not be conquered, but with exceeding loſſe. Although they ſent diuers times to redeeme their towne, which was very faire and large, yet in regard of their crueltie and treachery, which they vſed towards captaine Haruey and his people, captaine Preſton would ſhew them no fauour, but vtterly burnt their towne to aſhes, and ſent his men to waſt the reſt of their villages of the yland, preferring the honour & iuſt reuenge of his country men, before his owne priuate gaine, & commodity. And ſo with ſmall pillage and great honour he retired in ſafetie and all his ſmall company with him, from the conquered yland vnto his ſhip. But we in our ſhip met not with him, vntill the 12. of April following. We therefore in the Derling

The yle of Puerto Santo taken and the chiefe towne in it burnt.

ling purſuing our voiage, had ſight of the yles of the Canaries the 6 of April, and the 8 of the ſame, we watered on the Southeaſtſide of the grand Canaria. There we met with capt. Sommers, & his pinneſſe, & 3 ſhips of Hampton, in one whereof was cap. Willis. The 9 of April we al departed for Tenerif to ſeeke captaine Preſton: and ſtanding ouer towards Tenerif, the 9 day at night I came into captaine Sommers ſhip. The 10 in the morning we brake our maine yard, yet we recouered Tenerif, & the ſame day towards night we ankered vnder the ſouthſide of the ſame. There I went a land in our boat, & found 3 or 4 fiſherboats, and brought one of them off. The reſt bulged themſelues. Here we rode to mend our yard til the 11 at night: then we ſet ſaile to find captaine Amias Preſton: and ſtanding towards Gomera, the 12 in the morning we had ſight of him. Then we thought to haue landed in Gomera: but the wind blew ſo much, that we could not. So we departed altogether with ioy the 13 of April, & ſet our courſe for the Weſt Indies. And the 8 of May next enſuing, we arriued at the yland of Dominica. In all which time nothing happened vnto vs ſauing this, that the 18 day of April at midnight, our admiral loſt her long boat in towing. We ſtaied at Dominica til the 14 of May, to refreſh our ſicke men. Here the Indians came vnto vs in canoas made of an whole tree, in ſome wherof were 3 men, in ſome 4 or 6, & in others 12 or 14, & brought in them plantans, pinos, and potatos, and trucked with vs, for hatchets, kniues, & ſmal beadſtones. Here in refreſhing of our men, we found an hot bath hard ioyning to a cold riuer ſide: wherein our ſick men bathed themſelues, and were ſoone recouered of their ſickneſſes. This is a goodly yland, and ſomething high land, but al ouergrowen with woods. The 14 we departed from thence, & the 16 ſailing Southweſtward, we had ſight of Granada, but landed not there. The 17 we arriued at the Teſtigos & ankered there, and conſorted with the 3 ſhips of Hampton, wherin captaine Willis was. The 18 we landed our men & tooke view and muſter of all, & the ſame night ſet ſaile away. The 19 we had ſight of Margarita, where the Spaniards by their Indians fiſh for pearle: we ſtood in very neere the rode, but ſaw nothing there. Therefore we went no further in, but ſtood from it againe. The ſame day toward night, we had ſight of a litle yland, betweene Margarita & the maine, called Coche. We came neer it in the night with our ſhips within ſome 3 leagues, & there ankered vnder the maine ſide, and about midnight we manned our pinneſſes & boats, and in the morning about breake of day, we landed on the yland, wherin are few or none inhabitants, but they cōmonly come frō Margarita in boats on the munday, and remaine there fiſhing for pearles vntill the ſaturday, and then returne & cary al that they haue taken to Margarita. Here we tooke ſome few Spaniards and Negros their ſlaues with them, and had ſome ſmal quantitie of pearls. We remained on this iland the 20 and 21, in which time we went a fiſhing with our ſeine, and tooke good ſtore of mullets and other fiſh, and amongſt the reſt drew a ſhore in the ſeine a fiſh called by the Spaniards Lagarto, and by the Indians Caiman, which is indeed a Crocodile, for it hath 4 feete and a long taile, and a wide mouth, and long teeth, & wil deuour men. Some of theſe Lagartos are in length 16 foot, ſome 20 foot, and ſome 30 foot: they haue muſke in them, and liue as wel on the land, as in the water. The 21 of May we departed for Cumana, thinking to haue gotten in that night to haue landed: but the current ſtriketh ſo ſtrong out of the bay that we could not recouer the towne till day light. In the morning we eſpied 2 ſailes before the towne, but could not fetch them. Here we plied too and againe in the ſound all the forenoone, but could not get vp ſo farre as the towne. Theſe 2 ſailes came roome to vs, after they ſaw that we were at an anker, & came ſomewhat neere vs, and ſent their ſkyphs abord our admiral. They were 2 flieboats of Middleburgh which traded there, & had ſecretly aduertiſed the country of our comming, to our great hinderance: but we knew it not at our firſt arriuall. Here they of Cumana perceiuing that we would land, came to parle with vs, and tolde vs, if we would land, we might eaſily take the towne, for they ment not to withſtand vs, but that they had caried all their goods into the mountaines, but, if we would not land to burne and ſpoile the towne, they would giue vs ſome reaſonable ranſome, and any victuals that we wanted. So our general agreed with them, receiued their ranſome, and departed without landing. But at our firſt arriual in this bay, our generals long boat was ſent forth wel manned, and tooke 3 Carauels, but found litle or nothing of value in them: ſauing in one were ſome ſides of bacon, and ſome maiz and Guiny-wheat. Here we ſtaied til the 23 of May, & in the euening we ſet ſaile, and departed frō thence. And the 26 of the ſame we thought to haue landed at a fort that ſtandeth by the ſea-coaſt in the Caracos, as you go for S. Iago. This is a marueilous high land, as high as the pike of Tenerif. We could not land here ouer night, by reaſon of the roughnes of the ſea, which goeth in that place, & there is but one litle creeke againſt the fort, to come in with your boat. So, we perceiuing no fit place to land, by reaſon of the ſea, ſtood away ſome league to the Weſt-ward, about a litle head-land, there we ankered al night: and the 27 in the morning we all landed in ſafety, none reſiſting vs. Then we preſently ſet our ſelues in aray, and marched toward the fort, & tooke it with-

They water vpon the grand Canaria.

Dominica.

An excellent holſome hot bath found in Dominica.

The yles called Teſtigos.

Certaine Spaniards and Negros taken in the yle of Coche where they fiſh for pearle.

Two flieboats of Middleburgh forewarne the Spaniards of our comming.

The towne of Cumana ranſomed.

Three Carauels taken.

A fort nere the Caracos taken.

out any reſiſtance. Here we remained al the reſt of this day vntil the 28, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone. We found nothing in this fort but a litle meale, or 2 or 3 tunnes of wine, which by reaſon of ſome diſorder amongſt the company ouercharging themſelues with the wine, our generall for the moſt part cauſed to be ſpilt. While we remained here, ſome of our company ranging the woods, found the gouernor of the fort where he lay aſleepe, brought him to our general: who examined him touching the ſtate of the citie of S. Iago de Leon. Who declared vnto vs that they had newes of our comming a moneth before, and that they of the towne had made preparation for our comming: and that if we did go the cōmon beaten way, it was neuer poſſible for vs to paſſe, for that they had made in the midſt of the way betweene this fort and the ſaid city, an exceeding ſtrong baricado on the top of a very high hil, the paſſage being not aboue 25 or 30 foot in breth, & on each ſide marueilous ſteep-vpright, and the woods ſo thicke that no man could paſſe for his life: which indeed at our returning backe we found to be true. Vpon which ſpeeches our general demanded of him if there were not any other way: who anſwered, there is another way marueilous bad and very ill to trauel which the Indians do cōmonly vſe: but he thought that the Spaniards had ſtopt the ſame, by cutting downe of great trees and other things, as indeed they had. This Spaniard was a very weake and ſickly man not able to trauel, ſo our generall ſent him abord his ſhip, & there kept him. In the taking of our 3 ſmall Carauels at Cumaná, we had a Spaniard in one of them that had trauelled theſe wayes to the citie of S. Iago. He told vs he would cary vs thither by any of both theſe wayes, if afterward we would let him at libertie: the which was granted. While we remained at the fort by the waters ſide, the Spaniards came downe vnto vs by the great & beaten way on horſebacke, who being diſcouered, our generall ſent out to meete them captaine Roberts with ſome 40 or 50 muſketeirs, who came to ſkirmiſh with them, but they would not ſtay. The ſame day in the afternoone we marched forth toward S. Iago, & tooke the Indians way called The vnknowen way. In our march we came to diuers Indians houſes, which we neuer hurt, but paſſed by and left them vntouched: but the Indians were all fled into the woods, and other places, we know not whither. We marched vntil it was night ouer ſuch high mountaines, as we neuer ſaw the like, and ſuch a way as one man could ſcarſe paſſe alone. Our generall being in the forward, at length came whereas a riuer deſcended downe ouer the mountaines, and there we lodged all that night. Here in going this way, we found the Spaniſh gouernours confeſſion to be true: for they had baricadoed the way in diuers places with trees, & other things in ſuch ſort, that we were driuen to cut our way through the woods by Carpenters, which we caried with vs for that purpoſe.

Al our actions betrayed by dangerous ſpies out of England.

The next day being the 29 of May early in the morning we ſet forward to recouer the tops of the mountaines: but (God knoweth) they were ſo extreeme high and ſo ſteep-vpright, that many of our ſouldiers fainted by the way: and when the officers came vnto them, and firſt entreated them to goe, they anſwered, they could goe no further. Then they thought to make them goe by compulſion, but all was in vaine: they would goe a little and then lie downe, and bid them kill them, if they would, for they could not, nor would not goe any further. Whereby they were enforced to depart, & to leaue them there lying on the ground. To be ſhort, at length with much ado we gat the top of the mountaines about noone: there we made a ſtand til all the company was come vp, and would haue ſtayed longer to haue refreſhed our men: but the fogge and raine fell ſo faſt, that wee durſt not ſtay. So wee made haſt to deſcend towards the towne out of the fogge and raine: becauſe that in theſe high mountaines by report of the Spaniards themſelues, it doeth almoſt continually raine. Aſſoone as we were deſcended downe neere halfe the way to the towne the raine ceaſed, and going downe a little further, on the toppe of a hill we ſaw the towne not farre diſtant from vs. Here we all cleared our muſkets: and when our colours came in ſight, we diſcharged a ſecond volee of ſhot to the great diſcouragement of the enemie. Thus we marched on a round pace. The enemie was in readineſſe a little without the towne to encounter vs on horſebacke. Being nowe fully deſcended from the mountaines wee came into a faire plaine champion fielde, without either hedge, buſh or ditch, ſauing certaine trenches which the water had made, as it deſcendeth from the mountaines. Here we ſet our ſelues in a readineſſe, ſuppoſing the enemie would haue encountered vs: but hauing pitched our maine battell, and marching forward a good round pace, captaine Beling, and captaine Roberts tooke ech of them ſome looſe ſhoot, and marched in all haſt toward the enemie before the maine battell, wherein was our generall with capt. Sommers and came to ſkirmiſh with them: but it was ſoone ended: for the enemie fled. One Spaniard was ſlaine in this ſkirmiſh, and not any one of our companies touched either with piece or arrow, God be thanked. We ſoone marched into the towne, and had it without any more reſiſtance: but there we found not the wealth that we expected: for they had conueyed all into the mountaines, except ſuch goods as they could not eaſily cary, as wine, and iron, and ſuch things. By three of the clocke

The Citie of S. Iago de Leon taken the 29. of May.

clocke in the afternoone the 29 of May, we entred the citie. Here we remained vntill the 3 of Iune without anie great diſturbance, ſauing ſometime by night they would come on horſe-backe hard vnto our Corps du guard, and finding vs vigilant, and readie for them, would depart againe.

The firſt of Iune, there came a Spaniard neere vnto vs alone: the Corps du guard perceiuing him, called our General, who ſoone came towards him: but before he approched, the Spaniard made ſignes that he ſhould lay aſide his armes: which he refuſed to doe, but promiſed as hee was a ſouldier, if he would come, hee ſhould haue free paſſage. Vpon which promiſe hee came to him on horſe-backe, and our General brought him within the towne, and there communed with him. Who demanded what he ment to do with the towne: he anſwered that he meant to remaine there and keepe it; or if he did depart from it he would burne it. The Spaniard then demanded, what the ranſome of it ſhould be. Our General required 30000 ducats. Whereunto he replied that it was very much. So hauing had ſome other conference together, hee ſhewed him that hee had bene a ſouldier in Flanders a long time, and now was ſent thither by his kings commandement. Among other things our General demanded of him, what the reaſon was they had not walled the citie, being ſo faire a thing as that was. The Spaniard replied, that hee thought it to bee ſtronger walled then anie citie in the world, meaning, by thoſe huge & high mountains which the enemie muſt paſſe ouer before he can approch it; which we found very true. Thus with many other faire ſpeeches, he tooke his leaue for that day, and told our Generall, that he would go ſpeake with the gouernour: (but it might be himſelfe, for any thing we know) howbeit becauſe our General had granted him free comming and going, he ſuffred him to depart: who before his departure, requeſted to haue a token of our General, that he might ſhew to the Gouernour how he had ſpoken with vs, or elſe he doubted, that he would not beleeue him. Wherupon our General gaue him a piece of 12 pence: ſo he departed and promiſed the next day by ten of the clocke to returne vnto vs with an anſwere: in which meane time nothing befel. The next day being the 2 of Iune, at his houre appointed, he returned wͭ his Indian running by his horſes ſide. So he was brought to the Generall, and there remained till after dinner, and dined in his company in the gouernours houſe that was. The dinner ended, with the beſt entertainement which could be giuen him, they communed again about the ranſome of the citie. Our General propoſed his old demand of 30000 ducats. The Spaniard firſt proffered him 2000, then 3000, laſt of all 4000, and more he would not giue. Our General counting it a ſmall ſumme of money among ſo many, did vtterly refuſe it. So the Spaniard departed. But before his departure our general told him, that if he came not to him againe before the next day noone, with the ranſome which he demanded, he would ſet all on fire. That whole day paſt, and the night alſo without any thing of momēt, except ſome ſhew of aſſault, by their approching towards our Corps du guard, and retiring backe againe. The 3 day being come, in the morning ſome of our company went forth, a league or more from the towne, & ſome two leagues and more vnto certaine villages thereabout, & ſet them on fire: but the enemy neuer came to reſiſt them, ſo they returned backe againe ſafe into the towne, and brought certaine Indian priſoners with them, among whom there was one which ſpake broken Spaniſh, which being examined, confeſſed vnto vs of his own accord, how the General had ſent to the other towns thereabout for aide, and that he thought they would be there with him that day. When we vnderſtood this, we grew into ſome diſtruſt of the Spaniards trechery, and thought vpon the meſſenger, how he had vſed long delayes with vs: wherupon we were commanded preſently, euery man to make ready to depart, and to fire the citie: which foorthwith was done. And after we had ſeene it all on fire, & burnt to aſhes, we tooke our leaues and ſo departed, & marched away that day being the 3 of Iune, not that way we came, but by the great beaten way. And when we had marched halfe the way towards the waters ſide, we came vnto that ſtrong baricado which they had made, and there lay all that night. Here we found the Spaniſh captaines word to be true which we tooke at the fort by the waters ſide: for this baricado was of ſuch force, that 100 men in it wel furniſhed, would haue kept backe from paſſing that way 100000: firſt by reaſon of the huge and high mountaines, next the ſteepenes of them, on both ſides, laſt of all in regard of the fine contriuing of it with the large trenches, and other munitions, which I ceaſe to recite. The fourth day of Iune in the morning wee departed from thence: but before our departure, wee ouerthrew on the one ſide of the ſteepe hill two baſes of yron, which we found there planted by the enemie, and ſo ſet forward toward our ſhips, and by 12 of the clocke came to the waters ſide, and there remayned in the fort which wee had taken before, vntill the fift day at night: in which time we laded ſome ſmall quantity of hides, and Salſa-perilla, which we found there at our firſt landing. So the fift day at night we departed from thence, to goe to a towne called Coro: but before wee departed, wee ſet fire in the fort, and all the Indians houſes that were about it, and burnt them. Then we ſet ſayle,

Certain villages about Sant Iago fired.

The citie of S. Iago burned.

A fort and certain Indians houſes by the waters ſide burnt.

and ſtanding along the coaſt, our Spaniſh guide ſignified vnto vs, that there were foure ſayles of ſhips about fiue leagues from thence, in a place called Checherebiche, and Caio, and Mani. So the 6 day in the morning we were thwart of the place, and there our generall ſent away his long boate with captaine Sommers, vnto thoſe places, where they found 3 of the ſhips: but the Spaniards had conueyed their ſailes aſhore into the woods, ſo that they could not bring them off, but ſet fire in them and burnt them. From hence we ſtood along the ſhore, ſailing vntill the ninth day of Iune, on which day toward the euening we imbarked our ſelues in our pinneſſes and ſmall carauels, to land at Coros: but we had none that knew the place certainely: wherefore we ankored that night ſome two leagues to the Eaſtward of it, and in the morning I went on land, and nine more with me, to ſee if we could diſcouer the towne, but we could not, wee went aboue a league vp into the countrey, but could not ſee any village or towne. So returning backe, wee met our Generall, with diuers others which came aſhore with him, with whom we marched into the countrey againe, but could ſee nothing, & ſo returned. At the water ſide captaine Prowſe died. There we remained all that day on land, by reaſon the wind blew ſo much that wee could not get aboord vntill the euening. After our comming aboord a boat which we ſent into the bay, returned and brought vs newes, that there rode a barke within the bay, and by all likelyhood the towne ſhould be there. So preſently our Generall went into the bay with the Derling and ſome of the ſmall carauels. The tenth day in the morning, the reſt of our ſhipping came into the bay, and our men landed the ſame day, about 10 or 11 of the clocke in the night, & ſo marched on toward the towne: but in the way they had made baricados, and kept them very ſtrongly. Notwithſtanding the courage of our men was ſuch, as that they feared nothing, and forced them to leaue their forces, and flie. Hauing wonne this baricado they there remained vntill the next day being the 11 of Iune, and then early in the morning they marched on towards the towne, where by the way, the enemie often times came to ſkirmiſh with them, but alwayes fled. In fine they wan the towne without any great loſſe of men, God be thanked. Hauing gotten the town, they found nothing in it at all; for they had intelligence from Sant Iago, how wee had vſed them before, which cauſed them to conuey all their goods into the mountaines and woods: finding nothing in it, our Generall cauſed it to be ſet on fire, thinking it not good to remaine there, but to returne againe, backe to the ſhips: and the greateſt cauſe was by reaſon of the departure of captaine Sommers: who the day before in a moſt furious tempeſt, being in the pinneſſe, with ſome 50 men at anker, had his cables broken and loſt all his ankers, and ſo was faine to put to ſea to ſaue himſelfe, otherwiſe they had bene in danger of periſhing. Thus our General and his company, returned backe againe the twelfth day and imbarked themſelues, and departed away with all ſpeede to ſeeke captaine Sommers. The 13 toward night, hee came where captaine Sommers was, and found him riding, but not by anie ankers, but by two baſes, which they had made for to ſtay their barke by: at which meeting the company was very glad. Then they determined to go into a mighty great bay, to a towne called Laguna: but the bay was ſo deepe and ſhould withall, that we returned backe againe, after wee had ſtood in two daies & a night. So we ſayled ouer toward the Iſle of Hiſpaniola the ſixteenth of Iune: and the twentieth day we ſaw it. The 21 we ankored vnder Cape Tiburon. Here we watered, and ſtayed vntill the 25 of the ſame. After our departure out of the bay of Laguna, a great ſicknes fell among our fleete, and there died about eighty men of the ſame. This ſickneſſe was the fluxe of the bellie, which is a common diſeaſe in that countrey. We remayned about this Iſland vntill the eight and twentieth of this moneth. Then we departed from thence, and the ſecond of Iuly arriued at the Iſland of Iamaica. Before our comming hither, the three ſhips of Hampton had forſaken vs, and left our company. And the Derling wherein was captaine Iones, was ſent to diſcouer ſome other ſecret matter, in which diſcouery the valiant gentleman ended his life. So our whole fleete was now but our generall, with captaine Sommers, and a ſmall pinneſſe. We ſtayed at this Iſle of Iamaica vntil the ſixt of Iuly, in which meane time we landed to ſee if we could kill any beeues, but we could not, they were ſo wild: here is great ſtore of them, and great plenty of freſh-fiſh. We departed hence the 6 of Iuly, and paſſed by the Iſlands, called Caimanes, and the Iſle de Pinos, and the 12 of the ſaid moneth by Cape de Corrientes where we watered, and the ſame night, wee ſet ſaile towards the cape of S. Anthony, being the weſtermoſt part of the Iſle of Cuba. The 13 day in the morning we were vnder this cape, and the ſame day we met with the honourable knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, returning from his paineful, and happie diſcouery of Guiana, and his ſurpriſe of the Iſle of Trinidad. So with glad hearts, wee kept him and his fleete of three ſhips company till the twentieth day at night, what time we loſt them. In all which time nothing of moment fell out, ſaue that we gaue chaſe to a couple of frigats, but could not fetch them.

Three Spaniſh ſhips burnt.

A baricado woon.

The towne of Coros taken & burnt.

The bay of Laguna.

Hiſpaniola.

Iamaica.

The death of captaine Iones.

Cape de Corrientes.

Afterward we plyed to recouer Hauana, vntill the fiue and twentieth of Iuly: then we ſet our courſe for the head of the Martyrs, the 27 we were in ſight of them. The 28 wee entred the gulfe of Bahama: then we ſet our courſe homeward toward Newfoundland, but we could not fetch it, but were on the Banke, and tooke fiſh there the 20 day of Auguſt. The ſame night we ſet ſayle to come home, by reaſon the wind was contrary to goe in with Newfoundland. So the tenth day of September, we arriued in ſafety (God be thanked) in Milford hauen in Wales, hauing performed ſo long a voyage in the ſpace of ſixe moneths, or ſomewhat leſſe.

The Banke of Newfoundland.

The voyage truely diſcourſed, made by ſir *Francis Drake*, and ſir *Iohn Hawkins*, chiefly pretended for ſome ſpeciall ſeruice on the Iſlands and maine of the *Weſt Indies*, with ſixe of the Queenes ſhips, and 21 other ſhippes and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foreſayd knights died by ſickneſſe.

WEe brake ground out of the ſound of Plimmouth on Thurſday the 28 of Auguſt, and that night ankored againe in Cauſon bay, where we rode till Friday. Then we ſet ſayle and ſtoode Southweſt: and about three of the clocke the next morning the Hope, wherein ſir Thomas Baskeruil went, ſtrake vpon the Edy ſtone, and ſhot off a piece, but after cleared herſelfe wel enough.

On Munday at ſixe of the clocke in the morning the landes end bare Northweſt and by North, and then we ſtoode away Southweſt and by South for the coaſt of Spaine.

The 8 of September we tooke two ſmall Flemiſh fliboats bound for Barbary; which we caried a while with vs and afterward diſmiſſed them without doing them any harme: only wee learned newes of them, and ſtayed them from diſcrying our fleete to the enemie.

The 26 we ſaw Forteuentura, being one of the Iſlands of the Canaries.

The 27 being Saturday by breake of day we had ouer-ſhot the chiefe towne of Grand Canaria to the Northeaſt, and then ſtood about for it againe, and by nine of the clocke were at anker fayre before the fort to the Eaſtward of the towne ſome league. At one of the clocke wee offred to land one thouſand and foure hundreth men in the ſandie bay betwixt the fort and the towne: But by our detracting of the time they had made a bulwarke in the ſandie bay and planted Ordinance: ſo that by reaſon thereof, and the great breach of the ſea that went then on ſhore we were not able to land without endangering our whole forces, which our General would not doe. There were of Spaniards horſemen and footmen ſome 900. which played vpon vs out of their trenches, most of them being ſhot. At the time of our landing there went by commandement of our Generals within muſket ſhot of the ſhore, & rode there at ankor ſome three houres, the Salomon, the Bonauenture, the Elizabeth Conſtance, the Phenix, the Iuell, the Little Iohn, the Delight, the Pegaſus, the Exchange, the Francis, the carauell, and the two catches: But when the Generall ſir Francis Drake gaue ouer the landing being in his barge, the ſhips weighed being in ſome danger, and ſtoode off againe to the great ſhips. Then we went to the Weſt end of the Iſland and there watered: where captaine Grimſton going vp the hill with 6 or 7 in his company was ſet vpon by the herdmen, who with their dogs and ſtaues killed the captaine and three or foure of his company: the reſt were ſore wounded: the Salomons Chirurgian taken priſoner, who diſcloſed our pretended voyage as much as in him lay: ſo as the Viceroy ſent a carauel of aduiſo into the Indies, vnto all ſuch places as wee did pretend to goe to. Howbeit they had intelligence from the king of all our voyage the eight of Auguſt, which was three weekes before we ſet foorth of England: as alſo by a Fleming that had ſeene all our prouiſion at London.

The 28 being Sunday at ten of the clocke at night wee ſet ſaile, and ſtood away Southweſt and Southſouthweſt ſome 200 leagues, vntil we came in the height of the Iſlands of Cape Verde, and then more Weſterly for Martinino, one of the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies, which we ſaw the 27 of October: but the night before we had a ſtorme, in which ſir Francis with foure or fiue other ſhips bearing on head of the fleete was ſeparated. Then we ſtood for Dominica, an Iſland full of inhabitants of the race of the Canibals, not paſt ten leagues diſtant from Martinino. In it groweth great ſtore of Tabacco: where moſt of our Engliſh and French men barter kniues, hatchets, ſawes, and ſuch like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco.

Dominica.

Before we came to Dominica our Generall Sir Francis Drake altered his courſe, and went for Marigalante, which we had ſight of the 28 day, and came to an anker on the Northeaſt ſide a ſaker ſhot off the ſhore in 13 fathomes water faire ſholding. There the Generall went on ſhore in his barge, and by chance met a Canoa of Dominicans, to the people whereof he gaue a yellow waſtcoate of flanell and an hankerchiefe; and they gaue him ſuch fruits as they had, and the Dominicanes rowed to Dominica againe. They came thither to fetch ſome fruits which they ſowe and plant in diuers places of that Iland, which they keepe like gardens.

The next morning by breake of day we weyed and ſtoode betweene the Todos Santos, which are 4 or 5 little Ilands betweene Guadalupe and Dominica. There is nothing vpon theſe Ilands but wood. We came to the Southeaſt ſide of Guadalupe and there ankered hard aboord the ſhore: the Southweſt ſide of the Iland is deepe water and good ankorage: where that day ſir Iohn Hawkins came to vs againe ſtanding vp from the South ſide of Dominica. There we watered, waſhed our ſhips, ſet vp our pinneſſes, and refreſhed our ſouldiers on ſhore.

The 30 captaine Wignol in the Francis, a barke of 35 tunnes, being the ſternmoſt of ſir Iohn Hawkins fleete was chaſed by fiue of the king of Spaines frigats or Zabras being ſhips of 200 tunnes a piece, which came of purpoſe with 3 other Zabras for the treaſure of S. Iuan de Puerto rico: The Francis going roome with them, ſuppoſing they had bene our owne fleete, was by them taken in ſight of our carauel. They left the Francis driuing in the ſea with 3 or 4 hurt and ſicke men, and tooke the reſt of our men into their ſhips, as the priſoners which wee tooke at S. Iuan de Puerto rico told vs.

The 4 of Nouember we began to vnlade the Richard, one of our victuallers, which was by the next day vnladen, vnrigged and then ſunken. Then we ſtood Northweſt & by North: and the next morning ſaw the Ilands of Monſerrata, Redonda, Eſtazia, S. Chriſtopher and Saba. The biggeſt of theſe Ilands is not paſt 8 leagues long. There is good ankorage in 8, 7, and 5 fadomes water faire white ſand. Then we ſtood away Southweſt, and on the 8 in the morning being Saturday came to an anker ſome 7 or 8 leagues off within certain broken Ilands called las Virgines, which haue bene accounted dangerous: but we found there a very good rode, had it bene for a 1000 ſails of ſhips in 14, 12, and 8 fadomes faire ſand and good ankorage, high Ilands on either ſide, but no freſh water that we could find: here is much fiſh to be taken with hockes and nets: alſo we ſtayed on ſhore and fowled. Here ſir Iohn Hawkins was extreme ſicke; which his ſicknes began vpon newes of the taking of the Francis. The 18 day wee weyed and ſtoode North and by Eaſt into a leſſer ſound, which ſir Francis in his barge diſcouered the night before, and ankored in 13 fadoms, hauing hie ſteepe hils on either ſide, ſome league diſtant from our firſt riding.

The death of ſir Iohn Hawkins.

The 12 in the morning we weied and ſet ſayle into the ſea due South through a ſmall ſtreite but without danger, and then ſtode Weſt and by North for S. Iuan de Puerto rico, and in the afternoone left the 3 ſmall Ilands called The paſſages to the Southward of vs, and that night came vp to the Eaſtermoſt end of S. Iohn, where ſir Iohn Hawkins departed this life: vpon whoſe deceaſe ſir Thomas Baskeruil preſently went into the Garland. At 2 of the clocke we came to anker at the eſtermoſt ſide of the chiefe towne called Puerto rico in a ſandie bay 2 miles off: where we receiued from their forts and places where they planted Ordinance ſome 28 great ſhot, the laſt of which ſtrake the admirall through the miſen, and the laſt but one ſtrake through her quarter into the ſterage, the Generall being there at ſupper, and ſtrake the ſtoole from vnder him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the ſame table ſir Nicholas Clifford, M. Browne, captaine Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and maſter Browne died of their hurts.

Then wee ſet ſayle and ſtood to the Eaſtward, and at midnight tacked about to the Weſt, and in the morning came to an anker before the point without the towne, a little to the Weſtwards by the 3 Ilands.

The fight at S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

The 13 we rode ſtill vntill night, when in the beginning with twenty fiue pinneſſes, boats and ſhallops manned and furniſhed with fire-workes and ſmall ſhot wee went into the rode within the great caſtels, and in deſpite of them fired the fiue Zabras or frigats, all ſhips of two hundreth tunnes the piece or more, quite burning the Rereadmirall downe to the water, which was the greateſt ſhippe of them all, and alſo mightily ſpoiled the admirall and vice admirall, notwithſtanding the caſtles and ſhips gaue vs a hundreth eightie and fiue great ſhot, beſides ſmall ſhot abundance. They had alſo ſunke a great ſhippe in the mouth of the chanell and rafted it ouer with her maſtes almoſt to the very fortes and caſtles, ſo as they thought it impregnable. The frigats had in each of them twenty pieces of braſſe, and a hundreth barrels of powder. Their chiefe lading that they brought thither was ſilke, oyle, and wine. The treaſure which they went to fetch, which was brought thither in a ſhip called the Vigonia, was conueyed into the ſtrongeſt and ſureſt caſtell of defence; being, as one of the priſoners confeſſed, three millions of ducats or fiue and thirty tunnes of ſiluer. Alſo they had ſent all the women, children, and vnable perſons into the woods, and left none but ſouldiers and fighting men in the towne. The fight on our ſide was reſolute, hote, and dangerous: wherein wee loſt ſome forty or fifty men, and ſo many were hurt. There was alſo great death of the Spaniards aboord the frigats, with burning, drowning, and killing, and beſides ſome taken priſoners.

The 14 we rode ſtil, being within ſhot of the vttermoſt caſtell: but they fearing the next night we would come in againe, began to warpe vp the other 4 frigats, beginning firſt with the Admirall: which whether by chance or their owne willes wee ſaw to ſinke; and as wee ſuppoſe ſo did they with all the reſt, or elſe by ſtealth got vp farther within their chiefeſt forces.

The 15 alſo we rode ſtill, and at afternoone wee eſpied a carauell comming from the caſtell point: but before our pinneſſes could fetch her vp, ſhe ranne on ſhore, where our boates could not come at her becauſe of the breach, and alſo many of the Iſlanders came downe to guard her with ſhot. The beginning of this night we weyed, and ſtoode one houre to the Eaſt, and then tacked about to the Weſt.

The 16 being Sunday, and the 17 alſo we were becalmed.

The 18 we ankered a little to the Southward of the Southweſt point of the Iſland, giuing the point a birth becauſe of a ſhoald of ſand that lieth ſome two cables length off: there we rode in foure, fiue, and ſixe fadomes faire white ſand, where wee ſet vp more pinneſſes, waſhed our ſhips, and refreſhed our men on ſhore. Here the Generall tooke a pinneſſe of Hiſpaniola with diuers letters, ſignifying that two Engliſhmen of warre had done great hurt along their Iſland.

The 20 the Generall rowed to the Phenix, the Delight and the carauell, and cauſed them to wey and anker right againſt the mouth of a freſh riuer in two fadomes water in ozie ſand to the Southward of the other ſhips ſome league or more. The Generall went into this riuer three or foure leagues vp, and tooke horſes in the countrey. Sir Thomas Baskeruil rowed vp the riuer and ſtayed there all night, and went vp into the land three or foure leagues.

The 23 wee diſcharged a barke called the Pulpit and burnt her: and at three of the clocke that afternoone, when we were ready to ſet ſaile, there came aboord the Defiance our Admiral, a Spaniard with his wife, who feared ſome great torment for not hauing repaired to the towne according to the Generals commandement of that Iſland, who had commanded that all able men of the fleete ſhould repaire to the towne to defend it againſt vs. Then we ſtood againe Weſt and by North; becauſe of a ledge of rocks that lie ſunke 4 or 5 leagues off the Southſide of the Iſland.

The 25 we ſtood away Southweſt, and ſaw Mona being a lowe flat Iſland betweene Hiſpaniola and S. Iuan de Puerto rico. That day the Exchange of captaine Winter ſpent her boultſprite; and in the beginning of the night the Phenix was ſent backe to ſeeke her: which by Gods help that night met with her, and kept her company vntil the next morning, then taking in a ſmall cable from her for a towe: but by 9 that morning ſhe ſpent her maine maſt and ſplit her foreyard, breaking alſo her tow: ſo as they were faine to ſaue ſome trifles out of her and the men, and to ſinke the hull. Then we ſtood away South and South and by Weſt after the fleete: and the 26 in the morning had ſight of the fleete againe.

Mona.

The 29 we had ſight of the Iſland called Curaçao within 8 leagues of the maine, and on the Northweſt ſide came to an anker in very deepe water hard aboord the ſhore without any danger: but the Generall weyed preſently and ſtoode away Northweſt and by Weſt, and Northnorthweſt for the maine, and that night ſaw Aruba, being ſomewhat a leſſe Iſland then the other: we left it ſome three leagues to the Southward of vs.

The Iſle of Curazao.

Aruba.

On Sunday morning being the laſt of Nouember wee ſaw three or foure little Iſlands called the Monjes, betwixt Aruba and the next North point of the maine. At 12 of the clocke we ſawe the maine, where we ſaw a great current ſetting to the Weſtward, and alſo the water changing very white. The Phenix, the carauell, and one of the catches kept within, and at midnight came vnder Cape de la Vela, and made a fire, whereby the reſt of the fleete came to anker vnder the Cape, where is a very good rode, faire ſholding and ſandie ground, fourteene, twelue, and tenne fadoms neere the ſhore. Toe Cape is a bare land without trees or ſhrubs, and falleth in eight or ten leagues Southeaſt and Northweſt: and a ſaker ſhot off the point ſtandeth a little Iſland like Meweſtone neere Plimmouth, but ſomewhat bigger. In the morning the firſt of December wee imbarked all our ſouldiers for Rio de la Hacha, which is a towne twenty leagues to the Weſtwards, one of the ancienteſt in all the maine, although not very bigge: but it ſtandeth in a moſt fertile and pleaſant ſoyle. Our men tooke it by ten of the clock in the night. The ſhips bearing all that night and the day before in 5 and 6 fadomes, the leſſer ſhips in 2 fadomes and an halfe water: the Phenix went ſo neere the ſhore by the Generals commandement, that ſhee ſtrake on ground, but got off againe. There lieth to the Eaſtward of the towne a mile or thereabout a ſhold of ſand: therefore giue a birth ſome halfe league or more before you come right againſt the town. There wee came to anker in two fadomes, but the great ſhips rode off in fiue and ſixe fadomes.

Monjes.

Cape de la Vela.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

A ſhold of ſand

A freſh riuer.

There is a freſh riuer about a bow-ſhot to the Eaſtward of the towne; whereinto our pinneſſes could ſcarſe enter by reaſon of a barre of ſand in the riuers mouth, but within it is nauigable for barkes of twenty or thirty tunnes ſome ſixe or eight leagues vp.

La Rancheria taken.

The ſixth day the Spaniards came in to talke about the ranſome of the towne, but not to the Generall his liking: and that night Sir Thomas Baskeruil marched vp into the countrey to ouer-runne thoſe parts: and the Generall the ſame night with ſome hundreth and fiftie men went by water ſixe leagues to the Eaſtward, and tooke the Rancheria a fiſher towne, where they drag for pearle. The people all fled except ſome ſixteene or twenty ſouldiers, which fought a little, but ſome were taken priſoners, beſides many Negros, with ſome ſtore of pearles and other pillage. In the houſes we refreſhed our ſelues, and were all imbarked to come away, and then had ſight of a brigandine or a dredger, which the Generall tooke within one houres chaſe with his two barges: ſhe had in her Indie-wheat, which we call Maiz, and ſome ſiluer and pearle, but of ſmall value.

On Saturday the ſeuenth, maſter Yorke captaine of the Hope dyed of ſicknes, and then maſter Thomas Drake the Generals brother was made captaine of the Hope, and maſter Ionas Bodenham captaine of the Aduenture, and maſter Charles Cæſar captaine of the Amitie.

The tenth day the Spaniards concluded for the ranſome of the towne for 24000 ducats, and one priſoner promiſed to pay for his ranſome 4000 ducats.

The fourteenth day they brought in the townes ranſome in pearles, but rated ſo deare as the Generall after conference with them, miſliking it, ſent it backe againe, giuing them foure houres reſpite to cleere themſelues with their treaſure.

The ſixteenth the gouernour came into the towne about dinner, and vpon conference with the Generall told him plainely, that he cared not for the towne, neither would he ranſome it: and that the pearle was brought in without his command or conſent, and that his detracting of time ſo long was onely to ſend the other townes word, that were not of force to withſtand vs, whereby they might conuey all their goods, cattell, and wealth into the woods out of danger. So the Generall gaue the gouernour leaue to depart according to promiſe, hauing two houres to withdraw himſelfe in ſafety.

Tapia taken.

Sallamca burnt.

The ſeuenteenth Sir Thomas Baskeruil with the Elizabeth Conſtance, the Phenix, the carauel with foure or fiue pinneſſes went ſome fiue leagues to the Weſtward, & landing, marched ſome foure leagues vp into the countrey to a place called Tapia, which he tooke & burned certain villages and ferme houſes about it. He had ſome reſiſtance as he paſſed ouer a riuer, but had but one man hurt, which he brought aboord aliue with him: he marched one league farther and burnt a village called Sallamca, and ſo returned with ſome priſoners, the ſouldiers hauing gotten ſome pillage.

The 18 the Rancheria, and the towne of Rio de la Hacha were burnt cleane downe to the ground, the Churches and a Ladies houſe onely excepted, which by her letters written to the Generall was preſerued. That day wee ſet ſayle and fell to lee-ward, to meete with Sir Thomas Baskeruil.

Cape de Aguja.

Santa Martha taken.

The 19 we weighed and ſtood to leeward for Cape de Aguja, which the twentieth at ſunne riſing we ſaw. It is a Cape ſubiect much to flawes, by reaſon it is a very hie land: and within the cape lieth an Iſland within the mouth of the ſound, which hath a white cliffe or ſpot in the Weſtnorthweſt part of the Iſland. The land all about the cape riſeth all in homocks or broken ſteepie hils. A league Southweſt within that, (for ſo falleth the land thereabout) there ſtandeth on the top of a cliffe a watch-houſe: and a little within that a ſmall Iſland: you may goe in betweene the maine and it, or to leeward if you luſt: and hard within that is the rode and towne of Santa Martha, which at 11 of the clocke we tooke, the people all being fled, except a few Spaniards, Negros & Indiãs, which in a brauado at our landing gaue vs ſome 30 or 40 ſhot, & ſo ran away.

That night their Lieutenant generall was taken and ſome little pillage brought in out of the woods: for in the town nothing was left but the houſes ſwept clean. In all the main is not a richer place for gold: for the hops were mixt with the earth in euery place, and alſo in the ſand a little to the leewards of the towne. In the bay wee had a bad rode by reaſon of a ſmall moone, for euery ſmall moone maketh foule weather all the maine along.

The 21, the Generall cauſed the towne to be burnt, and all the ſhips to wey, and ſtood out, many of the ſouldiers being imbarked where the Generall had appointed, in the ſmall ſhips which rode neereſt the ſhore. We loſt that night the company of the Phenix, captaine Auſtin, Peter Lemond, and the Garlands pinneſſe, which ſtood along the ſhore, and being chaſed off by gallies out of Carthagena Peter Lemond with nine of our men was taken, the reſt came ſafe to our fleete.

The 26 we ſaw the Ilands ſome twelue leagues to the Eaſtward of Nombre de Dios ſtanding in toward the ſhore, but toward night we ſtood to the offin vntill the next day.

The 27 we came into the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clocke tooke the towne, the people being all fled except ſome 100 Spaniards, which kept the Fort, and played vpon vs, hauing in the fort ſome 3 or 4 ſmall pieces of ordinance, and one of them brake in diſcharging at vs. They gaue vs alſo a voley of ſmall ſhot: but ſeeing our reſolution in running vpon them they all fled and tooke the woods.

Nombre de Dios taken.

The towne was bigge, hauing large ſtreetes, houſes very hie, all built of timber, but one Church very faire and large wrought all of timber likewiſe. Nothing was left in the towne of value: there was a ſhew in their ſhops of great ſtore of marchandiſes that had bene there. There was a mill aboue the towne, and vpon the toppe of another hill in the woods ſtood a little watch-houſe, where we tooke twentie ſowes of ſiluer, two barres of gold, ſome money in coyne, beſides other pillage.

The towne was ſituated in a waterie ſoile, and ſubiect much to raine, very vnhealthy as any place in the Indies, hauing great ſtore of Orenges, plantans, caſſauy-roots, & ſuch other fruits; but very dangerous to be eaten for breeding of diſeaſes. To the Eaſtwarde of the towne within the bay runneth out a freſh riuer of excellent good water, with houſes, and all about it gardens: halfe a league from hence due Eaſt into the countrey was an Indian towne, whither as we marched a little before our comming away with an hundred men they had broken downe a bridge to hinder our paſſage, where they lay in ambuſh with ſome twentie or thirtie ſmall ſhot, and bowes and arrowes, ſet vpon vs, and killed Lieutenant Iones, hurt three or foure and ſo fled into the woods, ranne before vs and fired their owne towne, and then fled farther into the woods: our men fired diuerſe other houſes in purſuing them, and ſo returned againe: our Generall with Sir Thomas being in the Riuers mouth with thirtie or fortie men filling water about ſome myle from vs.

An Indian towne fired.

The road of Nombre de Dios is a faire road: but on each ſide, as you come to ride before the towne, lyeth a ledge of rockes, but there is no danger becauſe they are in ſight. You may ride betweene them in three or foure fadome water, and without if you will in eight or ten fadomes, where neither Caſtle nor Fort can annoy you. The name of Nombre de Dios was greater then their ſtrength. For they had no Caſtle nor Fort, but onely the little fort aforeſaid ſtanding on the top of an hill, although they might haue made it ſtronger if they would.

The 29 ſir Thomas Baskeruil with 750 armed men, beſides Chirurgians and prouand boyes, went for Panama.

The laſt of December the Generall burned halfe the towne, and the firſt of Ianuarie burnt the reſt, with all the Frigats, Barks & Galiots, which were in the harbour and on the beach on ſhore, hauing houſes built ouer them to keepe the pitch from melting.

The ſecond of Ianuary ſir Thomas returned with his ſouldiers both weary and hungry, hauing marched more then halfe the way to the South ſea. The Spaniards played diuers times vpon vs both outward and homeward in the woods, the way being cut out of the woods & rockes both very narrow, and full of myre and water. The march was ſo ſore as neuer Engliſh man marched before. Hauing marched ſome ten leagues in a maruellous ſtraite way, vpon the top of an hill, through which we muſt needes paſſe, the Spaniards had ſet vp a Fort and kept it with ſome 80 or 90 men, who played vpon vs as we came vp, before wee were aware of them, and ſo killed ſome twentie or more of vs, amongſt whom was Captaine Marchant quarter-maſter Generall, and Enſigne Sampſon, Maurice Williams one of her Maieſties guard, beſides diuerſe were hurt, as M. Captaine Nicholas Baskeruil a valiant gentleman, with diuers others. Then ſir Thomas had perfect knowledge that they muſt paſſe two ſuch Forts more, if he got that, beſides Panama to be very ſtrong, the enemie knowing of our comming long before.

Alſo our ſouldiers had no victuals left, nor any meanes to get more: which conſiderations cauſed ſir Thomas to returne and giue ouer his attempt. As he marched thitherward he tooke an Indian and ſent him to Nombre de Dios with letters of his returne and proceeding.

The 5 we ſet ſaile at 12 of the clocke, and ſtood to the Weſtward.

The 10 day we ſaw an Iland lying Weſtward ſome 30 leagues called Eſcudo, where wee came to anker on the Southſide in 12 fadoms water, faire ſand and good ankorage. If you come into the Eaſterne point, giue it a birth, becauſe of a ledge of rockes, that lyeth out there from the end of the Iſland: comming to anker we ſawe a roader, who ſeeing vs, ſet ſayle, but that night with our Pinneſſes we tooke him, he had nothing in him but a little maiz. The men being examined by the Generall confeſſed him to be an Aduiſor ſent from Nombre de Dios to all the ports along

The Ile of Eſcudo.

along the coaſt Weſtward. This Iland lyeth 9 or 10 leagues from the maine, & is not paſt two leagues long full of wood, and hath great ſtore of freſh water in euery part of the Iland, and that very good. It is a ſickly climat alſo, and giuen to much raine: here we waſhed our ſhips, and ſet vp the reſt of our Pinneſſes.

The 15 day captaine Plat died of ſickneſſe, and then ſir Francis Drake began to keepe his cabin, and to complaine of a ſcowring or fluxe.

The 23 we ſet ſaile and ſtood vp again for Puerto Bello, which is but 3 leagues to the Weſtwards of Nombre de Dios.

The death of ſir Francis Drake

The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall ſir Francis Drake departed this life, hauing bene extremely ſicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to ſtop on him. He vſed ſome ſpeeches at or a little before his death, riſing and apparelling himſelfe, but being brought to bed againe within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Ionas Bodenham executors, and M. Thomas Drakes ſonne his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gaue to captaine Bodenham.

Puerto Bello.

The ſame day we ankored at Puerto Bello, being the beſt harbour we found al along the maine both for great ſhips and ſmall. There ſtandeth a ſaker ſhot off the ſhore at the Easterne point a little Iland: and there is betwixt the maine & that 5 or 6 fadomes: but the beſt comming in is the open mouth betwixt that Iland & another Iland that lyeth to the weſtward with a range of rocks.

In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houſes, beſides a great new houſe which they were in building for the Gouernour that ſhould haue bene for that place: there was alſo a very ſtrong Fort all to the waters ſide with flankers of great trees and ſtones filled with earth betweene: and had not our comming diſappointed their pretence, they would haue made it one of the ſtrongeſt places in all the maine. There they ment to haue builded a great towne. We found there three pieces of braſſe ordinance ſunke in the ſea, which we weighed vp, all the people were fled and their goods carried away.

Vp within this bay there was a little village but of no force, where we found a great freſh riuer, our men rowing vp ſome two leagues found pillage, as wine and oyle, and ſome ſmall quantitie of yron. After our comming hither to anker, and the ſolemne buriall of our Generall ſir Francis in the ſea: Sir Thomas Baskeruill being aboord the Defiance, where M. Bride made a ſermon, hauing to his audience all the captaines in the fleete, ſir Thomas commanded all aboord the Garland, with whom he held a Councell, & there ſhewing his Commiſſion was accepted for Generall, & captain Bodenham made captaine of the Defiance, & M. Sauill captaine of yͤ Aduenture.

The 27 died captaine Ioſias of the Delight, and captaine Egerton a Gentleman of the Foreſight, and Iames Wood chiefe chirurgion of the fleete out of the Garland.

The 28 died Abraham Kendall out of the Saker. At this place we watered againe waſhed our ſhips & made new ſailes, it being by the Generall and all the captaines agreed, that if we could by any meanes turne vp againe for Santa Martha, we ſhould, if not, to goe directly for England. Here alſo we tooke in ſome balaſt as our neede required.

The 6 of Februarie the Elizabeth of M. Wattes was diſcharged and ſunke, and that day the Pegaſus iolly was going on ſhore for water, carying no guarde: The Spaniards perceiuing it came downe vpon them, killed two of them, and tooke 2 or 3 priſoners, and ſo ranne vp into the woods againe.

The ſeuenth the Delight and captaine Edens frigat were diſcharged and ſunke becauſe they were old and leaked, and the Queenes ſhips wanted saylers.

That day our men being muſtered we had ſicke and whole 2000. And the next day we ſet on ſhore all our priſoners as Spaniards and Negros. But before at our firſt comming to Puerto Bello ſir Thomas ſent two of thoſe Spaniards to Nombre de Dios and to Panama to fetch ranſome for ſome of the chiefeſt priſoners, but they neuer returned againe. As we were ſetting ſaile there came one with a flagge of truce, and told the General that they had taken 18 of our men, and that they were well vſed, adding that if he would ſtay 8 or 10 dayes longer they ſhould be brought from Panama. We ſuppoſed this to haue bene but a delay to haue kept vs there while the kings forces had come about by ſea, as they dayly expected. We ſet ſaile the 8 of Februarie, turning vp for Santa Martha, and the 14 day we ſaw the Ilands of Baru ſome 14 leagues to the Weſtward of Carthagena: The Generall that night told vs he would ſtand in for the towne of Baru in the bay: but that night blew ſo much winde and continued that ſmall moone, that the ſame night we loſt the Foreſight, and the next day ſtanding againe to make the land which we had made, we loſt companie of the Suſan Parnel, The Helpe, and the Pegaſus. Then the next day we put ouer for Cape S. Antonie, and gaue ouer Santa Martha.

The 25 we ſaw the Iland of Grand Cayman ſome 30 leagues to the Northweſtward of Iamaica, being a low ſandie Iland, hauing many tortoyſes about it.

The Grand Cayman.

The 26 we ſaw the hie land of Cuba to the Eaſtward of the broken Ilands, to the Eaſt of the Iland of Pinos, and were imbayed in among thoſe dangerous places. But perceiuing it, we ſtood out againe Southſoutheaſt and ſo got cleere, and then ſtood away Weſt and by North for the Ile of Pinos, which we ſaw the firſt of March. It is a low land with wood and freſh water to the Weſtern end. If you come in with the middeſt of it you ſhall ſee riſe vp aboue the reſt of the land 8 or 9 round homockes, and the Weſtermoſt hath three in one.

The Ile of Pinos.

Being ſhot foorth with the Weſt end, and ſtanding in for to water we eſpied 20 ſayle of ſhips about one in the afternone. This was a third part of the fleete which the king ſent for Carthagena, the reſt of the fleete being gone for the Honduras. They were in all 60 ſailes ſent onely to meete our fleete, being commanded whereſoeuer they heard we were, to come vpon vs with all their three forces. This fleete which we met withall came ſtanding for Cape de los Corrientes, and had bene refreſhed at Hauana.

Aſſoone as they diſcried vs, they kept cloſe vpon a tacke, thinking to get the winde of vs: but we weathered them. And when our Admirall with all the reſt of our fleet were right in the winds eye of them, ſir Thomas Baskeruil putting out the Queenes armes, and all the reſt of our fleete their brauerie, bare roome with them, and commanded the Defiance not to ſhoot, but to keepe cloſe by to ſecond him. The Viceadmirall of the Spaniards being a greater ſhip then any of ours, and the beſt ſayler in all their fleete loofed vp and gaue the Concord the two firſt great ſhot, which ſhe repayed preſently againe, thus the fight began. The Bonauenture bare full with her, ringing her ſuch a peale of ordinance and ſmall ſhot withall, that he left her with torne ſides. The Admirall alſo made no ſpare of powder and ſhot. But the Defiance in the middeſt of the Spaniſh fleete thundering of her ordinance and ſmall ſhot continued the fight to the end. So that the Viceadmirall with 3 or 4 of her conſorts were forced to tacke about to the Eaſtward, leauing their admirall and the reſt of the fleete, who came not ſo hotly into the fight as they did. The fight continued two houres & better. At ſunne ſet all the fleete tacked about to the Eaſtward, we continued our courſe to the Weſtward for cape de los Corrientes, ſuppoſing we ſhould haue met with more of their conſorts. In this conflict in the Defiance we had fiue men ſlaine, three Engliſh men, a Greeke and a Negro. That night ſome halfe houre after, their fleete keeping vpon their weather quarter, we ſaw a mightie ſmoke riſe out of one of their great ſhips which ſtayed behind: which happened by meanes of powder as we thinke, and preſently after ſhe was all on a light fire, and ſo was conſumed and all burnt, as we might well perceiue.

The fight betweene the Engliſh and the Spaniſh fleetes.

One of the Spaniſh great ſhips burnt.

The next day being the ſecond of March in the morning by breake of day we were hard aboord Cape de los Corrientes, which is a bare low cape, hauing a buſh of trees higher then the reſt ſome mile to the Eaſtward of the cape. All Cuba is full of wood on the Southſide. The Spaniſh fleete which then were but 14 no more then we were, kept ſtill vpon our weather quarter, but dared not to come roome with vs although our Admirall ſtayed for them. Aſſoone as we had cleered our ſelues of the Cape 3 of their beſt ſaylers came roome with the Salomon, which was ſo neere the land that ſhe could not double the Cape, but tacked about to the Eaſtward, & ſo was both a ſterne and alſo to leeward of all our fleete: But when we ſaw the Spaniards working, the Defiance tacked about to reſcue her: which the Spaniards ſeeing, & hauing not forgotten the fight which ſhe made the night before, they loofed vp into the middeſt of their fleete againe, and then all the fleete ſtayed vntill the Salomon came vp, and ſo ſtood along for Cape S. Antonio, which wee came in ſight of by two in the after noone, being a low cape alſo, and to the Southweſt a white ſandie bay where 3 or 4 ſhips may very well water. There is a good road for North & Eaſterly windes: there the Spaniardes began to fall a ſterne. That night wee ſtood away a glaſſe or two Northweſt, and Northnorthweſt, and Northeaſt, and in the morning-watch South, and in the morning had ſight of Cuba about the Eaſt part of the Organes, which are dangerous rocks lying 8 leagues off vpon the North part of Cuba, preſently aſſoone as you paſſe Cape S. Anthonie: then we ſtood to the Eaſtward of the land, the winde at Southſouthweſt, and at 6 at night had foule weather, but after were becalmed all night. The 5 the winde came ſcant. The 7 we ſawe a hie land like a crowne, which appeareth ſo 13 or 14 leagues to the Weſtward of Hauana, and another place in Cuba called The Table, 8 leagues to the Eaſtward of the crowne. The land ouer Hauana maketh two ſmall mountaines like a womans breaſts or paps. Here we found no great current vntill we came to the Gulfe of Bahama.

Cape Sant Antonio.

The Crowne.

The 10 we ſaw the Cape of Florida being but a reaſonable low land and broken Ilands to the Southward of the Cape. And at two in the afternoone we loſt ſight of the land 12 leagues to

The cape of Florida.

the Northward of the Cape. After we had diſemboqued, we ſtood Weſt till midnight, and were in 28 degrees, and then ſtood Northeaſt till the 13 at night, when we were in 31 degrees. And after the wind ſcanted with a great ſtorme, in which we loſt the Bonauenture, and the Little Iohn, they bearing on head. Then we ſtood with our larbord tacked Eaſtſoutheaſt.

The 19 we were in 29 degrees our courſe Eaſtnortheaſt. The 21 we had a great ſtormie gale of winde and much raine but large. And then all the reſt of our fleete fell a ſterne except the Hope, which bare a head: ſo that there kept no more with the Admirall, but the Defiance, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

The 28 we were in 39 degrees, and ſtood away for Flores, which the 8 of Aprill we ſaw, and the 9 came to an anker on the Southſide, where we watered becauſe the Defiance when we came in had but two buts of water. We bartered with the Portugals for ſome freſh victuals, and ſet here on ſhore at our comming away out of the Admirall our two Portugall Pilots; which ſir Francis Drake caried out of England with him.

The 10 being Eaſter-eue at night we ſet ſaile the winde ſeruing vs to lie ſome ſlent in our courſe. That night and Eaſter day we had much raine: the winde came vp at Northeaſt, we beate it vp ſome 30 leagues to the Eaſtward, & then about to the Weſt, and ſo againe to the Eaſt, and tryed, and the next boord to the Weſt. On Thurſday towards night, being the 16 wee had ſight of Coruo againe, we tryed all that night: and on Friday towards night we came to an anker to the Weſtward of the point of Santa Cruz vnder Flores: but before midnight we draue, and ſet ſaile the next day ſtanding away Northeaſt. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp againe at North. On ſunday the 19 by two of the clocke in the afternoone we had made 20 leagues an Eaſt way: and then the winde came vp a good gale at Northweſt, and ſo Northeaſt with a flowne ſheete we made the beſt way we could: but being diſperſed by bad weather we arriued about the beginning of May in the Weſt parts of England. And the laſt ſhips which came in together to Plimmouth were the Defiance, the Garland, the Aduenture, and the Phenix.

A Libell of Spaniſh lies written by *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda*, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning ſome part of the laſt voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*; together with a confutation of the moſt notorious falſehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. *Henrie Sauile* Eſquire: and alſo an approbation of both by ſir *Thomas Baskeruil* Generall of her Maieſties Armada after the deceaſe of ſir *Francis Drake*.

To the courteous Reader.

Whereas *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda*, Generall of the Spaniſh fleete, hath by his printed letters publiſhed to the world diuerſe vntruthes, concerning our fleete and the Commanders thereof, ſeeking thereby his owne glorie, and our diſgrace; I haue taken vpon me (though of many leaſt able) to confute the ſame, the rather for that the printed copie came firſt into my hands, hauing my ſelfe bene Captaine of one of her Maieſties ſhips in the ſame voyage. Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and loue to my countrey and countrey-men, and expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a ſouldier and Nauigator: Which if you take in good part, you may draw me hereafter to publiſh ſome greater labour.

HENRY SAVILE.

The true copie of a letter found at the ſacking of Cadiz, written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his Nauie in the Weſt Indies, ſent vnto Doctor Peter Florez, Preſident of the contractation houſe for the Indies, and by him put in print with priuilege: wherein are declared many vntruthes, and falſe reports, tending to the diſgrace of the ſeruice of her Maieſties Nauie, and the commanders thereof, lately ſent to the Weſt Indies, vnder the command of ſir Francis Drake, and ſir Iohn Hawkins Generals at the ſea; and ſir Thomas Baskeruill Generall at land: with a confutation of diuers groſſe lies and vntruthes, conteyned in the ſame letter: together with a ſhort relation of the fight, according to the truth.

Copia

Copia de vna carta, que embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, General de la Armada de ſu Mageſtad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez Preſidente de la caſa de la Contratacion de las Indias: en que trata del ſuceſſo de la Armada de Ynglaterra, deſpues que partio de Panama, de que fue por General Franciſco Draque, y de ſu muerte.

DE Cartagena di cuenta a vueſtra Merced como ſali del puerto de la ciudad de Lisbona, en buſca de la armada Yngleſa, aunque por la mucha drieſſa, no ſe pudieron reparar tanbien los Galeones como fuera neceſſario, y con el tiempo ſe perdio uno, y por deſgracia ſe quemo vn Filibote, y auiendo andado muchos dias en buſca del enemigo, haſta que llegue a Cartagena, donde auiendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acunna Gouernador y capitan general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha neceſſidad de agua, y reparar los Nauios por que venian faltos della, me detuue en aquel puerto, adonde tuve noticia por vn Auiſo, que Franciſco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena de auer perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque deſpues ſe ſupo mas por eſtenſo. Y auiendo dado a vueſtra Merced cuenta de lo que haſta alli a ſucedido, agora la doy de que ſali de aquel puerto a dos de Março, y tome la derrota de la Hauana, donde entendi hallarlo: y auiendo hecho la diligencia poſible, Lunes à onze del dicho mes, alas dos deſpues de medio dia, al ſalir de la Yſla de Pinos, en la enſenada de Guaniguanico, tope con el, que yua con catorze Nauios muy buenos: fueme arrimando a el, aunque tenia el viento por ſuyo, y el Almiranta que yua mas al viento con otros dos Nauios commenço arrimarſele, y aunque vino ſobre ella con todos los ſuyos tres vezes, no fue parte acercarſele paraque quiſieſſe enueſtir: los que eſtauamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos haſta jugar la artilleria, Moſqueteria, y Arcabuzeria de los mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio muy conocido danno, el lo hizo con el artilleria como ſuele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la voluntad con que a el nos arrimauamos, con mas diligencia de lo que ſe puede creer ſe deſembaraço de todos, poniendoſe en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en la mar todas las Lanchas que traya. Yo le ſegui con nueue Nauios toda la noche, y con quatro mas todo el dia, haſta hazerle doblar el cabo de Sant Anton, y tomar la derrota de la Canal de Bahama, conforme a las inſtruciones de ſu Mageſtad: ſiruio de poco el ver me con menos numero de Nauios, ni todas las diligencias que ſe hizieron, para que ſe inclinaſe a eſperar ni abordar, ni tirar vn arcabuz, ni vna pieça, porque el ſe dio la diligencia que pudo, porque ſus Nauios los auia reduzido a la mitad, y los mejores, y eſtos acabaua de reparar en Puerto Bello, donde ſe eſtuvo mas de quarenta dias, y anſi venian muy reparados; y yo ſaque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiempo lugar para adereçarlos. A que nauego dos meſes y medio, y traygo la capitana, que deſde que parti de Cartagena no an parado las bombas, y el dia que ſali ſe me lo arrimo vna Zabra con eſta neceſſidad; la Almiranta y los demas Nauios vienen con el miſmo trabajo, pero ſin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha ſeria apoderarſe del, ſino es hallarlo ſobre el Ferro. Con todo eſſo me an dexado vn Nauio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en Nombre de Dios, y que va por general de la dicha armada Yngleſa el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que ſe a dado no an podido tomar Agua, lenna, ni carne, y van de manera que no ſe como an de llegar a Ynglatierra. Entre la gente deuen de ſer ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes de lo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos, ſegun ſe echa de ver en ellos. No ſe ofrece otra coſa: nueſtro ſennor guarde a vueſtra Merced, como puede, y yo deſſeo. De la Hauana, 30 de Março, de 1596. Annos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudes y Figueroa, Teniente mayor de Aſſiſtente deſta ciudad de Seuilla y ſu tierra, que hago officio de Aſſiſtente della por auſencia de ſu Sennoria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrera, para que pueda imprimir la Relacion de la muerte de Franciſco Draque. La qual haga por dos meſes, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. So pena de diez mil marauedis para la camara de ſu Mageſtad. Fecha en Seuilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y nouenta y ſeys annos.

El Licenciado Don Iuan Bermudez y Figueroa.

Por ſu mandado, Gregorio Gutierez, Eſcriuano.

The

The Spaniſh letter Engliſhed.

The Copie of a letter which *Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda*, Generall of the king of *Spaine* his armie, ſent vnto Doctor *Peter Florez*, Preſident of the contractation houſe for the *Indies*, wherein he maketh mention of the ſucceſſe of the Engliſh armie, after they departed from *Panama*, whereof was Generall *Francis Drake*, and of his death.

FRom Cartagena I gaue relation vnto your Worſhip how I departed from the citie of Lisbone, in the purſuite of the Engliſh armie: although for the great haſte the Galeons could not be ſo well repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was loſt, and a Fly-boat was burnt. And hauing ſayled many dayes in purſuite of the enemie, vntill I arriued at Cartagena, and there taking the aduiſe of Don Pedro de Acunna, Gouernour of the citie, and Captaine generall (for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our ſhippes) we ſtayed in that port: whereas I had intelligence by an Indian that Francis Drake died in Nombre de Dios, for very griefe that he had loſt ſo many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifeſtly knowen. Thus hauing giuen you a relation of all that happened hitherto, now I let you vnderſtand, that I left this Port the ſecond of March, and tooke our courſe towardes Hauana, where I thought to haue found the Engliſh fleete. And hauing vſed all the diligence poſſible, vpon Munday the eleuenth of the ſaid moneth, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the end of the Iſle of Pinos, in the entrance of Guaniguanico, I met with the Engliſh fleete, being fourteene very good ſhips: I drew towardes them although they had the winde of vs, and our Admirall who bore vp towards the winde, with other two ſhips beganne to draw neere them, and although we ſet thus vpon them, three times with all their ſhips, yet would they not ſet againe vpon vs, and thoſe of our men which were fartheſt off cryed to them amaine, being both within ſhot of artillerie, muſkets, and caliuers, whereby they receiued euident hurt by vs: They plyed their great ordinance according to their manner, and eſpecially their Viceadmirall, and ſeeing our reſolution how ſharpe we were bent towards them, they with all expedition and ſpeede poſſible prepared to flie away, hoyſing ſailes and leauing their boates for haſte in the ſea: but I followed them, with nine ſhips all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the courſe towards the Chanell of Bahama, according to the inſtructions from his Maieſtie. It little auailed vs to be ſeene, with leſſe number of ſhips, neither yet all the diligence we could vſe, could cauſe them to ſtay or come neere vs, nor to ſhoot off one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as faſt as they could, and their ſhippes were halfe diminiſhed, and that the beſt part of them; the reſt they repaired in Puerto Bello, whereas they were about fortie dayes, and ſo by that meanes they were all well repayred; and our ſhippes were very foule, becauſe the time would not permit vs to trim them: I haue ſayled 2 moneths and a halfe in the Admirall, ſince we departed from Cartagena, we haue not repaired their pumpes nor clenſed them: and the ſame day I departed thence, there came vnto me a ſmall Pinneſſe in the like diſtreſſe: our Viceadmirall and the reſt of our ſhips haue the like impediment, but no great hinderance vnto vs, for ought I could perceiue by our enemies: It is manifeſt what aduantage they had of vs, and by no meanes was it poſſible for vs to take them, vnleſſe we could haue come to haue found them at an anker. Neuertheleſſe they left vs one good ſhippe behinde for our ſhare, well manned, which tolde me that Drake died in Nombre de Dios, and that they haue made for Generall of the Engliſh fleete the Colonel Quebraran: and alſo by meanes of the ſmall time, being ſtraightly followed by vs, they had no opportunitie to take either water, wood or fleſh, and they are alſo in ſuch bad caſe, that I know not how they will be able to arriue in England. The number of men we haue taken are about an hundred and fortie, and fifteene noble captaines of their beſt ſort, and ſome of them rich, as well may appeare by their behauiour: I haue no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who beſt can, and as I deſire. From Hauana the 30 of March, 1596.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo
De Avellaneda.

THe Licenciat *Don Iohn Bermudes* of *Figueroa* Lieutenant of the Aſſiſtants of the citie of *Siuill*, and the Prouince thereof, who doth ſupply the office of the Aſſiſtant in the abſence of the Right honourable the Earle of *Priego*, giueth licence to *Roderigo de Cabriera* to imprint the Relation of the death of *Francis Drake*, which onely he may do for two moneths, and no other to imprint the ſame within the ſaid terme, vpon paine of tenne thouſand Marauedis for his Maieſties chamber. Giuen in *Siuill* the 15 of May, 1596.

The Licenciat *Don Iohn Bermudes* of *Figueroa*.

By his Aſſigne *Gregorie Gutierez*
Notarie.

THis letter of the Generall Don Bernardino ſent into Spaine declaring the death of Sir Francis Drake and their ſuppoſed victorie, was altogether receiued for an vndoubted trueth, and ſo pleaſing was this newes vnto the Spaniarde, that there was preſent commandement giuen to publiſh the letter in print, that all the people of Spaine might be pertakers of this common ioy: the which letter printed in Siuill, bearing date the 15 of May, 1596 came to the hands of Henrie Sauile Eſquire, who being employed in that ſeruice for the Weſt Indies, and Captaine of her Maieſties good ſhippe the Aduenture, vnder the conduct of ſir Francis Drake, and ſir Iohn Hawkins, hath cauſed the ſaid printed letter to be tranſlated into Engliſh. And that the impudencie of the Spaniſh Generall may the more plainely appeare, the ſayde Henrie Sauile doth anſwere particularly to euery vntrueth in the ſame letter contayned, as hereafter followeth.

The anſwere to the Spaniſh letter.

Firſt the Generall doth ſay, that *Francis Drake* died at *Nombre de Dios*, as he had intelligence by an Indian.

THe Generall ſent this newes into his countrey confirmed with his hand and ſeale of Armes: It is the firſt newes in his letter, and it was the beſt newes that he could ſend into Spaine. For it did eaſe the ſtomackes of the timorous Spaniards greatly to heare of the death of him, whoſe life was a ſcourge and continuall plague vnto them: But it was a point of great ſimplicitie, and ſcarcely beſeeming a Generall, to tie the credite of his report locally to any place vpon the report of a ſilly Indian ſlaue. For it had bene ſufficient to haue ſayd, that Francis Drake was certainly dead, without publiſhing the lie in print, by naming Nombre de Dios: for it is moſt certaine ſir Francis Drake died twixt the Iland of Eſcudo, and Puerto Bello: but the Generall being rauiſhed with the ſuddaine ioy of this report as a man that hath eſcaped a great danger of the enemie, doth breake out into an inſolent kinde of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lie vpon another, doth not ceaſe vntill he hath drawen them into ſequences, and ſo doth commende them vnto Peter the Doctor, as cenſor of his learned worke.

The Generals firſt newes, & his beſt newes is in part lying newes.

Secondly, The Generall doth write vnto the Doctor, that *Francis Drake* died for very griefe thet he had loſt ſo many barkes and men.

A Thing very ſtrange that the Generall or the Indian, whom hee doth vouch for his lie, ſhould haue ſuch ſpeculation in the bodie of him whom they neuer ſaw, as to deliuer for truth vnto his countrie, the very cauſe or diſeaſe whereof hee died: and this ſecond report of his is more groſſe then the firſt. For admit the miſtaking of the place might be tollerable; notwithſtanding, this preciſe affirming the cauſe of his death doth manifeſtly proue that the Generall doth make no conſcience to lie. And as concerning the loſſe of any Barkes or men in our Nauie, by the valour of the Spaniard before Sir Francis Drake his death, we had none (one ſmall Pinneſſe excepted) which we aſſuredly know was taken by chance, falling ſingle into a fleete of fiue Frigates (of which was Generall Don Pedro Telio) neere vnto the Iland of Dominica, and not by the valour Don Bernaldino: the which fiue Frigates of the kings afterwardes had but ill ſucceſſe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of S. Iuan de Puerto rico,

Don Bernaldino doth lie impudently.

The ſucceſſe of the kings fiue Frigats.

and one other was ſunke in the ſame harbour, and the other three were burnt amongſt many other ſhippes at the taking of Cadiz. This I thinke in wiſe mens iudgements, will ſeeme a ſilly cauſe to make a man ſorrowe to death. For true it is, ſir Francis Drake died of the flixe which hee had growen vpon him eight dayes before his death, and yeelded vp his ſpirit like a Chriſtian to his creatour quietly in his cabbin. And when the Generall ſhall ſuruey his loſſe, he ſhall finde it more then the loſſe of the Engliſh, and the moſt of his, deſtroyed by the bullets: but the death of Sir Francis Drake was of ſo great comfort vnto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a ſufficient amendes, although their whole fleete had beene vtterly loſt.

The certaine cauſe whereof ſir Francis Drake died.

Thirdly, the Generall doth ſay of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleuenth of March laſt he met the Engliſh fleete at the Ile of *Pinos*, being fourteene good ſhippes: who although they had the winde of him, yet he ſet vpon them three times with all their ſhippes: but the Engliſh fleete fled, and refuſed to fight, ſhooting now and then a ſhot, but eſpecially the Viceadmirall.

This third lie of the Generall Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda (whoſe name for the prolixitie thereof may be drawen ſomewhat neere the length of a cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a iuſt proportion in meaſure to the lies of olde Bernardino de Mendoça his countreyman, concerning the ouerthrowe of hir Maieſties Nauie in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and eight. For except Don Bernaldino the Generall did purpoſe to winne the wherſtone from Don Bernardino de Mendoça the olde Spaniſh lyer; I cannot coniecture why he ſhould write to his countrey for a truth, that he chaſed the Engliſh Nauie with nine ſhippes, and did three ſeuerall times giue the onſet to the Engliſh fleete, who being fourteene good ſhippes (as he ſaith) did flie and refuſe to fight; conſidering that the Spaniſh Viceadmirall (if he be liuing) and many other, can witneſſe the contrarie: who fighting like a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered ſhippe to ſaue her from ſinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spaniſh fleete (Don Bernaldino excepted) that will ſay they were leſſe then twentie ſayle of ſhippes when they met the Engliſh fleete: and the Spaniſh Nauie can witneſſe that they receiued ſuch ſtore of bullets from the Engliſh fleete, that they were glad to depart, and in deſpighte of them the Engliſh nauie did holde their determined courſe: And taking a viewe of the Spaniſh fleete the next day, their number was not aboue thirteene ſhips, which did argue that they were either ſunke or fled to harbour to ſaue themſelues.

A payre of Spaniſh liers.

The Spaniſh Viceadmirall a man of valour.

The number of Spaniſh ſhips after the fight.

Fourthly, the General ſaith, that the Engliſh fleete fled away, and left their *oares for haſt behinde them in the ſea.

* The tranſlation of the Spaniſh word Lanchas is here miſtaken.

It was ſtrange that they ſhould leaue behinde them oares in the ſea, ſithence there was not in the Engliſh fleete either Galley or Galliaſſe, which required the vſe of oares: as for the oares of their ſhip-boates and other ſuch ſmall veſſels, they had ſtowed them aboord their ſhippes, and were no impediment vnto them, but moſt neceſſarie for them to vſe, and therefore not likely they would caſt them ouerboord: But it is more likely, that the Generall fell into ſome pleaſant dreame at Sea, wherein he did ſee a falſe apparition of victorie againſt the Engliſh, and for lacke of matter did ſet this downe in his letter for newes to his countrey: It is ſinne to belie the Deuill, and therefore the Generall ſhall haue his right: the letter is ſo well contriued, and yet with no great eloquence, but with ſuch art, that there are not many more lines, then there are lies, which ſhewed that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall: but I am perſwaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter ſhould haue beene printed, he would haue omitted many things conteined in the letter: for the Doctor did vſe him ſomewhat hardly in ſhewing the letter openly, and more in ſuffering it to bee printed: for friendes may like good fellowes ſend lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with ſome ſmall taſte thereof, ſo it be kept cloſe, without danger to incurre the title of a lying Generall: But as the matter is now blazed through the ſimplicitie of the Doctor, I cannot ſee but the Generall Don Bernaldino is like to carrie the title equally twixt both his ſhoulders.

This lie was made in the Generals own ſleepe.

Fiftly, the Generall doth ſay in his printed letter, that notwithſtanding all the diligence he could vſe, he could not cauſe the Engliſh fleete to ſtay nor come neere them, nor diſcharge one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, but fled away as faſt as they could.

And this lie alſo he doth not receiue by intelligence from any other, but himſelfe was an eye-witneſſe in the action, which made him bold to ſende this with the reſt into his countrey for current newes: but herein Don Bernaldino was more bolde then wiſe, for the torne and battered ſides of his Galeons, being compared with her Maieſties ſhippes, and others that ſerued in that fight, doe declare, that his ſhips receiued at leaſt two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne countreymen (if any do fauour truth) may eaſily ſee the loſſe, and late reparations, done vnto the kings fleete, ſithence they did encounter with the Engliſh Nauie, whenſoeuer they that remaine ſhall arriue in Spaine. But the Generall ſeemeth to be a very good proficient in his profeſſion, and wareth ſomewhat bold, treading the true ſteps of olde Bernardino de Mendoça: and yet Mendoça was ſomewhat more warie in his lies, for he had ſometime the colour of intelligence to ſhadowe them: but the Generall growing from boldneſſe to impudencie maketh no ſcruple to ſay, that the Engliſh Nauie fled as faſt as they could without diſcharging any harquebuze or peece of artillerie, when as the battered ſides of his ſhips doe returne the lie to his face: For in this conflict Don Bernaldino did behaue himſelfe ſo valiantly, that he was alwayes fartheſt off in the fight, and had ſo great care of his owne perſon, that he ſtoode cleare from the danger of musket or any ſmall ſhot, and durſt not approch; whereas our Generall was the formoſt, and ſo helde his place, vntill by order of fight other ſhippes were to haue their turnes, according to his former direction: who wiſely and politikely had ſo ordered his vangarde, and rereward, that as the manner of it was altogether ſtrange to the Spaniarde, ſo might they haue bene without all hope of victorie, if their Generall had bene a man of any iudgement in ſea-fights: I knowe no reaſon why the Engliſh Nauie ſhould flie from him; for the Spaniarde may put all the gaine in his eye that euer he did winne from the Engliſh: Peraduenture ſome ſilly nouice of our countrey meeting the Generall in Spaine, and hearing a repetition of ſo many ſillables in one name, as Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, might thinke them to be wordes of coniuration, and for feare of rayſing a ſpirit, might flie from him as from the Deuill: or ſome ſimple Indian ſlaue hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might ſuppoſe it to be an armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: but the commanders and captaines of the Engliſh Nauie were men of ſuch reſolution, that no Spaniſh bragges could diſmay them (for they haue often met them with their Pikes in their Spaniſh beardes) nor the countenance of Don Bernaldino quaile them, although hee were acowtred in his gilt leather buſkins, and his Toledo rapier.

The torn ſides of the Spaniſh ſhips doe condemne Don Bernaldino of lying.

The order of the Engliſh Nauie.

The Spaniard cannot bragge of his game.

Spaniſh bragges are of no value with the Engliſh.

Sixtly, the Generall ſaith in his letter, that notwithſtanding their flying away ſo faſt, the Engliſh left them one good ſhip well manned, who tolde him that *Drake* dyed in *Nombre de Dios*: in which ſhip were one hundred and fortie men, and fifteene noble captaines of the beſt ſort.

The Generall Don Bernaldino, like a reſolute Spaniarde hauing already gone ouer his ſhooes, maketh no danger to wade ouer his bootes alſo: and as he hath begunne, ſo hee doth conclude. I maruaile that he did not in writing his diſcourſe remember this old ſaying: that is, A liar ought to haue a good memorie: It were much better for him in mine opinion to reuoke the teſtimonie which he ſaith he had from the Engliſhmen, concerning Sir Francis Drake his death at Nombre de Dios, and ſtand to the intelligence receiued from the ſilly Indian ſlaue, as it appeareth in his firſt lie: for without all doubt there is no Engliſh man that will ſay (if he haue his right ſenſes) that he dyed at Nombre de Dios, for they all knowe the contrarie: neither can the General auouch that he receiued intelligence from any Engliſh man, that after the death of Sir Francis Drake they did elect for Generall Colonel Quebraran (as he doth moſt falſely affirme in the latter ende of his vaine and friuolous letter) ſeeing that this name was ſtrange & vnknowen to any in the Engliſh Nauie. Neither do I imagine that any of thoſe which the Generall ſaith he hath taken, were ſo forgetfull, as not to remember their Generals name. But without all doubt this addition of ſo new and ſtrange a name to the Engliſh Generall, doth prooue that Don Bernaldino is not vnfurniſhed of a forge and ſtorehouſe of lies, from whence as frō an euerflowing fountaine, he ſendeth forth lies of al ſorts ſufficient for his own ſtore,

Don Bernaldino his rare gift in coyning a new and ſtrange name.

and great plentie to furniſh his friends: the Generall was much beholding to his godfathers who gaue him the name Bernaldino, which we in Engliſh doe take to be plaine Barnard, which name hath as it were a kinde of priuilege from being ſharpely reprehended, when the partie is thought to erre: for it is a common ſaying amongſt the ſchoolemen that Bernardus non videt omnia, viz. Barnard ſeeth not all things, (when he doth diſſent from their opinions) the which fauour we could be content to yeeld to Bernaldino for the name ſake, if he were not taken with ſo many manifeſt and impudent lies: neither doe I thinke that Sennor Bernaldino will ſay, that he ſawe all that he hath written, be it ſpoken in councell for ſhaming the Generall: for is there any man ſo voide of reaſon as to thinke, that any Engliſhman being demanded of his Generals name, would write or ſpeake Quebraran for Baskeruil. So much difference there is in the ſound of the ſillables, as there is no affinitie at all, or likelihood of truth. But ſuch are the Generals rare gifts, (be it ſpoken to his ſmall prayſe) that we Engliſhmen muſt of force confeſſe, that the Generall hath giuen a proud onſet to carrie the whetſtone from Sennor Bernardino de Mendoça: neither will the hundred and fortie men and fifteene noble Captaines (which he ſaith he did take, of whom he might haue bene rightly informed of their Generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giuing the name of Quebraran to the Engliſh Generall. As for the good ſhippe well manned, which he ſaith the Engliſh left them after the fight, I am perſwaded he hath no man to witneſſe that lie, for the ſhip was ſeparated by weather from the Engliſh fleete in the night, thirteene dayes before the fight with the Spaniſh Nauie, and neuer to any mans knowledge came more in ſight of the Engliſh fleete. If the Spaniſh ſhip by chance did take the ſaide well manned ſhip (as they call her) I doubt not but they haue the ſhip, the hundred and forty men, and the fifteene noble Captaines to ſhew: But euermore I geſſe the Spaniſh reckoning will fall ſhort when it is examined, for the fifteene noble Captaines will prooue (as I take it) but three, whoſe loſſe I grieue to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we looſe or leaue them for cowardiſe, as moſt vntruely this bragging lier hath certified. But the Generall like a prouident man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and countrey, taketh vpon him (amongſt other his miracles performed before the Engliſh fleete) by way of amplification to make ſmall matters ſeeme great, as a little ſhooe to ſerue a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to paſſe, he doth ſo ſtretch the leather with his teeth that it is readie to breake: and yet notwithſtanding al this will not ſerue his purpoſe; for the printing of the letter doth marre the play, and bringeth ſuch matter in queſtion, as the Generall doth wiſh might be concealed, and were he not of ſo drie and cholerick a complexion, as commonly Spaniards are, he would bluſh for very ſhame in publiſhing ſo impudently ſuch manifeſt vntruthes. For ſithence his meeting with the Engliſh fleete at the Ile of Pinos, there hath bene by the worthie Engliſh Generals an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of Spaine, where amongſt other exploites hauing taken the citie of Cadiz, in the ſacke thereof was found ſome of Don Bernaldino his printed letters: which comming to the handes of a captaine that ſerued in Sir Francis Drakes laſt voyage to the Weſt Indies, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the ſlanders to the Engliſh Nauie contained in the ſaide letter) to quote the errors, that the trueth onely may appeare, to all ſuch as haue a deſire to be rightly informed of ſuch accidents as befell them in this late voyage to the Weſt Indies: and this may ſuffiſe to ſhew Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda his great iudgement in amplyfying ſmall matters, or of nothing to make in ſhewe ſomewhat. And now hauing thus farre informed you of the trueth in reproofe of the ſlanderous, falſe, and vntrue reports of this glorious lying Generall, with a true diſproofe to ſome of the groſſeſt of his lies, I will leaue him with the reſt of his lying letter, and the circumſtances therein contained to your cenſures: who in diſcretion may eaſily diſcerne the ſame: And haue here following plainely and truely ſet downe the courſe and order of our whole fight after we met.

The ſchoolemē of modeſty doe vſe this kind of reprehenſion, when they doe thinke the author to erre.

The difference twixt Quebraran and Baskeruill.

The Generall maketh great brags in taking a diſtreſſed ſhip, which is ſuppoſed not to ſtrike one blow.

The 15 noble Captaines contrary to the Generals lying occupation, wil proue but three.

The firſt diſcouery of the Generals printed letter.

The meeting of our Engliſh Nauie and the Spaniſh fleete, and the order of our encounter.

The firſt diſcouery of the Spaniſh fleete.

Munday the firſt of March, according to our computation, wee deſcryed the Iland of Pinos, where haling in for the Weſterne part thereof, thinking there to haue watered, being within foure leagues off it Southerly, we ſent in three of our Pinneſſes to diſcouer the harbour, and to ſound afore vs, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the ſame day we diſcouered a fleete of twentie ſailes, and deeming them to be the Spaniſh fleete, we kept our looſe to get the winde, but their Viceadmirall with diuers other ſhips went about to cut off our Pinneſſes; ſo that our Generall with ſome other of our ſhippes, was forced to tacke about vpon the larbourd tacke, and ſo ranne in towardes the lande keeping the winde, ſo as we recouered our Pinneſſes; which forced the enemies ſhippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and being come neere vnto them they ſhot at vs; we ſtill approched, hauing our cloſe fights vp, our flags, enſignes and ſtreamers diſplayed, our men orderly placed in each quarter, but forbare our fight vntill our Generall beganne, and gaue vs warning to come in and fight, by ſhooting off a great peece, according to his former directions: ſo being within muſket ſhot, the Viceadmirall of the Spaniſh fleete came neereſt vnto vs, to whom our Viceadmirall Iohn Traughton Captaine of the Elizabeth Bonaduenture gaue fight, betwixt whom there was the greateſt voley of ſmall ſhot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which continued a long halfe houre. In which time the Spaniſh fleete came in to fight. Our Generall ſir Thomas Baskeruill being in the Garland (whereof Humphrey Reignolds was Captaine, being the next ſhippe vnto the Elizabeth Bonaduenture) bare vp to the enemie, playing with his great ordinance hotly vntill he came within muſket ſhot. Ionas Bodenham Captaine of the Defiance, and Henrie Sauile Captaine of the Aduenture, came likewiſe in to fight with them. After the Garland being within muſket ſhot played her part, and made good fight for the ſpace of an houre. The Defiance bare vp likewiſe and had her turne: after came the Aduenture againe within muſket ſhot, who hauing changed many a great bullet with them before, renewed his fight, & continued it an houre with ſmall ſhot. Then came Thomas Drake Captaine of the Hope, who laſt of all had his turne. Thus had all the Queenes ſhippes their courſe: The marchants ſhips with other ſmall veſſels being without the Queenes ſhips, ſhot when they ſaw opportunitie. After the enemie finding no good to be done (being well beaten) fell from vs, the Aduenture playing vpon them with her great ordinance, made three of the laſt ſhot at them: their Viceadmirall with diuers others of their ſhips, were ſo beaten that they left off the fight, and were forced to lie in the winde, for that they durſt not lie of either boord by reaſon of their many and great leakes, which they had receiued by our great ſhot. The Generall with the reſt of their fleete tacking about, fell in our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning wee ſought to hinder. But our Generall ſeeing that in holding the winde we ſhould ſhoot our ſelues into the bay, gaue them the winde. All that night they kept themſelues vpon our brode ſide, notwithſtanding our Admiral carried his creſſet-light all night, hauing great care of our ſmalleſt ſhippes. This fight continued about foure houres till it was neere night, in the which fight, thankes be to God, there were ſlaine ſo few perſons of our Engliſh fleete, as I thinke the like conflict hath not bene performed with ſo little loſſe of men: What harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leaue to your iudgements. Yet our eyes can witneſſe their ſhips were ſore beaten and raked thorough, whereby there was ſuch falling backe and lying by the lee to ſtoppe their leakes, as ſome of them were driuen to haſte away, and rather to runne on ſhore to ſaue themſelues then ſinke in the Sea: beſides within two houres after our fight with them, we ſawe one of their great ſhippes on fire which burnt into the Sea, and all the ſterne of another of their ſhips blowen vp: And in the morning a ſhippe of our fleete was runne ſo neere the land, that to double the Cape de los Corrientes he muſt of neceſſitie tacke about and fall in the wake of the enemie, which cauſed our Generall in the Garland and the Defiance to tacke about; which two ſhips forced the three ſhips of the enemies (which were put foorth to take our ſhippe, or elſe to cauſe her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to ſaue themſelues, hoyſing all their ſayles for haſte: This morning they were faire by vs hauing the winde of vs, being but thirteene ſayle of their twentie to be ſeene: then we ſtroke our toppe ſayles thinking to haue fought with them againe, which they perceiuing tacked about from vs, and after that neuer durſt nor would come neere vs: What became of the reſt of their fleete wee knowe not, but true it was that they were in great diſtreſſe mightily beaten and torne, by hauing receiued many bullets from vs. All this day wee had ſight of them, but they ſhewed little will to fight or come neere vs, ſo we keeping our courſe Weſt, and by North, about ſixe of the clocke at night loſt the ſight of them. And this is a true diſcourſe of our fight with the Spaniſh fleete. The which the author hereof will iuſtifie with the aduenture of his life, againſt any Spaniarde ſeruing in that action, that ſhall contradict the ſame.

The incounter betwixt the Engliſh and the Spaniſh ſhips.

The Spaniſh Viceadmirall can witneſſe, what ſucceſſe they had in this fight.

The Engliſh Admirall carried his Creſſet light, notwithſtanding the enemie was vpon his broad ſide.

The Engliſh receiued little loſſe in this conflict.

The remainder of the Spaniſh fleete were but thirteene ſayles.

HENRY SAVILE.

Thomas Baskeruil knight, his approbation to the former twofold diſcourſe of Captaine *Sauile.*

I Thomas Baskeruill knight, Generall of her Maieſties late Indian armada in the late conflict had betweene the Spaniſh fleete and vs, hauing peruſed the Spaniſh letter written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Nauie, and alſo hauing peruſed captaine Henrie Sauile his anſweres vnto the ſixe exceptions in the Generals letter, with his diſcourſe of the manner of our fight with the Spaniſh fleete, doe ſay that the ſaid Henrie Sauile hath anſwered the letter, and ſet downe the order of the fight ſincerely according to truth, for teſtimonie of which I haue hereunto ſet my hand.

And if Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Auellaneda the Generall ſhall take any exceptions to this my approbation, or ſtand in the iuſtification of his lying letter written to Doctor Peter Florez, Preſident of the Contractation houſe for the Indies, and by him for Bernaldinos glorie lately put in print: I then ſay that he falſely lyed, and that I will maintaine againſt him with whatſoeuer armes he ſhall make choyce of. And becauſe the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies (by reaſon of which there is no meanes in either of them, to maintaine that I haue written) let him make choiſe of any indifferent kingdome of equall diſtance from either realme, and I will there be readie to maintaine as much as I haue written: But if by my imployments into France I be ſo ſtayed by her Maieſties commandements, that I cannot out of that realme meete him in any other, I cannot ſee why he ſhould take any exception to that, conſidering the equalitie of the place, and that the Armies of both our Princes be there reſident.

THOMAS BASKERVILL.

A true relation of the voyage vndertaken by Sir *Anthony Sherley* Knight in Anno 1596. intended for the Ile of *San Tomé*, but performed to *S. Iago*, *Dominica*, *Margarita*, along the coaſt of *Tierra firma*, to the Ile of *Iamaica*, the bay of the *Honduras*, 30 leagues vp *Rio Dolce*, and homewarde by *Newfoundland.* With the memorable exployts atchieued in all this voyage.

WE departed from Hampton the 23 of Aprill with nine ſhips and a gallie. The Beuice Admirall being 300 tunnes, the Galeon Viceadmirall being 240 tunnes. The George Rereadmirall being 160 tunnes. The Archangel being 250 tunnes. The Swanne 200 tunnes, the George Noble being 140 tunnes, the Wolfe 70 tunnes, the Mermayde 120 tunnes, the Little Iohn 40 tunnes the Galley and a Pinneſſe. All which ſhips we ſufficiently victualled and furniſhed for ten monethes, with all neceſſaries fit for the voyage. They were alſo manned with ſouldiers and ſaylers, exceeding well appointed with all furniture neceſſarie for the intended purpoſe of our Generall to the full number of 900. ratably & orderly diſtributed into euery ſhip. We arriued at Plimmouth the 29 of Aprill, where wee found the Right honourable Earle of Eſſex readie for the attempt of his Cadiz Action, with whom our Generall left three ſhips and 500 ſouldiers well victualed and furniſhed. So the 21 of May we departed from Plimmouth with the Beuice, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolfe and the Galley and Pinneſſe, determining our voyage for the Ile of S. Tomé. But if our whole force had remayned with vs our Generals purpoſe was to haue firſt ſackt the Madera Ile, and ſo to haue proceeded for S. Tomé. The 27 of May we arriued vpon the coaſt of Spaine, coaſting all the ſhore, hoping to meete with ſome of the kings ſhips. From thence we paſt in ſight of the coaſt of Barbary, and came to Maſagant, within ſhot of the Fort, which our Generall reported to be an excellent fortification, where the Spaniard is in ſtrong garriſon. And bending our courſe for the Canarie Iles there purpoſing to water, our galley loſt her rudder; ſo our Generall directed the George Noble to goe for the Ile Mogador, there to repaire the Gallies wants. Betweene which place and the Canarie Iles we tooke a fly-bote of two hundred tunnes bound for Braſill, hauing nothing aboord her but ſome ſmall portion of victuals for their reliefe. The Captaine of this Flybote tooke vpon him to be a perfect Pilot of S. Tomé, and willingly conſented to ſtay with vs, being a Fleming. Hauing watered at the Canaries, by the counſell of this Fleming we ſhaped our courſe for the Iles of Cape Verde, he aſſuring vs that we ſhould there meet the fleete of Saint Tomé, for the yeere was ſo farre paſt, that we knewe they were all departed from S. Tomé.

The Fort of Maſagant.

A Flieboat taken.

The firſt of July we fell with the Iſle Maio, where wee ſaw ſmall hope of any fleete to bee expected, & therefore departed for Cape Verde, the appointed place for the George noble to meete vs: where we arriued the fift of July, and there found him. And ſo inſtantly we proceeded for our voyage, becauſe the yeere was farre ſpent. At this place moſt vnfortunately our General fell exceeding ſicke, and we wanting water were enforced to goe with a place named Peſcadores in 10 degrees of North latitude, where we had many ſkirmiſhes with the barbarous Negros. Our Generall now hopeleſſe of life, and we all diſmayed and comfortleſſe through that his exceeding extremity, hauing his memory very perfit, he called all his Captaines, Maſters, and officers vnto him, vnto whom he made a very pithie and briefe ſpeech, tending to this purpoſe: That as we were Chriſtians and all baptiſed and bred vp vnder one and the true faith, ſo wee ſhould liue together like Chriſtians in the feare and ſeruice of God: And as we were the ſubiects of our moſt excellent ſouereigne, and had vowed obedience vnto her: ſo we ſhould tend all our courſes to the aduancement of her dignity, and the good of our countrey, and not to enter into any baſe or vnfit actions. And becauſe we came for his loue into this action that for his ſake we would ſo loue together as if himſelfe were ſtill liuing with vs, and that we would follow (as our chiefe commander) him, vnto whom vnder his hand he would giue commiſſion to ſucceede himſelfe: all which with ſolemne proteſtation we granted to obey. Then for that the yere was paſt, and finding the coſt of Guynea moſt tempeſtuous, hee ſaw in reaſon that the bay of Æthiopia would be our vtter ouerthrow, and infect vs all to death: whereupon he aduiſed vs to be reſpectiue of our ſelues, and to diuert our purpoſe from S.Tomé, either for Braſil or the Weſt India, yeelding many reaſons that it was our beſt courſe: but we all with one voice deſired to proceede for S.Tomé. And ſo departing from this contagious filthy place, we directed our courſe for S.Tomé, but could by no means double the ſholds of Madrabomba, but very dangerouſly ran into ſhold water, ſtill hoping of the beſt. In fine we were enforced to beare vp & take ſome other courſe; for the time waſted, our men fell ſicke, and the coaſt was contagious alwayes raging & tempeſtuous. The water falling from the heauens did ſtinke, and did in 6 houres turne into maggots where it fell either among our clothes, or in wads of Ocombe.

The Iſle of Mayo.

A moſt contagious & filthy place.

So by a general conſent it was held to be our beſt courſe to goe for the Weſt India; & ſo much the rather, becauſe we had good pilots for that place, who vndertooke more then was after performed. So we bent our courſe for the Iſles of Cape Verde, & arriuing at the Iſle of S.Iago the 30 of Auguſt, we preſently landed at Praia, where we found a ſmal barke in the rode laden with wine and meale.

After we were departed from this vile coaſt of Guyny our General to our great comforts began to recouer ſtrength; ſo that being now at Praia, he was able to land with vs. In our landing the people made a ſhew of great reſiſtance, but we entred the towne without hindrance, being a very pretie towne, hauing a ſmall fort in it, with 6 or 8 caſt pieces.

The towne of Praya vpon the Iſle of S.Iago taken.

Being here on ſhore, and finding nothing left in the towne, diuers of our company were very importunate with our Generall, that he would go to the citie of S.Iago being 6 miles off: through their importunitie he yeelded conſent, and ſo we marched towards the citie with 280 ſouldiers. As we paſſed by the Negros and herdſmen, they would crie vnto vs Guarda S.Iago. That night we loſt our way, & lay vnder a hedge. The next morning the Ordinance of S.Iago was ſhot off to giue vs notice where the towne was: ſo wee marched towards it at the breake of the day. The countrey then being all ſpred ouer with people made ſhew of feare only to draw vs into the town: but we farther marched with our colours flying by the drumme. The gentelmen would come gallopping by vs and viewing vs very much. But when we came in ſight of the towne, we could ſee no way how to get into it, but by one little path downe a very ſteepe hill, only man by man to go downe. The ſtrength and ſituation of this towne was ſufficient to haue danted a man of very good courage, for it ſtandeth between two ſteepe cliffes ſtrongly houſed, & three exceeding good forts commanding the whole, the chiefeſt and beſt ſtanding vpon the top of the hill right ouer the towne: ſo that from thence with muſkets they command euery ſtreete, the other 2 forts ſtanding by the waters ſide, all three commanding the rode, and theſe two euery ſtreete in the towne. Vpon the front of the towne the ſea beateth, the reſt ſtandeth betweene two mighty cliffes, not acceſſible but by one ſmall path, by which wee were enforced to goe. Our Generall ſeeing himſelfe thus ſtraighted, and perceiuing the drift of the Portugals was to draw him into this trench, and knowing wel that he could not returne as we came, by reaſon of many ſtraights and aduantageable places, with an excellent reſolution (like vnto himſelfe) cryed out, all courage my hearts: aſſure your ſelues that the deuice of the Portugals ſhall ſerue our turne this day; for they will ſuffer vs quietly to paſſe downe into their ſuppoſed trappe, and then will purſue vs, then which nothing

A deſcription of the town of S.Iago taken by ſir Francis Drake 1585.

can happen better. The day is ours now ſhew your ſelues as I know you will: and ſo preſently we deſcended into the trench. And being downe the enemy purſued with a mightie crie, and all the cliffes on both ſides were beſet full of men; ſhot, and ſtones we wanted none from them on euery ſide in great plenty; for this naturall trench was not halfe a musket ſhot ouer. Thoſe that attempted our Rereward by our Generals policie were ſo receiued that they made a ſtand, and neuer more came neere vs. We had nowe halfe a mile to the towne, into the which when wee came, wee were receiued with the ſtreetes full of ſouldiers, who ioyned with vs at the puſh of the pike. But their captaine and diuers of them being ſlaine (feare poſſeſſing them) they fled: and our Generall purſuing with ſuch furious ſpeede, did ſo diſmay them that they fled the towne, and the third of Auguſt we poſſeſſed both the lower forts.

The towne of S. Iago taken by Sir Anthony Sherley.

Being now maſters of the towne, we preſently by the Generals direction (whoſe skill, ſpirit, and diligence can neuer haue ſufficient commendation) baricadoed vp all the ſtreets, and brought our ſelues into a very conuenient ſtrength. After we had bene ſixe houres in the towne the Portugals ſtill comming in great multitudes to the vpper fort, began to ſally downe vpon vs, and to aſſault vs at euery baricado: ſo that in the firſt aſſault they ſlew and wounded eighty of our men, to our very great weakening. But they had ſmall cauſe of triumph, for their loſſe was thriſe more then ours: but they ſtill proſecuted their aſſault, not giuing vs time either to ſleepe or eate, ſo that we were in exceeding extremitie; for their forces did dayly increaſe to the number of three thouſand perſons: but we dayly loſt of our poore number. Whileſt we were thus keeping the towne, our ſhips came about vnto vs, who receiued many dangerous ſhot from the vpper caſtle. Our Generall finding himſelfe thus ſtreighted, & diſcreetely looking into the policie and ſtrength of the enemy, and ſcarſe able to defend any one aſſault more, ſent to the forts and to his ſhips that about ten of the clocke in the darke of the night they ſhould ſhoote at the vpper fort with all poſſible diligence, and ſend all the boates aſhore, which was accordingly performed. And wee likewiſe keeping a tumult in the towne, the enemie ſuppoſing that our purpoſe was to aſſault the vpper fort, (which God knowes was moſt impregnable for vs) retyred from their placed purpoſe for the defence thereof. So we in a ſouldierlike order with very good ſafety departed the towne, although the Portugals hauing eſpied our Generals policie came very furiouſly vpon the backe of vs, after we had kept it two dayes and two nights.

In the rode of S. Iago we tooke a ſhip with wine and cloth, which did greatly refreſh our men.

Isla del Fuego.

From hence we ſayled to an Iſle called Fuego, being a very ſmall Iſle, with a very high hill in the midſt of it, which continually burneth: this Iſle is inuincible by nature, high cliffes round about, yet by diligent ſearch we found a ſmall path where wee landed our men with exceeding much difficulty, and ſo were maſters of the Iſle the eleuenth of September, where wee tooke in water, but the Iſle yeelded vs nothing but miſerable infection. One night wee had a ſhowre of aſhes which fell ſo thicke into our ſhips from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might write your name with your finger vpon the vpper decke.

Departing from this place the twentieth of September, we ſhaped our courſe for Dominica an Iſle in the Weſt India: but before we came thither our men fell generally downe, ſo that the whole could not relieue the ſicke, the diſeaſe was ſo vile that men grew lothſome vnto themſelues, franticke and deſperately rauing, among whom our good Generals part was not the leaſt; for his diſeaſe was vehement, the griefe of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the loſſe of theſe whom he loued were to him torments more then durable: all which with patience and humilitie in prayer he humbled himſelfe vnto. But had not his mind bene inuincible and his deſires aboue the ordinary courſe of men, it had bene impoſſible that life ſhould now haue reſted in him: but God (I hope) hath preſerued him to ſome exceeding good purpoſe.

Dominica. Two excellent hote bathes.

Arriuing at Dominica the ſeuenteenth of October, with all our men ſicke and feeble, wee found there two hote bathes, wherein our weake men waſhing themſelues were greatly comforted: and the Indians of this place vſed vs with great kindneſſe, ſo that we were all perfectly well before we departed from this place. For here we ſtayed vntill the 25 of Nouember. From Dominica we ſayled to Margarita, betweene the Iſle and the maine, thinking to meete with the perle dredgers, but wee found them not. And comming to the point of Araia in the road of Cumaná, we ſawe a Flemiſh ſhip riding; the marchant and men whereof came aboord vs, and brought with them my lord Admirals paſſe. By which meanes our Generall would in no ſort meddle with them, yet they were very rich. Departing thence by Cape Coadera, going for Cape de la Vela at the Iſle Buen aire our Fliboat was caſt away, & ſome of the men loſt, but the moſt part ſaued. Coaſting all the ſhore from Cape de la Vela, being bound for S. Martha, we tooke a ſmall frigat laden with Guiny corne, the eleuenth of September: ſhe had in her money to the valew of 500 pounds,

Margarita.

linnen

linnencloth and China ſilke, all which our General beſtowed vpon his company to comfort them after their long ſuſtained miſeries: Out of which frigat we had 2 good pilots for thoſe coaſts: for our pilot, that promiſed many things before we came thither, was now abſent in the Woolfe, who, we thinke, did wilfully looſe vs. Arriuing at S. Martha, two leagues Weſt from the towne in a faire bay, we landed the 12 of September, & ſo marched to the towne being often times encountred by the way, and in a narrow way at our deſcent downe a hill, they had placed two caſt pieces of braſſe, which we recouered, and ſo entred the towne, the enemie flying before vs. While we abode in this towne, there came one Don Martin de Caſtilla, a gentleman of good education and a very great traueller, who knew the whole ſtate of the Weſt India, Malucos, & Philippinas: he had bene in China, and made many relations to our Generall, his purpoſe was to ſaue the towne from burning, wherin he preuailed, but ranſome I know of none we had: for this gentleman made many great proteſtations of great pouerty to be in that place. So wee departed, onely taking their ordinance, and a priſoner loſt there by ſir Francis Drake, with ſome reliefe of victuals. Hauing ſtayed there al the time of Chriſtmas, we departed thence on Newyeres day, with termes of great content to our General in the Spaniards great ſubmiſſion vnto him, for they were now within a league of vs with 700 ſouldiers. And being challenged by him to defend their towne like men of worth, they did notwithſtāding intreat fauour with great humilitie. Whileſt we were at S. Martha, the Wolfe came againe vnto vs: ſo wee ſhaped our courſe for Iamaica, and miſſing the rode, were conſtrained to ſaile round about the Iſle, a thing not before done. In this place the Wolfe abſolutely againe forſooke vs with the ſmal barke that we tooke at S. Iago, and returned for England with hard newes of our ruine, but by Gods fauourable help wee arriued in the road of Iamaica the 29 of Ianuary, which is very dangerous to enter by reaſon of the ſholds and rocks that lie before it. Here we landed and marched 6 miles into the countrey, where the towne ſtandeth; the people all on horſebacke made ſhew of great matters, but did nothing. Now being maſters of the towne and whole Iſle, the people ſubmitted themſelues to our Generals mercy: and here they prouided for vs great ſtore of dried beefe, and Caſſaui meale, a baſe food, yet the beſt that the countrey yeeldeth, to continue at ſea. This Iſle is a marueilous fertil Iſle, & is as a garden or ſtore houſe for diuers parts of the maine. It is full of plaine champion ground, which in the reſt of the Indies we haue not ſeene: it aboundeth with beeues and Caſſaui, beſides moſt pleaſant fruits of diuers ſorts. We haue not found in the Indies a more pleaſant and holſome place. During the time that we remained in this Iſle the captaine of the Iſle came often aboord vs, we hauing pledges for the ſecurity of their promiſe. They were in fine at our Generals deuotion, to diſpoſe of al things, [illegible] all things as he pleaſed, ſo that now we were as one people & in one peace together. Being [illegible] ready to depart, M. captaine Parker of Plimmouth came into the rode in his ſhips boat the ſecond of March, with whom our Generall conſorted to goe for the bay of Honduras, where by his perſwaſion we had great hope of a very good voyage. And departing frō Iamaica the 6 of March, we ſailed to Cape de Corrientes in Cuba, to looke for a barke of M. Parkers for our better ſtrength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where we purpoſed to entrap the watch, & ſo to ſacke the towne of Truxillo, but the watch diſcouering vs, made great fires, and the towne preſently ſhot off a great piece, and anſwered with fires. Notwithſtanding the next day being the 31 of March we brought our ſhips vnder the fort, and landed our men, but it was a vaine purpoſe: for the towne is not to be taken but by exceeding multitudes, for it is inuincible by nature. It ſtandeth vpon the top of a very ſteepe hill, bordering cloſe to the ſea: ſo enuironed with woods of ſuch exceeding thicknes, that there is no paſſage among the trees, which if they were gone, yet there is no climbing vp the hill, only hauing one narrow lane to go into the towne; at the end whereof is a great gate very ſtrongly fortified, ſo that it is not to be approched vnto, ſo that with the loſſe of ſome few men, we retired from this enterpriſe, being altogether impoſſible to be atchieued by our few and weake men.

Santa Marta taken.

The Iſle and chiefe towne of Iamaica taken.

We departed from Truxillo the ſecond of April and went for Puerto de Cauallos lower down in the bay, ſtil nouriſhing our hope of good ſucceſſe: and comming thither found it reaſonably fortified, but wee preſently preuailed and tooke it the 7 of April, being the moſt poore and miſerable place of all India. Now our hopes were all fruſtrate and no likelihood remayning how we could by any meanes make a voiage: our General reſeruing vnto himſelfe his ſilent inward impatience, laboured to doe ſome memorable thing. And in fine concluded by Rio Dolce to ſearch with his boats ſome narrow paſſage or Iſthmos for the South ſea, alleaging that if hee could but finde a boat there, it ſhould ſerue him to great purpoſe; againſt which there could be no reaſonable contradiction. All his chiefeſt ſea men conſented hereunto, but eſpecially the Captaine of the Admirall. So ſayling with the ſhips to Cape de tres puntas in the bottome of the bay, there leauing

Puerto de Cauallos taken.

the ſhips well mored the tenth of April he departed with his boats for Rio Dolce, which in many Charts hath his paſſage through the land. Up this riuer by many vncertaine windings we paſſed 30 leagues and better, where we found a ſtrong built fort, a towne, and diuers ſtore-houſes: but for money or merchandize we found none. Wee learned by the miſerable people that we tooke, that the South ſea was 20 leagues from the nereſt of that riuer, and that it was 50 leagues to Guatimala, 40 leagues to Sonſonate, and 30 leagues to Sacatocaluca, being townes which we hoped to march vnto: ſo that now we were in worſe caſe then before: for wee were fallen ſicke with the vnholſomeneſſe of this ayre, and our victuals ſo waſted, as that we were deſperate how to recouer our countrey. Whereupon with moſt vnwilling minds we returned to our ſhipping, and with all poſſible expedition weyed, & ſo laboured vpon the tacke to turne out of this very deepe bay, being 60 leagues within the point of land. Being out of the bay, wee ſhaped our courſe for Cape S. Anthony. Our General, whoſe reſtles ſpirit continually laboured to auoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Beuice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland, and there to reuictual, and to haue freſh men, of which we ſtood in good aſſurance, & ſo to depart for the ſtreits of Magellan, and ſo by his very good policie would haue concluded his voyage in the Eaſt India, which plat I thinke it vnneceſſary here to reueale, being put in principall truſt by him.

Guatimala, Sonſonate, and Sacatocaluca.

Their returne.

Being thwart Hauana, by what chance I know not, but all his ſhips forſooke him the 13 of May, and there in a deſperate place hee was left deſperately alone. The George departed by conſent with his letters, the Galeon I know not how: but our miſery in the Admirall was very great, for there was not one in the ſhip that was euer before in the Indies, beſides our miſerable want of victuals, the danger of the place, and the furious current of the chanel. Notwithſtanding we were enforced without ſtay to diſemboque: which happily being performed, we ſhaped our courſe for Newfoundland. And by Gods mercy we arriued there the fifteenth of June, not hauing one houres victuals to ſpare, and there by our countreymen we were well refreſhed: where we ſtayed till the 24 of June, ſtill expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his laſt purpoſe: but ſhe not comming, and that plat ouerthrowen, we returned for England, where we found the right honourable the Erle of Eſſex bound to the ſeas, with whom wee preſently departed in his lordſhips ſhip, to doe him our humble ſeruice.

A voyage of Maſter *VVilliam Parker* of *Plimmouth* gentleman, to *Margarita, Iamaica, Truxillo, Puerto de Cauallos* ſituate within the bay of *Honduras*, and taken by ſir *Anthony Sherley* and him, as likewiſe vp *Rio dolce*: with his returne from thence, and his valiant and happie enterprize vpon *Campeche* the chiefe towne of *Iucatan*, which he tooke and ſacked with ſixe and fifty men, and brought out of the harbour a Frigat laden with the kings tribute, and ſurprized alſo the towne of *Sebo*.

IN the yeere 1596, Maſter William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman being furniſhed with a tall ſhippe and a barke at his owne charges, the ſhip called the Prudence of one hundreth and twenty tunnes, wherein himſelfe went captaine, and the barke called the Aduenture of fiue and twentie tunnes, whereof was captain one Richard Hen, departed frõ the foreſayd hauen of Plimmouth in the moneth of Nouember, hauing one hundreth men in his company.

Margarita.

Fiue Engliſh men redeemed.

The firſt place where wee touched in the Weſt Indies was the Iſle of Margarita on the coaſt of Tierra firma, where we tooke a Spaniſh gentleman and others, who for his ranſome ſet at libertie Maſter Iames Willis, and fiue other Engliſhmen which were priſoners in Cumaná, who otherwiſe were neuer like to haue come from thence. Thus paſſing from thence, wee ſayled ouer to the Iſle of Iamaica, where the ſecond of March we met with ſir Anthony Sherley, who before our comming had taken the chiefe towne in the Iſland, and was now almoſt in a readines to depart. And here conſorting our ſelues with him, we departed from Iamaica the ſixt of March, and reſolued to ſet vpon the ſtrong towne of Truxillo neere the mouth of the bay of the Honduras. And hauing ſayled to Cape de Corrientes vpon Cuba, to ſeeke a barke of mine for our better ſtrength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where wee purpoſed to intrap the watch, and ſo to haue ſacked the towne of Truxillo. But the watch diſcouering vs, made great fires, and the towne preſently ſhot off a great piece, and anſwered with fires. Notwithſtanding, the next day being the one and thirtieth of March, wee brought our ſhips vnder the fort, and landed our men: but it was a vaine purpoſe, for the towne is inuincible by nature,

Truxillo aſſailed.

nature, and ſtandeth vpon the top of a very ſteepe hill ioyning cloſe to the ſea, enuironed with woods of ſuch exceeding thicknes, that there is no paſſage through the trees: there is alſo but one very narrow and ſteepe lane to goe into the towne, at the end whereof is a gate very ſtrongly fortified; ſo that it is not to be approched vnto, vnleſſe it be vpon the ſudden, and with ſurprize of the watch: wherefore with the loſſe of ſome few men wee retired from this enterprize.

From hence we paſſed vp farther into the gulfe the ſecond of April, with intention to inuade the towne of Puerto de Cauallos, where wee arriued the ſeuenth of April, and tooke the ſame, finding it well fortified, but nothing anſwering our expectation for wealth. Whereupon Sir Anthony Sherley and I being hitherto fruſtrate of our hopes, reſolued here to enter vp to the bottome of Rio dolce, and to paſſe ouerland vnto the South ſea. Wherefore wee ſet forward, and entred about thirty leagues vp the ſayd Rio dolce, thinking to haue paſſed ouerland with two companies of men, and to haue caried a pinneſſe in ſixe quarters to be ſet together with ſkrewes, and therein to haue embarked our ſelues in the South ſea, and there for a time to haue tried our fortune; and to haue returned ouerland to the bay of Honduras. But this our diligence tooke no effect, becauſe of the huge highnes of the mountaines, and the length of the way, being more then was giuen out at the firſt. Then with much griefe we returned out to Truxillo, where I departed from Sir Anthony Sherley.

Puerto de Cauallos taken.

They paſſe aboue 30 leags vp Rio dolce.

After my departure from this worthy knight, I ſet my courſe for Cape de Cotoche which lieth on the Eaſt part of Iucatan from whence I ranged al the North coaſt of the ſaid promontory of Iucatan, vntill I came vnto Cape Deſconoſcido, where I put 56 of my men into a Periago, or long Indian Canoa; and leauing my ſhip ſixe leagues from the towne of Campeche at three of the clocke in the morning * I landed hard by the monaſterie of San Franciſco, and tooke the ſayd towne of Campeche, with the captaine and Alcalde, finding therein fiue hundreth Spaniards, and in two townes cloſe adioyning to the ſame eight thouſand Indians. The multitude of the Spaniards which fled vpon my firſt aſſault by ten of the clocke in the morning aſſembling together renued their ſtrength, and ſet furiouſly vpon me and my ſmall company. In which aſſault I loſt ſome ſixe of my men, and my ſelfe was ſhot vnder the left breſt with a bullet, which bullet lieth ſtill in the chine of my backe. Being thus put vnto our ſhifts wee deuiſed on the ſudden a newe ſtratagem: for hauing diuers of the townesmen priſoners, we tied them arme in arme together, and placed them in ſtead of a baricado to defend vs from the fury of the enemies ſhot. And ſo with enſigne diſplayed, taking with vs our ſixe dead men, wee retired with more ſafetie to the hauen, where we tooke a frigat which rode ready fraught with the kings tribute in ſiluer and other good commodities, *which were preſently to bee tranſported to S. Iuan de Vllua, and brought the ſame and our Periago or Canoa to my ſhip, which lay in two fadome water ſixe leagues from the town, being not able to come any neerer for the ſholds vpō that coaſt. Ouer againſt the place where our ſhip rode, ſtoode a towne of 300 or 400 Indians called Sebo, which we likewiſe tooke, where wee found Champeche-wood good to dye withal, with waxe, and hony. This done we left this coaſt, and turned vp to Cape de Cotoche againe, and ankored euery day at noone, becauſe of the brizes, and in turning vp I loſt my barke called the Aduenture, which was taken by 2 frigats of warre, which were manned out from Campeche: wherein Captaine Hen and thirteen of my men were taken, and afterward executed, as ſince we vnderſtand by ſome Spaniſh priſoners that were taken in thoſe parts. After we had ſtayed fiue weekes on this coaſt, wee ſhaped our courſe for Hauana, where finding nothing, we diſembogued, and came along by the Iſle of Bermuda, and croſſed ouer to The banke neere Cape Race in 22 fadomes: and from thence ſayling for England, we fel with Sillie about the firſt of Iuly, and within two dayes after arriued at Plimmouth, where we found the Right honorable the Erle of Eſſex ſetting forth with a great fleet for the Iſles of the Açores.

Cabo de Cotoche.

Cabo deſconoſcido.

* On Eaſter euen 1597.

The towne of Campeche takē.

A new ſtratagem.

* To the value of 5000 pounds

Sebo an Indian towne taken.

An excellent ruttier for the Iſlands of the *VVeſt Indies*, and for *Tierra firma*, and *Nueua Eſpanna*.

If a man depart from the barre of S. Lucar in Summer time, hee muſt ſteere Southweſt vntil hee hath ſight of Punta de Naga, which is in the Iſle of Tenerif. The markes to know it be theſe. An high point ſloping to the ſea, & at the Eaſter point it hath two down falles like particions, and they ſhew to be ſeparated from the maine of the Iland: & ſtand in 28 degrees & a halfe. And if thou wilt haue ſight of the Grand Canaria, and doeſt thy ſelfe with Punta de Naga, thou ſhalt then ſteere Southweſt and by South, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of Canaria which ſtandeth in 28 degrees. And thou muſt come to ankor on the

Southeaſt ſide of the Iſland. But I aduiſe thee, if it be in winter time, that thou keepe another courſe, and that as followeth.

The courſe that a man muſt keepe departing in winter for the *Indies* from *Sant Lucar.*

Cape Cantin.

A great wood before you come at Cape Cantin.

Departing from Sant Lucar in winter thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South keeping along the coaſt, becauſe if thou goe farre from the coaſt, thou ſhalt meete with the wind off the ſea vntill thou be as high ſhot as Cape Cantin, which is a low flat cape with the ſea. And thou ſhalt ſee a great wood before thou come at this cape, called Caſa del Cauallero. And from thence thou ſhalt ſteere thy olde courſe, that is Southweſt and by South for the Iſles of Alegrança and Lancerota; and when thou art North and South with Alegrança, thou ſhalt ſteere thence Southweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt ſee the Canaria, which is a round high land, and ſtandeth in twentie eight degrees.

What thou muſt doe if a contrary wind take thee fiftie leagues off the ſhore.

The bay of Cadiz.

San Pedro.

San Sebaſtian.

Los Puercos.

The Diamant.

When thou art fifty leagues ſhot on thy way into the ſea Southweſt off, and there thou chance to meete with a contrary winde off the ſea, and if it force thee to put roome, then thou ſhalt ſteere Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and ſhalt hall with ſight of Cabos del Plata, which ſhew when thou art a ſeaboord ſo farre as thou mayeſt deſcrie them, to be like two points of white ſand: and if it be cleere thou ſhalt ſee within the land certain high hilles lying Northweſt and by Weſt called las Sierras de Zahara, and being three leagues from land thou ſhalt haue thirtie fadomes water, and ſand: And from thence to the bay of Cadiz thou ſhalt goe along Northweſt by the coaſt: and if thou be in thirtie or forty fadomes, thou ſhalt haue oaze; but if thou bee in leſſe then thirtie fadomes, thou ſhalt haue other ſounding; which if it chance, then thou art againſt S. Pedro. And if it bee by day thou ſhalt ſee the Ermitage of Sant Sebaſtian, which ſeemeth to be a ſhippe vnder ſayle. And thou ſhalt goe into the bay taking heede of the Puercos, giue them a good birth off. And if thou chance to bee benighted when thou falleſt with the bay, and wouldeſt goe into the bay, thou ſhalt carie thy lead in thy hand, and be ſounding: and finding thy ſelfe in white ground, thou ſhalt ſteere North becauſe of ſhunning the Puercos: and yet giue them not too great a birth becauſe of The Diamant, and ſo thou mayeſt goe in, ſounding when thou thinkeſt good. And being benighted and then not Eaſt and Weſt with the bay, and if thou doeſt not goe into it, then make the largeſt boord thou canſt keeping off till day.

The Canaries.

If thou be at the Canaries and wouldeſt ſayle to Nueua Eſpanna, thou ſhalt ſayle foure and twenty houres South becauſe of the calmes of Fierro. And from thence thou ſhalt goe Weſtſouthweſt, vntill thou finde thy ſelfe in twenty degrees. And then thou muſt goe Weſt and by South, which is the courſe for the Iſle Deſeada. And from Deſeada thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by North, becauſe of the variation of the compaſſe. And falling with Deſeada, thou ſhalt finde it to riſe low with the ſea: and it ſtandeth in 15 degrees. And the eaſtermoſt part is the ſharpeſt, and ſmaller then the Weſt point.

The Iſle Deſeada in the Weſt Indies ſtandeth in 15 degrees of latitude.

And if thou art going for Tierra firma, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South vntill thou come to Dominica, and there on the Northweſt ſide is a riuer, where thou mayeſt water. The markes to know it bee a certaine high land full of hilles. And ſeeing it when thou art farre off to the ſeaward, it maketh in the middeſt a partition; ſo that a man would thinke it deuided the Iſland in two parts. And this Iſland ſtandeth in 14 degrees and a halfe.

Markes to know Dominica by.

Guadalupe.

Monſerate.

Santa Cruz.

I aduiſe thee that if thou wouldeſt goe for Nueua Eſpanna, and ſo doeſt paſſe betweene Gudalupe and Monſerate to the Weſtward, that being thus open off the entrance betwixt them thou ſhalt go Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo ſhalt haue ſight of Santa Cruz, which ſtandeth in ſeuenteene degrees and a halfe. And the markes to know it be theſe. It is an Iſland not very high, and lyeth Eaſt and Weſt, and at the Eaſt end it is lower then at the Weſt end.

S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Cape Roxo.

And going forward on thy courſe thou ſhalt runne Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt goe to haue ſight of the Iſle of San Iuan de Puerto rico, which is an Iſland lying Eaſt and Weſt, and ſtandeth in eighteene degrees. And the markes be theſe. That on the Weſt end it is loweſt, and the Eaſtermoſt is the higheſt. And if thou fall with the middeſt of the Iſland, then thou ſhalt goe a long it to the Weſt vnto Cabo Roxo, which is the end of the Iſle. And from thence the coaſt runneth North to Punta Aguada. Cape Roxo hath certaine red cliffes. Thou muſt ſteere Weſt and by South from Cape Roxo to find Mona, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of Mona. And the marks thereof be theſe, it is a low land lying Eaſt and Weſt: and on the Eaſt end it is higheſt, it hath a ſlope towards the ſea, and ſtandeth in 18. degrees, rather leſſe then more. And if it be by day, then thou ſhalt runne Weſt and ſhalt ſee Saona: which is an Iſland lying without Hiſpaniola, and lyeth Eaſt and Weſt, and is full of trees; and hath certaine ſandy bayes. And if it bee cleere weather thou ſhalt ſee within the land of Hiſpaniola certaine hie hils called las Sierras de Yguey. And being benighted vpon Mona, then thou ſhalt ſteere Weſt and by South, becauſe of certaine ſhoalds that lye off Saona: but hauing day light and no ſight of land, thou ſhalt looſe vp Northweſt and ſo paſſe by it, and as thou goeſt along the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, and ſeeſt the ſea to be caſt vp into the aire, then thou ſhalt be about 10 leagues off the harbour of Santo Domingo, and theſe mountings vp are called The Spoutes.

Mona.

Saona.

Las Sierras de Yguey.

Los Buffaderos Or The ſpoutes.

But I aduiſe thee, that if thou bee benighted when thou falleſt with Santo Domingo, then thou muſt keepe the hils called Sierras de las minas viejas to the Northweſt. And if thou wouldeſt goe into Santo Domingo, and meeteſt there with a forcible Northerly wind, then the beſt way is to runne Eaſt till it be day. And hauing daylight thou ſhalt caſt about, and ſo thou muſt ply to wind-ward vntill the Northerly wind be done: and when it is paſt, make all the ſaile thou canſt to hale with the ſight of Calle de las Damas: and when thou haſt ſight thereof thou ſhalt lye with thy ſtemme with a ſandie Bay, which lyeth on the other ſide: and thou muſt take in thy maine ſaile, and go ſo till thou bring thy ſelfe open with the midſt of the riuer; and ſo hauing opened the riuer, thou muſt go with great care in the middeſt of the ſame, with all thy ſailes vp, except thy maine ſaile, and thou muſt haue thy boat out, if it be needefull to ſound or to tow thy ſhip, if ſhe caſt too much to the looſe, for the currents will caſt here to the looſe: wherefore bee ſure to haue thy boat out to helpe thy ſteerage: and this is the way whereby thou muſt worke.

Santo Domingo.

Calle de las Damas.

The courſe from *Santo Domingo* to go for *Nueua Eſpanna*.

I Aduiſe thee that if thou wilt goe from Santo Domingo for Nueua Eſpanna, thou ſhalt goe Southweſt and by South, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of Punta de Niçao, which is a low point, and is the end of the hilles called Sierras de las minas Vieias, and towards the Northweſt of them thou ſhalt ſee a lowe land, and to goe into Hocoa thou ſhalt ſtirre from this poynt of Niçao Weſtnorthweſt, and thou ſhalt ſee the point of Puerto Hermoſo, and the Bay that it maketh: and thou muſt be ſure to keepe neere the ſhore to find a good road, and feare not to go neere the land: for all is deepe water, and cleare ground, and let not fall thine anker till thou be paſt all the riuers; and beware of the land, for if thou ride much without, thy anker wil come home, becauſe it is rocky and flatte ground. And thou muſt be ready, that when thine anker commeth home, thou haue thy moarings readie in thy boat to carry on ſhore with foure or fiue men, and if thou thinke good, thou mayeſt let them fall on land with a rope. And when thou art come to anker thou mayeſt ſend on ſhore to moare, ſo ſhalt thou be beſt moared.

Punta de Niçao.

Hocoa.

Puerto Hermoſo.

The courſe from *Hocoa* to *Nueua Eſpanna*.

GOing from Hocoa to Nueua Eſpanna thou ſhalt ſtirre Southweſt: and this way thou ſhalt find the Iſles Beata, and Alto velo: Beata hath theſe marks: It is a low land with the ſea, and full of trees: and on the Eaſt ſide an high land or cliffe; and Alto velo hath theſe markes. A blacke round land, and the Eaſtermoſt part thereof is higheſt, and it hath a downefall. When thou art North and South with * then thou ſhalt go Weſt, vntill thou be ſo farre ſhot as the Frailes: and from thence goe Weſt and by North, and keeping this courſe thou ſhalt haue ſight of Cape Tiburon, And if by keeping this courſe thou haue ſight of a little Iſland, thou mayeſt make account it is the Iſle of Baque: and it is hard to the land, and from thence thou ſhalt go Weſt, keeping thy ſelfe out vntill thou double a poynt that maketh as it were a great Bay, and then thou muſt go Weſt and by North, till thou come to Cape Tiburon, that hath a round blacke land, and in ſome part thereof certaine white cliffes.

Beata, and the marks thereof.

Alto velo, and the marks thereof.

Frailes.

The Iſle of Baque.

Cape de Tiburon.

I aduiſe thee that when thou art againſt Cape de Tiburon, thou ſtirre Northweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of Cuba, which lyeth Eaſt and Weſt: and thou ſhalt ſee certaine hilles which are called Sierras del Cobre, and in the higheſt of them is the harbour of S. Iago de Cuba: and finding thy ſelfe ſo, thou mayeſt runne Weſt vnto Cape de Cruz. And before thou ſeeſt Cape de Cruz thou ſhalt ſee the hils called Sierras de Tarquino, and from theſe hils to Cape de Cruz the

Cuba.

S. Iago de Cuba.

Sierras de Tarquino.

land wareth lower and lower, and it is loweſt of all at the Cape it ſelfe. And if thou chance to haue the water troubled, as though thy ſhip did raiſe vp the ſand from the ground, be not afraid: for this place is called The nine fathoms: for thou ſhalt find no leſſe water vpon it, and it is the ſhalloweſt water that thou ſhalt haue.

The nine fathoms.

Cape de Cruz in 19. deg. and better.

Thou muſt marke that Cape de Cruz maketh an ende of the coaſt that commeth from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and beginneth the courſe that goeth North and South, and ſtandeth in 19. degrees, rather more then leſſe.

Los Iardines.

The Iſle de Pinos.

From Cape de Cruz thou muſt ſtirre Weſtnorthweſt: and this way thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſle de Pinos, and if thou haue faire weather, then thou muſt goe Northweſt and by Weſt, becauſe of the currents that will ſet thee out to ſea. And keeping this courſe thou ſhalt haue ſight of au high land. I tell thee it is the marke of the Iſles called los Iardines, and is commonly called the land of Zagueio: and then thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South: and if it be by night, then goe Weſtſouthweſt vntill thou haue brought thy ſelfe out from The Iardines. And being by day thou ſhalt keepe off the land, and ſhalt goe Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt ſee the Iſle de Pinos.

The markes to know the *Cape de Santo Antonio.*

Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Sant Anton in 22. degrees.

THe headland called Capo de Santo Antonio is a lowe land, and full of trees, and vpon the Cape it ſelfe it hath two or three thicke woods, and the coaſt lyeth Northweſt and Southeaſt. And thou muſt alſo take good heed that thou haue ſight on the ſame coaſt of a white ſandie Bay; and it is on the ſame coaſt that lyeth Northweſt and Southeaſt. And theſe be the markes from Punta de las Arenas, or The poynt of the ſands, to the Cape of Saint Anthonie, and from the Cape de Corrientes to Punta de las Arenas thou ſhalt haue a great Bay, being ſo long, that if thou be not very neere the ſhore thou canſt not ſee land, it is ſo low. And if thou ſee not the land well, it will ſhew to be a tuft of trees. And the Cape of S. Anthony ſtandeth in 22. degrees.

A ruttier that a man muſt keepe from *Dominica* to *Martinino*, and ſo to *Tierra firma.*

The Teſtigos.

Frailes.

Puerto de Iuan Griego.

I Aduiſe thee that going from Martinino or Dominica, if thou wouldeſt goe for Margarita, that thou ſtirre South and by Weſt, becauſe of the great currents that goe here, and ſet Northweſt. And by this courſe thou ſhalt find the Teſtigos, which be 4 or 5 Iſlands: and if thou wilt not goe ſo much to windward, then thou ſhalt ſee Frailes, which bee three ſmall Iſlands. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour of Manpater, it is preſently in doubling of the point on the Eaſt ſide to the Southward. And being minded to go for puerto de Iuan Griego, which lieth on the Northſide, then go neere the land, and along the coaſt of the Weſt, and preſently thou ſhalt haue ſight of puerto de Iuan Griego; it ſtandeth in 11. degrees.

Curaçao, Aruba.

Monjes three little Iſlands.

Coquebacoa.

I aduiſe thee that going from Matalino, which ſtandeth in 13. degrees, if thou wouldeſt goe to Cartagena, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South, and by this way thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſles of Curaçao and Aruba, which ſtand in 12, degrees: from theſe Iſlands thou ſhalt go Weſt; and when thou art North and South with Monjes, thou ſhalt ſee them to be three little white Iſlands, and they are white becauſe of the multitude of birds that are there: they ſtand in a triangle. From thence thou ſhalt goe Weſt, if it be by day, and ſo ſhalt haue ſight of Coquebacoa that ſtandeth in 12. degrees. And being by night, then goe Northweſt: and by day thou ſhalt caſt to goe for the land againe Weſtſouthweſt. Coquebacoa hath a certaine poynt not very high, and within this poynt thou ſhalt ſee in the inland certain hilles which bee called las Sierras de Auite.

Baia honda.

Portete.

Cape de la vela.

Going from this poynt of Coquebacoa thou ſhalt run Weſt, and ſhalt run along the coaſt, and ſhalt go to haue the ſight of Baya honda and Portete, which is a low land euen with the ſea.

The Cape de la Vela lieth with a redde ſhewe not very high; and without this Cape about a league there is a little coppled rocke. A man may be bold to go betwixt this rocke and the maine.

Cape del Aguja.

And going from this Cape to haue ſight of Cape del Aguja thou muſt ſtirre Southweſt, and thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Ancones which lye at the ende of the hilles called Sierras Neuadas. And then preſently thou ſhalt ſee the Cape del Aguja: the marks whereof are theſe: It is a low Cape, and vpon it is a copple not very high, and there beginneth the high land of the Sierras Neuadas, or ſnowy mountaines.

Take this for a warning that if thou goe for Cape de la Vela by night by the courſe aboueſayd, and commeſt into a whitiſh water, then ſound and thou ſhalt find 40. fathoms, and thy ſound will be certaine ſmal ſandy white oaze, and ſome ſmal weeds. And then thou mayeſt make account that thou art North and South with the riuer called Rio de Palominos, which commeth out of the midſt of the Sierras Neuadas. And being benighted thou ſhalt go Weſtnorthweſt, or Weſt and by North vntil day: and being day then thou mayeſt hale in with ſight of the land Southweſt, becauſe thou mayeſt be ſure to come right in with it.

Rio de Palominos.

If thou goe from Cape del Aguja for Cartagena, if it bee by day, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by South, and ſhalt goe to haue ſight of Morro Hermoſo, that is The faire mountaine, which lyeth to the Weſtward of Rio grande. And being alone, and with a good ſhip of ſaile, and drawing towards night, then thou muſt come to anker behind Morro hermoſo: and after the firſt watch thou muſt ſet ſaile, and go out Weſt and by North, becauſe thou muſt be ſure to keepe a ſeaboord from the Iſland de Arenas, which lyeth 2 leagues to ſeaward right againſt Samba.

Morro hermoſo.
Rio grande.

Iſla de Arenas.
Samba or Zamba

And if thou goe from Cape del Aguja by night, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by North: and ſo thou ſhalt goe without the force of the water of Rio Grande. And being by day thou ſhall goe along the coaſt, and ſhalt ſee Morro hermoſo, which, as I haue ſayd, lyeth to the Weſt of Rio Grande, and hath for markes, a face of a blacke land not very hie, and it is round. And if thou depart by day from Morro hermoſo, thou muſt goe Weſt, and muſt take heede, as I ſayde before, of the Iſle de Arenas, which lyeth North and South off Samba. Samba hath for a marke as it were a gallie towed. And going this way by day, thou ſhalt ſee El buio del Gato, which is an high land with certaine white cliffes to the ſeaward: and alſo more to the Weſt thou ſhalt ſee the poynt called Punta de la Canoa, which is a low land euen with the water: and there endeth the coaſt which lyeth Eaſt and Weſt. And the Bay that goeth to Cartagena beginneth here, and lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt.

El Buio del Gato.

Punta de la canoa.
Cartagena.

And take this for a warning, that if thou be benighted againſt Samba, thou ſhalt take in thy ſailes, & lye off to the offward vntil midnight without any ſaile abroad vntil midnight: and from midnight forward thou ſhalt lye ſo into the land without ſayle: and if in the breake of day thou ſee no land, then goe Southweſt, and if this way thou haue ſight of certaine white cliffes, make account it is Buio del Gato. Take this for a warning, if thy ſhip bee great come not nigh the land in the Bay: I meane thou mayeſt not with a great ſhip come nigh the land from the poynt de la Canoa vntill thou come to Cartagena, becauſe in many places there are not aboue 3 or 4 fathoms at the moſt. In all this Bay there is no hie land but the Gallie, which is right ouer the harbour of Cartegena.

And if it chance that any man come for this place that neuer was here before, then let him looke for a little hill like a towed gallie lying Eaſt and Weſt, and all the land is low, and ſeemeth to be full of trees. Hauing theſe ſights, then make account thou art againſt Cartagena, and to goe in thou haſt nothing to be afraid of: but keepe thy ſelfe hard aboord the poynt of Ycacos: and then when thou commeſt to double the poynt del Iudeo, giue a breadth off, becauſe there is a ſhoald.

The land markes of Cartagena.

The poynt of Ycacos.

A ſhoald.

I aduiſe thee that if thou be benighted when thou art at The poynt de la canoa, and wouldeſt enter into Cartagena by night, that thou take good heede of a ſhoald that lyeth halfe a league to the ſea, and ſo thou ſhalt goe in 8 fathoms, and ſandie ground. And when thou findeſt thy ſelfe in deepe water, as in 30 fathoms and more, then the harbour will bee open before thee. And if thou haue any freſh Northerne winds, then looſe vp to the ſeaward, and lye with thy ſtemme Eaſtſoutheaſt, and ſo thou mayeſt goe in Eaſt through the middeſt of the chanell: and though it bee by night, yet thou mayeſt goe in ſafely, becauſe it is all cleere. And if the night be cleere thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſland called Cares, and it is an high land.

A ſhoald halfe a league to the ſea.

The Iſle of Cares.

Comming from Cartagena to goe for Nombre de Dios in the time of the Northerne winds, thou muſt bring thy ſelfe to the offward of Sal medina: and thence ſtirre Weſt till thou bring thy ſelfe North and South with Cabeça de Catiua: and then goe Southweſt and by Weſt, and thou ſhalt ſo fall with Rio de Franciſco. It hath for markes a certaine land not very high, and within the land certaine high hils lying Eaſt and Weſt. And on the Weſt of the riuer of Franciſco thou ſhalt ſee certaine cliffes that bee ſixe leagues from Nombre de Dios, inclining toward the ſea.

Sal Medina.
Cabeza de Catiua.
Rio de Franciſco.

I aduiſe thee that going this courſe aboue written; if thou ſee 3 or 4 Iſles lying lowe with the ſea, and alſo lying Eaſt and Weſt, thou mayeſt make account that they be the Iſlands de Catiua, and then runne Weſt, and ſo thou ſhalt go along the coaſt. And if thou ſee by this way a poynt of low land, make account it is Punta de Samblas: and vpon it thou ſhalt ſee a row of hie rockie hils, and they be the mountaines of Santa Cruz.

The Iſles de Catiua.

Punta de Samblas.

Sierras de Santa Cruz.

If thou come from Cartagena to go to Nombre de Dios in the time of the ſea winds, when thou art out from Sal Medina, thou ſhalt goe Weſt and by North, that thou mayeſt haue ſea-roome, and take the Briſas or Northerne winds when they come: and goe till thou be North and South with the harbour of Nombre de Dios: and from thence goe Southweſt, and if by this way thou ſee a row of high hils on a coaſt that lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt, make account they are Sierras de las minas Viejas, which minas Viejas lie North and South with the harbour of Velo alto. Hauing kept this courſe aboueſaid, and hauing ſight of the former marke, thou mayeſt account that thou art on the Weſt ſide of Nombre de Dios.

Sierras de las minas viejas. Puerto de velo alto. Nombre de Dios.

Furthermore when thou haſt ſight of an high land, and thou bee North and South with it, and in the toppe thereof thou ſeeſt as it were a litle table, if it be higheſt toward the Eaſt, then make account that thou art North and South with Nombre de Dios, I ſay, with the harbour of Nombre de Dios, and this hill is called Sierra de Capira. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou muſt keepe thy prow right againſt this hill, and comming neerer to the ſhore, thou ſhalt ſee a ledge of rockes, and it is without, and thou mayeſt goe in what depth thou thinkeſt good, or at which place thou findeſt moſt water in. And to the Weſt of the harbor thou ſhalt ſee two or three Iſlands called Iſlas de los Baſtimentos.

Sierra de Capira. A ledge of rocks. Iſlas de los Baſtimentos.

The courſe to goe back from Nombre de Dios to Cartagena.

Take this for a warning, if thou come out of Nombre de Dios in the time of the Briſas or Northerne winds, and wouldeſt goe for Cartagena, thou ſhalt come out in the morning, and ſhalt go Northnorthweſt vntill 3 of the clocke at afternoone, and then caſt about to the land, vntill thou be hard aboord the ſhore, and ſo thou muſt go turning vntill thou haſt doubled Cabeça de Catiua: and hauing doubled it then ply to windward all that thou mayeſt: and if thou be Eaſtnortheaſt off it, then thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſlands of Baru, which are 3 or 4 Iſlands lying low, and are all full of trees: and then preſently thou ſhalt haue ſight of the gallie that is ouer Cartagena, and it is like a gallie towed.

Iſlas de Baru.

I aduiſe thee, that if thou come for Cartagena in the time aboueſayde, and commeſt from Cabeça de Catiua, if the wind will not ſuffer thee to lye but Weſt, then going thus if thou ſeeſt a great high Iſland full of mountaines, and on the North ſide thereof thou ſee a ledge of rocks two leagues into the ſea, thou mayeſt be ſure it is Iſla fuerte: but if thou ſee not the rocks, giue them a good breadth: and if thou wilt come to anker, thou mayeſt ride well on the Weſt ſide of them, betwixt the maine and them in fifteene fathomes; and the ſounding is clay. And if thou wilt go betweene this and the Iſlands of Saint Barnardo to goe into Cartagena, thou mayeſt goe ſafely. And if any man aſke thee how thou knoweſt the Iſlands of Baru and San Barnardo, thou mayeſt anſwere truely, that the Iſles of San Barnardo are full of high hilles, and certaine ſandie bayes to ſeaward; and the ſayd Iſles haue a good depth two or three leagues to the ſea: and this depth is called The Bacilla. And theſe are all the markes for the Iſlandes of San Barnardo. And touching the Iſles of Baru, they bee 3 or 4 little Iſlands and very euen with the ſea, and full of trees, and there is no good depth about them, but hard aboord them.

Iſla fuerte. A ledge of rocks. Iſlas de San Barnardo. La Bacilla

A ruttier from *Cartagena* to *Hauana* in *Cuba.*

Comming from Cartagena to goe to Hauana, thou muſt goe Northnorthweſt vntill thou be in foureteene degrees: and then forwardes thou ſhalt goe with great care to anker euery night, and when it is day ſet ſayle. And this is to bee done in this place becauſe of the ſhoalds of Serrana: and ſo thou mayeſt proceede with a care to anker when thou commeſt about Serranilla, or neere to it, which is in fifteene degrees and a halfe. And vpon it thou ſhalt ſee a lowe flatte land lying Northeaſt and Southweſt: and the ſea beateth vpon it round about, except that on the Southeaſt part it hath certaine ſhelues of ſand, and on the Weſt ſide it hath a certain litle copple, which from ſea ſeemeth to bee a ſhippe vnder ſayle: and being Northeaſt and Southweſt off it, ſcant a league from the ſhoald commeth out on the Weſt ſide a certayne ſhoald, whereupon the ſea doth alwayes beate.

The ſhoalds of Serrana, Serranilla.

I aduiſe thee that if thou canſt not paſſe on the Weſt ſide, then thou muſt goe betwixt the ſayd little copple that is like a ſayle and the ſhoald; for the paſſage is good. But if thou depart from the Serranilla to the Northweſt, and ſeeſt a lowe land with the ſea, and certaine white ſandy bayes, and on the Weſt ſide ſeeſt a low land, and on the Eaſtſide a little coaſt lying Eaſt and Weſt, thou mayeſt make account it is Cape de Corrientes.

Cape de Corrientes. Cape de San Antonio.

And if thou goe from Cape de Corrientes for Cape de Santo Antonio, thou muſt goe Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo thou ſhalt goe with the Cape. The marks be a low land full of trees with certaine white ſandie bayes: and vpon the Cape it ſelfe thou ſhalt ſee two thicke groues of great trees, and they be vpon the Cape it ſelfe.

To go from the Cape de Sant Antonio for Hauana in the time of the North winds, thou ſhalt goe Northweſt vntill thou be cleere of all the ſhoalds of the Cape, and then hale thy bowlines, and go as neere the wind as thou canſt poſſibly, vntill thou bring thy ſelfe vnto 24. degrees, and there ſound, and thou ſhalt find it the Tortugas, and thy ſounding will be white ſand.

The Tortugas.

Thou muſt take heede what is ſaid in the Chapter before: for he that writ the ſame hath ſeene it, and bene witneſſe to this: that comming from Seranilla, and ſtirring North and by Eaſt he had ſight of an Iſland ſtanding in 16. degrees, and it is on the ſhoalds of Cape de Camaron. And from thence, if thou haue the wind large, goe Northeaſt and by Eaſt, becauſe of the variation of the compaſſe, and thou ſhalt make thy way Eaſtnortheaſt, and thou ſhalt fall with Iſla de Pinos. This I ſay, becauſe the currents ſet ſometime Weſt: and ſo it fell out to bee true in March, Anno Domini 1582. I tell thee farther, that wee came out from this aforeſayd Iſle ſtirring North and by Eaſt, for the wind would not ſuffer vs to lye neerer the Eaſt, and one euening at Sunne going downe we fell with a land, that had the ſame markes to our iudgement with the Cape de Corrientes: and becauſe night was at hand, we wrought to double Cape de Sant Antonio, ſtirring Weſt: and about midnight we had land all high right ahead, & the coaſt lying Southweſt: and then we caſt and lay Northeaſt till day: And being day, wee ſaw the land all ahead, and we plied to wind-ward to the Eaſt, and kept it a larboord till we had brought it Southweſt. And to be ſhort, we went here on land in the ſame place that we firſt fell with in the euening before: and it was an Iſland called Coçumel, lying on the coaſt of Iucatan. And this Iſland was the land which we ſaw firſt, ſeeming by the marks to be the Cape de Corrientes. Wee came to an anker about the middeſt of the Iſland, rather to the Norther then the Souther part: there we found a towne of Indians, who gaue vs all things which we needed for our money: and wee carried our Aſtrolabs on ſhore and tooke the height in 19. degrees and one tierce. A man may goe betweene this Iſland and the coaſt of Iucatan, and the Cape de Cotoche at pleaſure Northeaſt; and the water wil ſet in thy fauour: and thou muſt go till thou be in 24. degrees, and ſo thou ſhalt haue the ſounding of the Tortugas.

Seranilla.
An Iſland in 16. degrees.
Bancos de Cabo de Camaron.
The variation of the compaſſe.
Iſla de Pinos.
The currents ſet here ſometimes Weſt.
Iſla de Cozumel.
The latitude of Cozumel in 19. deg. and one tierce.
Las Tortugas.

The courſe to be kept from the *Cape de Santo Antonio* for *Nueua Eſpanna.*

If thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueua Eſpanna, and beeing late, thou ſhalt ſtirre Weſtnorthweſt till thou be in the height of 24. degrees: and from thence thou ſhalt ſtirre ſomething to the Weſt, vntil thou bring thy ſelfe North and South with the litle Iland called Vermeja: and when thou art ſo, thou ſhalt go Southweſt, & by this way thou ſhalt find Villa Rica, which is in 19 degrees & a halfe, and the ſignes be theſe. Thou ſhalt find a ledge of high hils lying Northeaſt and Southweſt. But if thou chance to fall with a coaſt that lieth North and South, then thou mayeſt account, that it is about the low ground of Almeria which hath theſe markes. It is a land not very high, and it is full of little copples. And if thou haue cleare weather, thou ſhalt ſee within the land certaine high hils which are called the hils of Papalo.

The little Iſle called Vermeja.
Markes of Villa Rica.
The low ground of Almeria.
Las Sierras de Papalo.

And I aduiſe thee that beeing ſo farre ſhotte as the poynt called Punta delgada, which is the ende of all thoſe hilles of Villa Rica, thou mayeſt ſtirre thence South and by Weſt, and thou ſhalt goe along the coaſt, and ſhalt ſee a lowe land, and with this land thou ſhalt fall, going for Saint Paul, and being ſo farre ſhotte as Saint Paul, if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou muſt ſtirre Southweſt: and this is the courſe that thou muſt keepe being ſhotte into the Bay. And thou ſhalt goe along the coaſt of the lowe land in ſight thereof: and keeping this courſe thou ſhalt ſee on the other ſide a blacke hill, and it is called Monte de Carneros. Take this for a note, that it lyeth ouer the houſe of Buytron: and as thou doeſt come neerer to the poynt of rockes, thou muſt bee ſure to keepe thy lead going, and ſhalt haue foure fathomes and a halfe or fiue fathomes, and ſo thou mayeſt goe through the middeſt of the chanell. And comming againſt the caſtle, thou ſhalt giue it ſome breadth off towards the Arrecife or rocke: and hauing doubled the caſtle, thou ſhalt goe from thence and ſhalt bring thy ſelfe to an anker hard by the Herreria, which is a cleane Bay, and thou ſhalt ride againſt the hoſpitall.

Saint Paul.
Monte de Carneros.
Caſa de Buytron.
The caſtle of S. Iuan de Vllua.
The hoſpitall.

I aduiſe thee that if thou be benighted when thou art neere to S. Paul, and meeteſt with a Northerly wind after midnight, that then thy beſt way is to bring thy ſelfe into thy coarſes, and lye by, plying to windward, and to ſeaward in 20. fathomes, which depth thou ſhalt haue neere the ſhore, to the Northward: and being day, then goe in with the harbour as thou canſt beſt, obſeruing what is aboue ſaid.

And I aduiſe thee if thou come from Villa Rica, and findeſt thy ſelfe in 20. degrees and a halfe, and ſeeſt no land, and ſeeſt that the water doth alter, thou ſhalt ſound 60. fathomes water: and if

The riuer of Almeria.

in this depth thou haſt oaze, make account thou art Eaſt and Weſt with the riuer of Almeria. This courſe is from the Cape of Santo Antonio to Nueua Eſpanna without or aſtaboord the Alacranes or Scorpions.

Now followeth how to worke, if a man come betwixt the *Alacranes* and the maine.

Alacranes or Scorpions.

The triangle.

Surra or Zarra.

The high hils of S. Martin.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio and wouldeſt goe for Nueua Eſpanna within the Alacranes, thou muſt ſtirre Weſt and by South, and by this way thou ſhalt bring thy ſelfe in 20. fathoms; and if thou keeping this courſe findeſt leſſe water, then go Weſt and by North, and that way thou ſhalt bring thy ſelfe into 20. fathomes againe, vntill thou haue brought thy ſelfe North and South with the triangle. And being North and South with the triangle, then thou ſhalt be alſo North and South with Surra: from thence thou ſhalt go Southweſt: and by this courſe thou ſhalt haue ſight of the high hils of S. Martin, which are certaine high hils lying Northweſt and Southeaſt, and they haue a partition in the midſt, and to the Northweſt they be higheſt: and on the Southeaſt part within the land, thou ſhalt ſee ſomething an high land, called Pan de Minſapa, that is, the loafe of Minſapa, which is a round loafe not very high.

The hils of S. Martin ſtand in 18. degrees leſſe one fift part.

I aduiſe thee, that when thou falleſt with Saint Martin, and wouldeſt go with Saint Iohn de Vllua, then thou ſhalt goe Weſtnorthweſt: and this is the courſe that thou muſt keepe, if thou bee farre off at ſea, I meane ſo farre off as thou mayeſt well deſcrie the hils of S. Martin.

Rio de Medelin.

S. Iuan de Vllua is in 18. deg. and a halfe.

But if thou be neere to the land, then thou muſt goe Northweſt and by Weſt, and thou ſhalt ſo come along the coaſt, and thou ſhalt find the coaſt to bee low land: and comming this courſe thou ſhalt haue ſight of certaine little hilles not very high: then thou ſhalt fall with the poynt called Punta de Antoni Serro: and theſe hilles lye ouer the riuer of Medelin. And if when thou art Eaſt and Weſt, with The Volcan or hill that caſteth out fire, any man doe aſke thee, where the harbour of Sant Iuan de Vllua is, thou mayeſt truely anſwere, Weſt and by South, and it ſtandeth in 18. degrees and a halfe.

The courſe to be kept from *Nueua Eſpanna* to the maine of *Spaine* in *Europe*.

The Tortugas.

The currents to the Eaſt.

Pan de Cabanas

Hauana.

COmming from S. Iuan de Vllua to goe for Spaine, thou ſhalt ſtirre Northeaſt vntill thou be in 24. degrees: and ſo beeing thou ſhalt goe Eaſt vntill thou bring thy ſelfe in the ſoundings of the Tortugas, and thy ground wil be white ſand. I aduiſe thee, that if it be by night, thou goe Eaſt; and finding the water to waxe ſhoalder, then goe Southweſt, with a care to keepe the lead going, vntill thou looſe ground, and come into great depth, becauſe thou mayeſt fall to the North of the Tortugas. And going from this ſound for Hauana thou muſt ſtirre Southſoutheaſt, becauſe of the currents that carrie thee to the Eaſt. And if by this way thou haue ſight of an hie land, that ſeemeth to be like a loafe, make account it is the loafe of Cabanas. And to the Eaſt of this loafe thou ſhalt ſee a land that hath a plaine. It ſheweth to be low, euen with the ſea, and as ſmooth as the ſea: and from this land to the Eaſt the land is lower and lower. And from thence to Hauana thou muſt goe Eaſt. And if the wind will not let thee go that courſe, thou muſt turne vp till thou be vpon the harbour of Hauana.

The markes of the poynt of Hauana be theſe, that on the Eaſt ſide it hath an hie blacke land, which is ſloping to the ſea, with a litle white tower on the top thereof: and as thou goeſt into the port, thou muſt keepe neere the high blacke land, and when thou art hard to it, ſtrike thy toppeſayles in ſigne of peace to the caſtle, leaſt it ſhoote at thee.

What courſe the Spaniards keepe from *Hauana* to *Spaine*.

Los Martyres.

IF from Hauana thou wouldeſt ſet thy courſe for Spaine, thou muſt goe Northeaſt, and ſhalt ſo haue ſight of the Martyres, which ſtand in 24. degrees and a halfe. And the coaſt lieth Eaſt and Weſt. The markes be theſe, it ſheweth like heads of trees, and in ſome places certaine rocks with white ſandy bayes. And if the wind be large, thou mayeſt go Eaſt and by South vntill thou ſee the coaſt to lye Northeaſt and Southweſt: and if the wind be ſcant, then go turning vp: and take good heed that euery euening at Sunne going downe thou haue ſight of the land, and ſo thou muſt do being in the chanell, vntill thou bring thy ſelfe into the middeſt of the chanell: and thou muſt lye off from the going downe of the ſunne, vntill the ende of the firſt watch with thy courſes alone, without any more ſayle; and from midnight forwards caſt about, and lye the other way with the like ſayle vntill day: and thus thou muſt doe vntill thou bring thy ſelfe into the chanel. And if being in the Chanel thou finde the winde large, thou ſhalt ſtirre Northeaſt, with a care to goe cleane off the ſholds of the Mimbres or the Oſtars. And if being in the chanel thou meete with the winde at North, then thou muſt turne with a litle ſaile 4.glaſſes one way, and 4.another, as thou thinkeſt good. And if thou canſt not beare ſayle, then thou mayeſt goe with all thy ſayles downe, except when thou wouldeſt caſt about, thou mayeſt looſe ſome ſmall ſayle to winde thy ſhip.

The ſholdes of Mimbres, that is, of Oſtars.

I aduiſe thee, that when thou art come out of the Chanel, thou ſhalt be in 28.degrees. And if it be in ſummer, thou ſhalt goe Northeaſt vntill thou be in 39.degrees and ½, which is the height of Flores: and thou ſhalt goe to the Northward of Bermuda. And if thou thinke good to go in more degrees, to haue the ſeawindes, thou ſhalt goe by the ſame height, as I haue ſayd: and if thou ſhalt finde the winde off the ſea, thou haſt no neede to goe in more heightes: and from thence thou ſhalt goe Eaſt and by South: and thou muſt goe thus becauſe of the variation of the Compaſſe. And thus thou ſhalt finde the iſles of Flores and Cueruo, which ſtand in 39.degrees ½, and in 40.large. The markes be theſe. *

The Chanell reacheth to 28.degrees. La Bermuda.

The variation of the Compaſſe.

Thou mayeſt goe from betwixt Flores and Cueruo, and muſt goe Eaſt Southeaſt, and ſo thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iland of Sayles, which is the Iland of S. George. And beeing at the land thou ſhalt goe along it, and when thou haſt doubled a certaine litle Head-land that lyeth in the Eaſt poynt, then thou ſhalt ſtirre Eaſt and by North, and Eaſt. And thus going, thou ſhalt haue ſight of Terçera, which is in 39.degrees. The markes bee theſe. * And behinde a certaine blacke land ſomething high, which is called el Braſil, ſtandeth the Citie called Angra. Going from Terçera, thou ſhalt runne Eaſt Northeaſt, vntill thou bring thy ſelfe Northweſt, and Southeaſt with the Cape of Saint Vincent. And thou mayeſt worke thus being in ſummer: for alwayes thou ſhalt haue the windes at Northweſt. And beeing Northweſt and Southeaſt with this Cape, thou ſhalt ſtirre Southeaſt and by Eaſt, and thou ſhalt ſo fall with the land 6.or 7.leagues to the windward off the Cape on the coaſt, which lyeth North and South: then thou ſhalt goe along the coaſt to the South, vntill thou ſee the Cape. And the Cape ſtandeth in 37.degrees: the markes be theſe. It is a Cape not very hie, and is blacke, ſloping to the ſea. And from thence thou ſhalt double the Aſagreſal Southeaſt: and ſo running, thou ſhalt then goe Eaſt vnto the cape of S.Mary: and from this Cape goe Eaſt Northeaſt, and ſo thou ſhalt runne to haue ſight of Arenas Gordas: and then thou ſhalt ſee preſently a little hill towardes the Eaſt which is called Cabeça de Pedro Garcia. And if thou be benighted, and comming into 8.or 9.fathoms, then I wiſh thee to come to anchor, vntill it be day, and then call for a Pilote, that may by ſome meanes carie thee into harbour.

Flores and Cueruo.
Saint George

Terçera.

The Cape of S. Vincent.
The windes are alwayes at Northweſt in the ſummer.

The markes of Cape S. Vincent.
The Aſagreſal.
The Cape of Saint Mary.

I aduiſe thee, if in the Winter time thou bee ſhot out of the narroweſt of the Chanel of Bahama, and wouldeſt goe for Spaine, that thou muſt goe Eaſt Northeaſt, vntill thou be in 30.degrees rather leſſe then more; and then thou mayeſt goe Eaſt and by South, becauſe of the variation of the Compaſſe. And ſtirring hence Eaſt Southeaſt, thou ſhalt goe on the Southſide of Bermuda: and muſt goe with great care, becauſe many haue bene loſt heere about this Iland, becauſe of their negligence. And when thou art ſure thou art paſt this Iland, then goe Eaſt Northeaſt, vntill thou bee in the height of ſeuen and thirtie degrees: which is in the heigth of the Iland of Saint Marie. And going thus, and not ſeeing Land, but ſeeing the Sea to breake, make accompt it is the rocks called las Hormigas. And if thou thinke good to goe to Faial, thou ſhalt goe till thou be in 38.degrees ½ ſcant, and then thou ſhalt goe Eaſt, and ſo ſhalt haue ſight of Faial. The markes of it be theſe. *

The courſe in winter from the chanel of Bahama.
The variation of the Compaſſe.
Many loſt vpon Bermuda by negligence.
The Iſle of S. Marie.

Faial.

Comming out from Faial, and leauing all the Ilandes, then goe Eaſt and by South vntill thou bring thy ſelfe in 37.degrees, which is the height of Cape Saint Vincent: and then goe Eaſt, and thou ſhalt ſee the Cape hauing the markes aforeſayd. And from Cape S. Vincent thou muſt goe Eaſt Southeaſt, till thou be Northeaſt, and Southweſt, with the barre of S.Lucar: and then goe Northeaſt for the Barre.

The barre of S. Lucar.

Take this for a warning, that if going in 37.degrees thou haue not ſight of Cape S. Vincent, and haſt ſight of certaine hie hils, make accompt they are Sierras de Monchico.

Sierras de Monchico.

I aduiſe thee, that if thou ſtand in feare of men of warre about the Cape of S.Vincent, then goe in 36.degrees ½. And finding thy ſelfe within the Cape, if thou ſee many ſignes of greene weedes, then caſt about to the North Northeaſt, and by this way ſeeing land, and the ſame ſhewing white, be ſure it is the caſtle of Aimonte.

To auoyde men of warre.

The caſtle of Aimonte.

A ruttier for the old Chanel from the Eaſt point of *Cuba* by the North ſide thereof to *Hauana.*

The Cape of S.Nicolas on the Eaſt ende of Cuba.
Punta de Mayaci.
Baracoa.

GOing from the Cape of S.Nicolas, thou ſhalt goe North Northweſt, but thou muſt keepe to windward off the poynt, that thou mayeſt weather it, & it is called the poynt of Mayaci: and it is a very low land and ſmooth: and aboue vp within the land about a league it hath a long Hill, which is not very high but flat. And from that poynt to Baracoa is 7.leagues.

A ſhold on the Eaſt ſide of Baracoa.

And being diſpoſed to goe into Baracoa, keepe the weather-ſhore all along, vntill thou open the Harbour. And to knowe if thou bee open of the Harbour, looke vpon the South ſide; and thou ſhalt ſee an Hill by it ſelfe, which maketh as it were a crowne vpon it. And if thou come along, it maketh as it were a Fort with Ports about it: And this is the marke if thou come out of the Sea. And this Hill is North and South of the Harbour, ouer the Harbour of Baracoa. And if thou wilt goe in, thou muſt take heede of a Shoald which lyeth on the Eaſt ſide, and thou muſt keepe the Weſt ſide: and goe not much from the Shoeld, becauſe the foote of the Shoald that ſhooteth Weſtward hath 5.fathoms water. And when thou art within the Shoalds, thou muſt goe a litle within them, and then let fall an anchor: and looke that thou come not much on the Eaſt ſide, for it is ſhoaldie.

Cayo de Moa.
This worde Cayo in the Biſkayne tongue ſignifieth a flat or a ſhoald.
Pracellas.
The Moſowes.

And comming out from Baracoa, being to paſſe through the old chanel, you ſhal ſet your courſe Northweſt vntil you come with the Cayo de Moa, or the ſhoald of Moa, vntill you thinke you are Northeaſt and Southweſt with it, or till you thinke you are gone 12.leagues: and you ſhal know that you are vpon Cayo de Moa. For before you come at it by 2.leagues or more, you ſhall vnderſtand that it hath a poynt of lowe land, and vpon the poynt it hath a Palme tree; which tree you ſhall ſee alwayes, before you ſee the point: and it is like a ſayle. From thence to The Pracellas or Flats you ſhall ſtirre Northweſt two parts of your way, that you haue to runne from Cayo de Moa to the ſayd Pracellas or Flats, and the one halfe part of the way North Northweſt and by Weſt. And this way you ſhall ſee The Pracellas or Flats in a cleane place of the ſhoald aboue the water, for all the breach of the ſea. The Moſowes bee from the Pracell Weſt, and you ſhall leaue them to windward.

Camoloquea.
The Flats of Mecala to be auoyded.
Cropeda a flat Iſland.
2.Rockes of ſtone.
Punta de Caucus.
Matanzas.
The currents.
The Teates of Hauana.

And if you will goe with the Pracellas or Flats, you ſhall finde 4, or 5.fathomes: and you may goe ſure without danger a Northweſt courſe vntill you come in 7.fathomes. And if you will goe vpon the Shoald, you ſhall goe vpon that depth, vntill you haue runne 40. or 45.leagues: And from thence you ſhall ſet your courſe Southweſt, till you ſee the Flattes of the maine land, You ſhall then ſee to the Weſtward a rocke diuided into 3.partes, which is called the Camoloquea. And looke that when you come from the Pracellas Southweſt, you haue certaine Flats before you: take heede of them that you fall not by night with them by foure leagues, for feare of the Mecala: and you ſhall ſet your courſe Weſt Northweſt vntill day: and when it is day, you muſt beare cloſe aboord the ſhore, and then you ſhall ſee a flat Iſland with many broken lands, which is called Cropeda, and lyeth but a little out of the trade way, ſomewhat to the Northward. Of that you ſhall ſee 2.Rocks of ſtone, which are the poynt of all the Flats: And two leagues from them on the mayne land you ſhall ſee a poynt which ſheweth like broken land. This is called The poynt of Caucus. And from that poynt to Matanças on the Northſide of Cuba are 12.leagues, and your courſe lieth Weſt and by North: and then you muſt borrow vpon the land all that you can, becauſe of the currents: for the currents will cary you into the Chanell. And being at Matanças, you muſt runne all along the ſhore, becauſe of the currents. Remember that when you ſee one league before you a Rocke, and a Shoald, that hath vpon it but 2.fathomes water; and your marke if you come out of the ſea is an Hill, and the Hil is not very hie, it ſtandeth Eaſt and Weſt, and vpon it are ſome little riſings and they are not very high, and vpon theſe riſings ſtand two round homocks cloſe together, you ſhall ſee the Teates of Hauana.

The harbour of Xaroca.
Markes to know the harbour of Hauana.

To know along the ſhore when you are againſt the Harbour of Xaroca, the markes are theſe. A little to the Weſtward one league, you ſhall ſee along the ſhore a Hill that is broken, and that broken Hill is ouer the Harbour of Xaroca: and then a little more to the Weſtward a league, there is another broken Hill. And you ſhall ſee that North and South from theſe broken hils is a Flat off. And from that to Hauana is 7.leagues: and it is all cleane ground, and you may goe along the ſhore till you come to Hauana. To know the harbour of Hauana, you ſhall ſee before you come at it one litle rocke of ſtone not very hie, and ſmooth toward the ſea: vpon the rocke ſtandeth a litle white tower, wherein they keepe watch. And then if you haue the winde large, you ſhall ſee the harbour open, and then you may beare in with it.

Your ſhippe being of great burthen, when you are within, then keepe on the Weſt ſide, becauſe on the Eaſt ſide, on the Weſt end of the Rocke aforeſayde, there lieth a ledge to the Weſtward, which hath but three or foure fathoms ⁏ vpon it. If your ſhip be of ſmall burthen, you may run along the weather ſhore, vntill you come right againſt the Caſtle; and then halfe the Bay ouer you may come to an anchor.

How to worke comming through the olde Chanell, if you be not minded to goe ouer the *Pracellas* or ſhoalds.

If you will come through the olde Chanel, when you come as hie as the Shoalds, comming vpon your courſe from the Caio de Moa, as I told you, keepe 2. leagues from the Pracel or ſhoald: and then ſet our courſe Weſt vnto the low iſlands of the Firme land. And vpon this courſe you ſhal ken the Flats on the point of Caio Romano: and within it is one Flat higher then the other, and ſmooth vpon, and in the middeſt it maketh as it were broken land; and when you are in the chanel in the day time, you muſt take heede you come not neere the ſhore by 2. leagues, and by your ſounding no neerer then 3. fathoms. And you muſt take heede ſtil when ẏ night commeth to keepe 2. or three leagues off for feare of the ſhoalds. And in the night you muſt goe Northweſt as is aforeſaid. And alſo you muſt take heed that you keepe in the middle of the chanel, as nere as you can toward the ſhoald. And finding much winde & being benighted, from midnight till day ſtirre Weſt Northweſt, and when it is towards day, then you may edge towards the Flats as is aforeſaid.

Caio de Moa.

Caio Romano.

And as you ſtirre hence one day and one night from Caio Romano to the inwards of the Chanel, you ſhall ſee the firme land of Cuba, and other markes; and among the reſt, a round hamocke, which you may eaſily know. It is called Alcane de Baraſoga. And from thence to Sauano and to Baſquo is 6. leagues, and likewiſe Hauana 6. leagues. And from thence to croſſe vnder the Fort is 45. leagues. And ſtirre hence vpon your courſe aforeſaid. And if you haue gone from Baraſoga 30. leagues, you ſhall ſee none of the Flats of Mecala: And giue them a bredth off two or three leagues, and keepe your courſe Weſt Northweſt, as aforeſayd, vntill it be day, and preſently you may edge round to the Flats. And thus ſtirring, keepe your courſe vntill you ſee the hilles of Camaloqua.

Alcane de Baraſoga.

Sauano, Baſquo.

The Flats of Mecala.

Take heede of that which is here ſayd, for it hath litle reaſon.

And looke that when you come from Caio de Moa, along the Pracel or ſhoald by night cloſe by it, you ſhall not ſee what land it is, till it be day: and in the Morning you ſhall ſet your courſe as is aforeſayd, vntill you ſee the ſhoald, and in ſeeing it, you may ſtirre on your courſe as is aboue mentioned, vntill you come to Hauana.

Sierras de Camaloquea.

Caio de Moa, Pracellas.

Hauana.

For to ſet your courſe from the point of Mance to Caio Romano, when you are North and South with the point of Mance, you ſhall ſtirre thence Weſt Northweſt, vntil you thinke you be Northeaſt and Southweſt with the hill of Hama. And this hill is an high hill and ſmooth to the ſeaſide. And from this hill to Caio Romano you ſhall ſtirre Northweſt and by Weſt: and vpon this courſe you may be bolde to ſee Caio Romano. And the marke of this Flat is, that it maketh an hie land and ſmooth vpon the top: and in the middeſt of it, it ſheweth as it were broken. And when you come to it, you muſt take heede you come not neere it by 2. leagues, becauſe it is fowle. And looke that you bring not your ſelfe too neere the hill of Hama by night. For you muſt take heede of Caio Romano to keepe off it vntill Morning: in the Morning you may goe your courſe vntill you ſee it, and then ſet your courſe, as is abouesaid.

Punta de Mance.

Sierra del Hama.

Caio Romano.

The markes of the Flat of Caio Romano.

A principal ruttier conteining moſt particular directions to ſaile from *S. Lucar* in *Andaluzia* by the Iſles of the *Canaries*, the ſmall Iſles called *Las Antillas*, along the South parts of the Iſles of *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*, *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba:* and from *Cabo de Corrientes*, or *Cabo de S. Anton* without and within the litle Iſles called *Los Alacranes*, to the port of S. *Iuan de Ullua* in *Nueua Eſpanna:* and the courſe from thence backe againe by *Hauana*, and through the Chanell of *Bahama* to *Spaine:* together with the ſpeciall markes of all the Capes, Iſlands, and other places by the way; and a briefe declaration of their latitudes and longitudes.

If you depart from the barre of S. Lucar de Barameda toward the West Indias in the Summer time, you muſt ſtirre away Southweſt vntill you come to the head-land called Punta de Naga vpon the Iſle of Tenerif. But if your departure be from the ſayd barre in the Winter, you muſt ſtirre away Southweſt and by South, vntill you come to the height of Cape Cantin on the coaſt of Barbarie: the markes and ſignes whereof be theſe following.

Punta de Naga.

The

The markes to know *Cape Cantin.*

CApe Cantin is a lowe Cape and ſmall to the ſea-ward, and maketh a ſnowt like the noſe of a galley, and hath vpon the top of the poynt a Heath or ſhrubby place, and on the toppe thereof ſtand two homocks, that to the ſea-ward being higher then the other; but that on the Souther ſide ſheweth like a tower: and this Cape is in 32. degrees and ½.

And he that wil ſeeke from this Cape to diſcouer Punta de Naga beforeſayd, muſt ſtirre away Southweſt and by Weſt, vntill hee bring himſelfe Northeaſt and Southweſt with the ſame point, and then he muſt ſtirre away South to fetch the ſaid point.

The ſignes of *Punta de Naga.*

Punta de hidalgo.

THe ſaid point or Head-land is an high point of Land, and plaine vpon the toppe like a table, and without it there are two litle rockie Iſlands; and vpon the North ſide of the ſaid point is another point called Punta de hidalgo, and vpon the top thereof are 2. picked rockes like vnto the eares of a Hare.

The courſe from the *Canaries* to the *VVeſt Indies.*

The calmes of Fierro.

The variation of the compaſſe.

IF you ſet ſaile from any of the Iſlands of the Canaries for the Weſt Indias, you muſt ſtirre away 30. or 40 leagues due South, to the ende you may auoid the calmes of the Iſland of Fierro: and being ſo farre diſtant from the ſaid Iſland, then muſt you ſtirre away Weſt Southweſt, vntill you finde your ſelfe in 20. degrees, and then ſaile Weſt and by South vntill you come to 15. degrees and ½. And from thence ſtirre away Weſt and by North; and ſo ſhall you make a Weſt way by reaſon of the Northweſting of the Compaſſe: which Weſt way will bring you to the Iſland of Deſeada.

The markes of the Iſland of *Deſeada.*

Deſeada in 15. degrees and a halfe.

THis Iſland Deſeada lieth Eaſt Northeaſt, and Weſt Southweſt, hauing no trees vpon it, and it is proportioned like a Galley, and the Northeaſt ende thereof maketh a lowe noſe like the ſnowt of a galley; and by comming neere it, and paſſing by the Norther ende thereof, you ſhall perceiue white broken patches like heapes of ſand with red ſtrakes in them: & the Southweſt end of this Iſland maketh like the tilt of a galley. And this Iſland ſtandeth in 15. degrees and ½.

Markes of the Iſland of *Monſerate.*

MOnſerate is an high Iſland, and round, full of trees, and vpon the Eaſt ſide thereof you ſhall perceiue certain white ſpots like ſheetes; and being vpon the South ſide at the very point of the Iſland, ſome what off the land, it maketh like a litle Iſland: and putting your ſelfe either Eaſt or Weſt from that point, in the midſt thereof will appeare a great broken land,

Markes of the Iſland of *Marigalanta.*

MArigalanta is a ſmooth Iſland, and full of wood or trees, and as it were of the faſhion of a galley vpon her decke: and being on the Southeaſt ſide about halfe a league off you ſhall make certaine homocks of blacke ſtones, and certain white patches: but on the Weſt ſide appeare faire white ſandy ſhores or plaines.

Markes of the Iſle of *Dominica.*

THe Iſland of Dominica lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt, and vpon the Northweſt ſide it ſheweth more high: and if you come neere it at full ſea, it will ſhew like two Iſlands, but by comming neerer vnto it, you ſhall perceiue it to be but one: and vpon the Southeaſt ſide you ſhall make or ſee a plaine and long point, and vpon the ſame point appeareth a cliffe like to the cliffe of Cape Tiburon; and vpon the North ſide a litle from the land it ſheweth like a litle Iſland, and vpon the top thereof is, as it were, an high ſteeple, and vpon the Norther ſide you ſhall perceiue it like many white ſheetes.

Markes of the Iſland of *Guadalupe.*

THe Iſland of Guadalupe lieth on the Weſt of Deſeada, and vpon the Southweſt part thereof appeare many hie mountaines, but vpon the Eaſt ſide it maketh certaine tables, which are called the high part of Guadalupe. And this Iſland is cut North and South; ſo that the Canoas of India do paſſe from the North to the South of it, as if it were two Iſlands.

Markes of the Iſle of *Matalina*, or *Martinino*.

The Iſle of Matalina is high and full of mountaines, hauing in the midſt thereof 3. homocks: the middlemoſt homocke being higheſt ſheweth like the great bowle of an hat. And vpon the North ſide it appeareth like three little Iſlands. And in this Iſland there are warlik Indians like thoſe of Dominica.

Warlike and dangerous Indians like thoſe of Dominica.

Markes of the three ſmall Iſlands called *Iſlas de Los Santes*, or the Iſlands of Saintes.

Los Santos are 3. Iſlandes lying one cloſe by another vpon the South ſide of Guadalupe. For to goe with S. Iuan de Puerto rico you muſt ſtirre away Northweſt, vntill you fall with the Iſle of Saba.

Markes to know the Iſle of *Saba*.

Saba is a litle Iſland, and round about it you ſhall ſee the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you ſhall ſee; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white ſand; and by the ſide thereof it ſheweth like a Ship vnder ſaile: but follow that direction that I haue giuen, and you ſhall ſee La virgin gorda.

Markes to know the Iſle called *La virgin gorda*.

La virgin gorda is an high Iſland and round, and ſeeing it, you ſhall eſpie all the reſt of the Virgines which lye Eaſt and Weſt one from another, and are bare without any trees. You may goe about by them vntil you ſee the litle gray Iſland, which you ſhal ſee by it ſelfe by the Virgines; and comming neere to the ſayd Iſland, ouer that you ſhall by and by rayſe ſight of the white litle Iſland, which ſeemeth like a ſhip vnder ſaile. And if you will paſſe betweene this litle white Iſland or bare rocke, and the greene Iſland, you muſt beware that you leaue the white Iſland on the larbourd ſide of you, and come no neerer it then a Calieuer-ſhot, and ſo ſhall you paſſe through 12. fadome-water: and then ſtirre away Northnorthweſt, and ſo ſhall you enter into the Hauen of Puerto rico: and if you chance to paſſe the ſayd Iſland by night, goe by the foreſaid direction, vntill the firſt watch be out, and then take in your ſayles, and ſo driue vntill it bee neere day: and then hoiſe ſayles, and ſtirre away Southweſt, ſeeking the ſayde Port: and when you come to the entring within, you muſt ſtay till 10. of the clocke for the ſea-turne. And know, that hauing the Loguilo at Southweſt, then ſhall the Harbour be off you North and South.

Theſe 2. the white and the gray Iſlands are rather bare rockes in the ſea, for ſo doeth Farrallon the Spaniſh word ſignifie. But I interprete it Iſland, becauſe all the rockes ſeparated frō the bigger Iſlands are ſayd to be litle Iſlands.

This white & bare Iſland is made white by the dung of birdes and ſea-foules that reſort vnto it.

Directions from *Monſerate* to *Santa Cruz*.

He that departeth from Monſerate to Santa Cruz, muſt ſtirre away Weſtnorthweſt: and by the ſame courſe you ſhall ſeaze vpon S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

Markes to know the Iſle of *Santa Cruz*.

Santa Cruz is an Iſland not very high, all full of homocks: and comming with it at full ſea, it will ſhew like the Virgines: and vpon the Eaſt ſide there are two homocks higher then all the reſt. And by this courſe you may goe to the Iſle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico; and hauing found it, you may ſayle along the South coaſt Eaſt and Weſt, vntill you come to Cabo Roxo.

Markes to know *Cape Roxo*.

Cape Roxo is a low Cape and trayling to the ſea-ward, hauing certaine heapes of broken ground thereon, which are like a homocke, and at full ſea the ſame ſheweth like a litle Iſland from the land by it ſelfe, but comming neere vnto it, it will make all a whole land.

Directions from *Cabo roxo* to the Iſle of *Mona*.

If you will ſeeke Mona frō Cape roxo, you muſt ſtirre away Weſt and by North.

Markes of the Iſle of *Mona*.

The Iſle of Mona is a low, round, and ſmooth Iſland, lying lowe by the ſea, and full of trees: and to goe from thence to the Iſle of Saona you muſt ſtirre away Weſt; and if you fall with it in the night ſeaſon, and come any thing neere the land, then ſtirre away Weſt and by South, vntill it be neere day, that you may keepe your ſelfe by the land; and if ſo be that in the Morning you ſee it not, then ſtirre away Northweſt, and ſo ſhall you finde it: and if it be faire weather, and you perceiue that the current hath ſet you to the Southweſt, then ſtirre away Northnorthweſt, and ſo ſhall you goe cleare off the land.

Markes

Markes of the Iſle of *Saona*.

IF you chance to ſee the Iſle of Saona, it is an Iſland ſmooth with the ſea, and lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and you ſhall ſee the trees before you ſee the Iſland: and on the Southweſt end of this Iſland appeareth a great high banke of white ſand which is called the head of Saona. And if you would come to an anchor, you may, for all is cleare ground. And to go from this Iſland to Santa Catelina, you muſt ſtirre away Northweſt.

Markes of the Iſle of *Santa Catelina*.

SAnta Catelina is a litle lowe Iſland all full of low rockes euen from the water, and hath not any trees, and it is cloſe by the land; and if you doe not run along the coaſt of Hiſpaniola, you ſhall not ſee it: and from that Iſland to goe to Saint Domingo, you ſhall ſayle along as the land lyeth, Weſt and by North: and before you come to the point called Cauſedo, you ſhall ſee certaine holes in rockes, which lye alongſt as the rocks doe that caſt vp the water, which will ſhew like to the ſpouting of Whales. And a litle ahead off that, you ſhall ſee the point of Andreſe: and ahead thereof the poynt of Cauſedo. This poynt of Cauſedo lyeth lowe cloſe by the water, and paſſing thereby, the coaſt will make to thee Northweſt and Southeaſt; and from thence to S. Domingo are 5. leagues. And if the winde chop vp at North vpon you, by meanes whereof you ſhould be caſt off from the coaſt or Port, and that you happen to ſee the olde Mines (called Sierras de las minas viejas) beare Northweſt off you, and The teates which are within the land be open of you, then ſhal you be North and South with the harbour; and if The old Mines beare North off you, then ſhall you be below the harbour.

These rockes are called Los Buffaderos, or the ſpouters.
The point of Cauſedo.
San Domingo.
Sierras de las minas viejas.

Directions from Saint *Domingo* to *Nueua Eſpanna*.

IF you will ſayle from Saint Domingo in Hiſpaniola to Nueua Eſpanna, ſtirre away Southſouthweſt, vntil you come vp as farre as the point of Niçao: and from thence ſtirre away Weſtſouthweſt, and ſo you ſhall finde the Iſle of Beata. And if you ſaile from this point of Niçao for Ocoa, you muſt paſſe along the coaſt Weſt and by North, vntill you come to Puerto Hermoſo, or The beautifull hauen, which is 18. leagues diſtant from Saint Domingo: and if you proceede from Puerto Hermoſo for Nueua Eſpanna, you muſt ſtirre away Southſouthweſt, vntill you looke out for Beata and Alto velo.

The point of Niſao.
The Iſle of Beata.
Ocoa.
Puerto hermoſo.
The Iſle of Alto Velo.

Markes of the Iſle of *Beata*.

BEata is a ſmall Iſland and not very high: you may paſſe along the outſide thereof, and there is no danger but that you may ſee; and by and by you ſhall raiſe Alto velo: and from thence you muſt ſtirre away Weſt and by South, to giue a birth from the Iſlands called Los Frailes, or The Friers. And when you are as farre ahead as the Frailes, then muſt you ſtirre away Weſt and by North, and ſo ſhall you goe right with Bacoa, and before you come to it, you ſhall ſee high craggie cliffes, and at the deſcending of them white paths like great ſheetes; theſe high craggie mountaines are called Las ſierras de donna Maria. And before you come to the ſayde point of Bacoa, you ſhall diſcouer a little lowe Iſland euen with the Sea and full of trees, which is called Iſla Baque.

Los Frailes.
Bacoa.
Las ſierras de donna Maria.
Iſla Baque.

Directions from *Iſla Baque* to *Cape Tiburon*.

IF you will goe from the Iſland Baque, or from the point of Bacoa for Cape Tiburon, or to the iſle of Nauaza, you muſt ſtirre away Weſtnorthweſt, and edge in ſomewhat to the Northweſt, and you ſhall paſſe betweene Nauaza and Cape Tiburon.

Cape Tiburon.
The Iſle of Nauaza.

Markes of *Cape Tiburon*, which is the Weſtern cape of *Hiſpaniola*.

CApe Tiburon lyeth ſliding downe to the Seaward, and maketh a ſharpe cliffe like the ſnout of a Tiburon or ſharke-fiſh; and vpon the top thereof it appeareth like white wayes with certaine gullets or draines vpon it, which are cauſed by the paſſage of the water from the mountaines in the Winter time.

Markes of the Iſle of *Nauaza*.

NAuaza is a litle round Iſland full of low trees or ſhrubs, and it lyeth Eaſt and Weſt from Cape Tiburon, and from this ſmall Iſland to go for Sierras de Cobre, or The mountaines or mines of Copper vpon the Southeaſt part of Cuba, you muſt ſtirre away Northnorthweſt.

Directions

Directions from *Cape Tiburon* to *Cabo de Cruz* in *Cuba*.

If you will ſaile from Cape Tiburon to Cape de Cruz in Cuba, you muſt ſtirre away Northweſt, and you ſhall ſee the Sierras or mountaines de Cobre; and from thence you may goe along the coaſt Weſt towardes Cabo de Cruz; and before you come at it you ſhall ſee The great Tarquino, and from this Tarquino you ſhall haue to Cape de Cruz 30. leagues, and this great Tarquino is the higheſt land vpon all that coaſt; and then by and by you ſhall ſee the leſſer Tarquino, from whence to the foreſayd Cape you haue 12. leagues, and ſo ſhall you goe diſcouering the coaſt, vntill you come to Cabo de Cruz.

Sierras de Cobre.

Sierras de Tarquino.

Markes of *Cabo de Cruz*.

Cape de Cruz is a low Cape full of ſhrubs; and from thence Weſtward you ſhall ſee no land; for the diſtance or bay is great between the ſayd Cape and the Iſles called Los Iardines.

Directions from *Cape de Cruz* to *Iſla de Pinos*.

If you ſayle from Cape de Cruz to ſeeke the Iſland of Pinos, you muſt ſtir away Weſtnorthweſt. And note, that if in this courſe you happen to ſounde, doe not feare; for you haue nine fathoms. If alſo going this courſe, you meete with certaine little Iſlands vpon the larboord ſide, which are called The Caimanes, or The crocodiles, hauing ſight of them, ſtir away Northweſt, and ſo ſhall you finde the Iſland of Pinos. And if by ſeeing the ſayde Iſlands called Caimanes you are amazed, you ſhall knowe by the latitude, whither they bee The Iardines or no: for if you finde your ſelfe in one and twentie degrees, then bee you ſure they are The Iardines, and then ſtir out againe South, till you bee cleare of them; and when you haue brought them North of you, then may you ſtirre away Weſt, if it bee by day; if it bee by night, Weſt and by South, till you ſee the Iſland of Pinos.

Los Caimanes.

Los Iardines.

The markes of *Iſla de Pinos*.

The Iſland of Pinos ſtretcheth it ſelfe Eaſt and Weſt, and it is full of homocks, and if you chance to ſee it at full ſea, it will ſhewe like 3. Iſlands, as though there were diuers ſoundes betweene them, and that in the midſt is the greateſt; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and vpon the Eaſt ſide of theſe three homocks it will ſhewe all ragged; and on the Weſt ſide of them will appeare vnto you a lowe point euen with the ſea, and oftentimes you ſhall ſee the trees before you ſhall diſcerne the point.

Directions from the Iſle of *Pinos* to *Cape de Corrientes*.

If you ſaile from the foreſayde Iſle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes, ſtir away Weſt and by North; and before you come to the ſayd Cape vpon the Northſide of you, you ſhall ſee certaine mountaines all full of homocks, which are called Las Sierras de Guanaguarico, and that vpon the Weſt part hath more homocks then that on the other.

Las Sierras de Guanaguarico.

Markes of *Cape de Corrientes*.

Cape de Corrientes is a lowe Cape, though not ſo low as the other part of the land that lyeth along by it: for it is more lowe, and hath vpon it 4. or 5. great ſplats like vnto oxen, and the very point of the Cape is all white ſand: and from thence Weſtward you ſhall diſcerne no lande, for it maketh a great bay: and from hence you muſt ſaile to Cape de Sant Anton.

Markes of *Cape de Sant Anton*.

The cape of Sant Anton is lowe by the ſea, and all full of ſhrubs or trees; and you ſhall ſee within the land a lake of freſh water; and if you want water, there you may water: and vpon the North ſide of the ſaid Cape you ſhall diſcerne a palme tree higher then the reſt of the trees, and it ſheweth round like a bowle at the top, like to the top of a ſhip: and North from the Cape are certaine ſholdes which are 2. or 3. leagues long.

A conuenient watering place.

Directions from the *Cape de S. Anton* to *Nueua Eſpanna* on the outſide of the ſmall Iſlands called *Los Alacranes* or *The Scorpions*.

If you will ſayle from Cape Sant Anton to Nueua Eſpanna with a North winde, then ſtirre away Weſtnorthweſt from 21. to 22. degrees, and then ſound vpon the pracel or flat; and if you e by this direction, that you holde water, then ſtir away Northweſt, vntill you loſe the ground;

The Iſle Vermeja. Villa rica.

and then follow your courſe againe, vntill you haue brought your ſelfe into 24. degrees and ½. and then ſaile Weſt vntill you bring your ſelfe North and South with the Iſle Vermeja, or The red Iſle: then ſtir away Southweſt, and by this way you ſhall finde Villa rica on the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna. And if by going this courſe you be in 19. degrees and ½. and chance not to ſee the lande, then ſtir away Weſt vntill you ſee Villa rica, and from thence ſaile you South for the harbour of S.Iuan de Vllua: and if you ſhould be neere the land you muſt ſtir South and by Weſt towardes the ſame harbour. And if you chance to ſee the Volcan or burning hill to beare weſt & by South from you, then know, that the harbour of S.Iuan de Vllua ſhalbe Eaſt and weſt off you.

S.Iuan de Vllua. The volcan or burning hil.

Markes of *Villa rica.*

Villa rica ſtandeth in 19. degres and ½. and the ſignes thereof are certaine high hilles full of homocks of many heads, which haue on the top of thẽ certain white patches after the maner of white beaten wayes; and theſe hils lie Northeaſt and Southweſt. And if you doubt whether theſe be the Sierras or hils of S. Martin, wet your lead or ſound, and if you finde bottome, they are the Sierras of Villa rica: and ſaile you to the landward, and looke by how much you come neerer the land, ſo much will they ſeeme lower vnto you: but ſo doe not the hilles of S. Martin; for the neerer you come to them, the higher will they appeare to you: and likewiſe if they be the hilles of S. Martin, you ſhall not finde bottome, but euen at land it ſelfe.

Sierras de Sant Martin. Sierras de Villa rica.

Markes of *Rio de las palmas*, and of the riuer of mountaines called *Rio de las montannas.*

Rio de las palmas. Rio de las montannas. Rio de Panuco. Rio Hermoſo, or The beautifull riuer.

If you ſhould chance to fall with Rio de las palmas, or The riuer of palmes, or els with the riuer of Mountaines, it is all a plaine lande, and full of trees and certaine woodie homocks, and among them certaine heapes of ſand, and all this along by the ſea ſide: and if you went by land to the riuer of Panuco, you ſhall haue many mouthes or openings of plaias or ſtrands, where alſo are many ſizas or oazy places which ſtretch to Rio Hermoſo.

The current of the bay of Mexico (the winde being at the Eaſt) ſetteth to the North, and 40. leagues from the ſhore to the Northeaſt.

You muſt beware what part ſoeuer you happen of this coaſt to fall withall, to diſcouer it, and although you knowe it, you muſt ſound the depth; becauſe if the windes bee Eaſterly, the current ſetteth there much to the North: but if you ſhould be 40. leagues at ſea, then this current ſetteth to the Northeaſt.

Markes of *Rio Hermoſo* or *The beautifull riuer.*

If you will ſeeke the riuer called Rio Hermoſo, looking well within the land, you ſhal ſee three homocks of an high hill, and thoſe two which are to the landward within, are rounder thẽ the other which is neereſt the ſea, for that it is longer and bigger, and lyeth North and South, and you ſhall be 4. leagues at ſea when you ſhall ſee them: and they are called The ſierras, or mountaines of Tamaclipa; and from thence to the riuer of Panuco there is no high land, but all lowe and euen with the ſea, and full of palme trees and other trees.

The mountaines of Tamaclipa.

Markes of the riuer of *Panuco.*

If you fall with the riuer of Panuco (betweene which and the foreſayde Villa rica ſtandeth the Iſland called Iſla de Lobos or The Iſle of ſeales) the markes bee theſe. From the mouth of the riuer it maketh a great bay without, and at the ende of this bay vpon the Northſide there is oazy, low, and bare ground altogether without trees, and at the out ende of the oazy lowe place vpon the Weſt ſide it maketh a low homock like to a Lizards head: and when you ſee the aforeſayde cliffe, you ſhall bee in the opening of the mouth of the ſayd riuer, and then ſhall you ſee a little low tower hauing on the top of it a croſſe, which the fiſhermen call Marien: and this barre hath on it 2. fathom water, and 2. and ½. and you neede not to ſtay for the tyde, for that it floweth not there: and that you may the better knowe whether you bee in this bay which I haue mentioned, or not, you ſhall ſee certaine hils at Weſt Southweſt, which are called Las ſierras de Tarquia; and forthwith alſo you ſhall ſee the oazy place that I ſpeake of, which goeth to the mouth of the riuer, where ſtandeth a towne called S. Luis de Tampice, and from thence to Panuco you haue 9. leagues by land.

No tide at the riuer of Panuco. Las ſierras de Tarquia. S. Luis de Tampice.

The markes of *Iſla de lobos*, or *The Iſle of ſeales.*

Iſla de lobos is a ſmall Iſland nothing ſo big as the card doth ſhew it, and in it is a litle groue or wood of palme trees, and all the reſt of the Iſland is without trees, and round about it are ſandy

Playas or ſtrandes, and it is incloſed round about with arraçiſes or ſhoalds, and chiefly toward the maine lande. And from thence to Cape Roxo or The red Cape are 3. leagues. And if you will come to anker at this Iſland to water, for that there is water in it, you may ride on all the South ſide cloſe by the poynt that ſtretcheth to the Weſtward, and you may paſſe by the Eaſt ſide of it, and ride in 22. fathom, and vntill you come to 15. fathoms, all is cleane ground.

Cabo Roxo. A watering place.

Markes of the riuer of *Tuſpa.*

IF you fall with the riuer of Tuſpa, you muſt beware the ſholdes which run 5. or 6. leagues into the ſea: and vpon this riuer of Tuſpa within the lande there are high hilles which lie Northeaſt and Southweſt, and haue their ending vpon the bay of Caſſones: and vpon the riuer you ſhall perceiue a white cliffe, which will ſhew vnto you like the caſtle of S. Iuan de Vllua.

The bay of Caſſones.

Markes of the riuer of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul.*

IF you chance to fall with the bay of Caſſones, and vpon the riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul, take heede: for the ſayd bay is a deepe bay, and the hilles of Tuſpa haue their ending vpon this bay. And in the mouth of this riuer of S. Peter and S. Paul are two homockes of white ſand, the Weſtermoſt being bigger then that on the Northeaſt. And by and by you ſhall perceiue the water to change white which commeth out of the riuer, and ſounding you ſhall finde ſande mixed with clay vpon your lead; and looke vpon the Weſt ſide, and you ſhall ſee the Sierras or mountaines of S. Paul, which are two, and that on the North ſide is higher then the other.

All theſe are vpon the coaſt of Tabaſco. Las ſierras de S. Pablo.

Markes of *Almeria.*

IF you ſhould chance to fall or come vpon the plaines of Almeria, it is a lande full of many hommocks, ſome with tuftes of trees on them, and ſome bare with white ſand, and in 60. fathoms you ſhall haue clay or oaze, and in 30. fathom to the landward ſand. And from thence to Punta de hidalgo or Punta delgada the coaſt lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt.

Punta delgada, or The ſlender point.

Soundings of *Villa rica.*

IF you fall with Villa rica in 30. fathoms, you ſhall finde clay or oaze, and in ſome places ſtones, and neere the lande you ſhall haue ſand: and vpon the port of S. Iuan de Vllua you ſhall haue in ſome places clay or oaze, and in ſome places herring bones, and in other places maſe and ; and vpon the rocks called Cabeças anegadas you ſhall haue ſmall blacke ſande at 17. fathom two leagues from land. And if you ſee a coaſt that lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and another Northweſt and Southeaſt, you ſhall be vpon S. Paul: and if you ſhould be vpon Cabeças anegadas, you ſhall finde in 30. fathoms great ſand & blacke, and in 28. fathoms you ſhall haue the ſand white like the ſhauings of free ſtone: and from S. Paul to the barre of Vera Cruz it is clay or oaze, and from thence to S. Iuan de Vllua you haue many deeps, which at one ſounding bring you clay, and at another ſand, and at another clay and maſe together, and herring bones: and in ſome 35. or 40. fathom you ſhal finde rockie ground, and in ſome places ſand, and in ſome other places herring bones: and we call this Comedera de peſcado, or The foode of fiſhes.

Cabeças anegadas are ſunken heads or rocks vnder water.

Comedera de Peſcado.

The courſe from *Cabo de Corrientes* and *Cabo de S. Anton* vpon the Weſt end of *Cuba*, towards *Nueua Eſpanna*, within the Iſles called *Los Alacranes*, or *The Scorpions.*

IF you ſaile from Cape de Corrientes towarde Nueua Eſpanna on the inſide of The Alacranes, you muſt ſtir Weſt: and when you thinke you haue ſailed 35. or 40. leag. you ſhall ſound vpon the pracel, and you ſhall come vpon many briſtlings of waters, which, if it were faire weather, would ſeeme a ſkull of fiſh. And before you come out of the briſtlings, if you ſound you ſhal haue depth as I haue ſayd. If you goe from Cape de S. Anton by the inſide of The Alacranes, you muſt ſtir away Weſt and by South, and you ſhall finde ſounding in the ſame order as I haue ſayd: you ſhall haue white ſand, and neere the land you ſhall finde it like the ſhauings and peckings of free ſtone, and white ſand like houre-glaſſe-ſand, and ſometimes periwinkles or ſmall ſhelles. Alſo if you ſound in deepe water, and on the ſudden finde rockes, then knowe that you are vpon The Alacranes, and then ſtir away Weſtſouthweſt vntill you finde cleane ground, and til you bring your ſelfe into 18. or 20. fathoms. And if you goe deeping your water, then ſtir away Weſt, and by theſe depths you ſhall go ſounding; and then taking your heigth by ſunne or ſtarre, you muſt beware that you paſſe not 21. degrees & ½. or 21. degrees

Cabo de Corrientes.

Cabo de S. Anton.

and

Cape Siſal vpon the coaſt of Campeche in Iucatan.

Or Iſla de Arenas.

and ½. at the moſt; and in this heigth, and at 18. or 20. fathoms you ſhall follow your way: and if you deepen water, edge to the Northweſtward, and if you alter more your depth, edge to the Southweſtward, vntill you haue gotten ſo farre ahead as Cape Siſal, and diſcouered the coaſt of Campeche, which coaſt lyeth North and South, and you ſhall take vp on your lead white ſande like houreglaſſe-ſand, and ſometime periwinkles or ſmall ſhelles; and by and by you ſhall goe increaſing depth, vntil you loſe it, and ſo ſhal you paſſe betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Iſland.

The courſe betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Iſland to *S. Iuan de Vllua.*

Sierras de S. Martin.

Roca partida.

Or Miſapa.

When you haue loſt your depth, ſtirre away Southweſt to fetch the Sierras or hils of S. Martin: and to knowe the hils of S. Martin, there are 2. hils ſtretching Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the Southweſt is greater then that on the Northeaſt, but the Northermoſt hill is higher, and maketh on the top a flat point and very high, and without it, it hath an Iſland which is called Roca partida, or The clouen rock: and if it be cleare, on the Southweſt ſide an high lande like a top-ſaile will appeare, and then ſhall you bee North and South with The Pan or Loafe of Niſapa. Note, that theſe Sierras or Hilles of Sant Martin are all blacke and full of trees, and make no ſhewe as Villa rica doth: And marke this, that by how much you come neerer them, ſo much the higher will they ſhewe vnto you: neither ſhall you finde any bottome till you bee at the very ſhoare.

The courſe from *Roca partida* or *The clouen rocke* to *S. Iuan de Vllua.*

Or Anton [illegible].

If you depart from Roca partida or The clouen rocke for Sant Iuan de Vllua, you muſt ſtir away Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo ſhall you fetch or fall with the point of Anton Miliardo: and if you happen to ſound vpon The ſunken rocks called Cabeças anegadas, you ſhall haue black ſand and 17. fathom water, and you ſhall bee but a league from the land, and if you bee 2. leagues from the land, you ſhall haue 34. fathoms.

The courſe from *Sant Iuan de Vllua* in the bay of *Mexico* to *Spaine* in *Europe.*

Las Tortugas.

If you depart from S,Iuan de Vllua to Hauana, you muſt ſtir away Northeaſt vntill you bring your ſelfe in 25. degrees, and from thence you muſt ſtir away Eaſt from the little Iſlands called Las Tortugas, vntill you haue the ſounding of them; and if you finde white ſande very ſmall, you ſhall bee Eaſt and Weſt with them, and if your ſounding bee ſhellie ground and periwinkles, or ſmall ſhelles or ſkales, then ſhall you be Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the ſhelles or ſkales muſt bee red, and if at ſome time you take vp blacke ſande, then are you North and South with the ſayd Tortugas.

Markes of *The Tortugas.*

If you chance to fall with The Tortugas, they are 5. or 6. little Iſlands of white ſand, lowe and cloſe by the ſea, ſauing one which hath on it ſome ſhrubs or buſhes of trees: and they are in 25. degrees..

The courſe from *The Tortugas* toward *Hauana.*

The hilles called Los Organos vpon Cuba neere Hauana.
Rio de puercos.
Baya honda.

La quadrilla de ſierras.
El pan de Cabannas.
La meſa de Marien.

If you depart from The Tortugas towards Hauana with a freſh winde, you muſt ſtir away Southweſt: and if it be faire weather, and a ſmall gale of winde, then ſtir South, that the current may not draw you in, nor ſet you too much to the Weſtward: and if you fall with Los Organos, they are a ranke of high and low hilles with many ſharpe heads like vnto Organ pipes, and at the entring thereof on the South ſide is Rio de puercos, or The riuer of hogs; and at the further ende is the deepe bay called Baya honda, and there is the round loafe or heape called El pan de baya honda, that is to ſay, The loafe of the deepe bay: and from this place vntill you come to Cape de *S.* Anton all is ſholdes and flats 4. or 5. leagues into the ſea, euen as farre as the ſayde Cape: and from Baya honda or The deepe bay to Hauana, all the coaſt is full of high and lowe hilles, which they call La Quadrilla de ſierras, which is as much to ſay, as A companie of hilles together like ſouldiers on a heape; and more to the Eaſtward you ſhall deſcry an high hill which is called El pan de Cabannas. And if you fall with Hauana, you ſhall ſee on the Southweſt ſide an hill called La meza de Marien, or The Table of Marien; and if it be cleare, you ſhall ſee lower to the Weſtwarde the heape or loafe that is called El pan de Cabannas. You muſt note, that a bout Hauana it is all lowe land euen with the ſea, till you come to Meſa de Marien, and then looke well within the lande, and you ſhall ſee 2. little round trees like to the teates of womens breaſts; and bringing your ſelfe North and South, you ſhall be with the harborough of Hauana, and then ſhall you ſoone perceiue the tower that is vpon the cliffes of Hauana.

The tower of Hauana.

Markes of the hauen or port called *Puerto de Marien.*

PVerto de Marien is a harbour that you may enter into without any danger or feare, but at the entrance thereof you muſt borrow on the Weſt ſide, by reaſon of the rockes and ſhelues, and when you are within, then borrow on the Eaſt ſhoare, and leaue the other ſide, and ſo ſhall you enter ſafe: and from this place to Hauana is all lowe lande. Note, that if you ouerpaſſe the harborough of Hauana to the Eaſtward, or if the current hath ſet you paſt it by meanes of calmes, then ſhall you perceiue at full ſea vpon the coaſt certaine broken places like the enterances of harbours, becauſe the lande is lowe; and comming neere the ſhoare you ſhall ſee in ſome places of the coaſt Playas or ſtrandes of ſande which ſhew like vnto Chipiona: and looking Eaſtward along the ſea coaſt, you ſhall ſee a round loafe which is called El pon de Matanças: and alſo you ſhall perceiue in certaine places round white heapes of ſande called Barrancas. If you will recouer Hauana, go along the coaſt cloſe by the lande, for the current runneth very ſwift in the chanell, and there is no feare but of that which you may ſee; for all the coaſt is cleane ground.

Note.

Chipiona a towne ſtanding vpon the coaſt of Andaluzia next vnto S. Lucar.

El pon de Matanzas.

Barrancas alſo ſignifie creekes or broken entrances of landes.

The courſe from *Hauana* to *Spaine.*

IF you will ſaile from Hauana to Spaine, you muſt ſtirre away Northeaſt, till you come to the head of The Martires called La Cabeça de los Martires. If it chance before you come to the ſaid head, that the winde ſhould chop vp at North on you, then ſtand to the Eaſtward, vntill you bring your ſelfe as farre ahead as Matanças; then caſt about to the Weſt, to diſcouer the lande of The Martires, or of Florida, that the current may not ſet you on The Mimbres: and if by chance you ſee The Pan de Matanças at ful ſea, it hath theſe markes following. It is a round heape or loafe, and high withall, and on the Weſterne ſide thereof, appeareth a rocke like to the head of a Tortoiſe: and betweene this Pan and the hilles of Seluco, there will appeare vnto you a great broken lande, like as it were ſunken places, and vpon the Eaſt ſide of this Pan toward Punta de los Puercos it is all lowe lande, and you ſhall ſee no high lande at all: and being ſo farre ſhot, that this Pan de Matanças ſhall beare Weſtnorthweſt and Southſoutheaſt off you, and being deſirous alſo to auoyde the furie of the current of the chanell of Bahama, ſtir away Northnortheaſt, and by this courſe you ſhall paſſe the chanell, and win the coaſt of Florida.

Cabeza de los Martires.

Which Martires are a number of ſmall Ilands lying ahead the Cape of Florida.

Los Mimbres.

The markes of Pan de Matanzas.

Punta de los Puercos.

The furious current in the chanell of Bahama.

Markes of the head of *The Martires* called *Cabeza de los Martires.*

THe head of The Martires are three heapes of white ſande full of trees, and that in the midſt hath on the top a crowne, as it were of white ſande, and is higher and bigger then the other two: and to know whether you be entred into the chanell, marke well how the coaſt lyeth off you; and if you perceiue that the coaſt beareth off you Eaſt and Weſt, you are not in the chanell; but if the coaſt ſhould beare off you Northeaſt and Southweſt, then are you in the chanell; and taking your heigth you ſhall know: for if you finde your ſelfe in 24. degrees and ½, then are you Eaſt and Weſt with the head of The Martires: and if you ſee the coaſt beare off you Northeaſt and Southweſt, (as I haue ſayde) ſtir away 4. or 5. leagues from the landward right off; and then ſtir away Northeaſt: and being in 28. degrees and a halfe, you ſhall be ſhot out of the chanell, and then ſhall you be Eaſt and Weſt with Cape de Cannaueral, or The Cape of Reedes.

Directions to know whether you be in the chanell of Bahama or no.

Cabo de Cannaueral in 28. deg. and a halfe.

The courſe to come through the chanell of *Bahama* homeward for *Spaine.*

IF in Winter you ſhould paſſe through the chanell of Bahama for Spaine, ſtirre away the firſt Sangradura or courſe Eaſtnortheaſt, and afterward Eaſt and by North, and ſo ſhall you paſſe by the South ſide of Bermuda: and you muſt take heede that you goe theſe foure hundred or fiue hundred leagues, becauſe you ſhall not come neere the ſaid Iſle of Bermuda; & when you are gone this courſe, then put your ſelfe in what heigth you will, and make your way as you will your ſelfe. But if you paſſe the chanell in the Summer time towards Spaine, ſtir away Eaſtnortheaſt, and you ſhall paſſe by the North ſide of Bermuda; and when you haue brought your ſelfe in 35. degrees, ſtirre Eaſt and by North, vntill you bring your ſelfe to 25. degrees and ½, and from thence ſtir away Eaſt for the Iſle of Fayal or of Flores.

The courſe in Winter.

The Iſle of Bermuda.

The courſe in the Summer more Northerly.

Markes to know the Iſle of Fayal.

Puerto Pini.

The Iſland called Fayal vpon the Southweſt ſide, maketh an high hill or loafe like to the top of Braſilla in the Iſland of Terçera; and behinde that high Pike or loafe is an harbour called Puerto Pini, and vpon the Eaſt ſide it maketh a little plaine Iſland; and vpon the North ſide there ſtandeth a rocke or Iſland by it ſelfe. And from this Iſland being one of The Açores, you may ſhape your courſe to which of the Iſlands you pleaſe, or to any other place which you know.

Markes to know the Iſle of *Flores.*

If you happen to fall with Flores firſt, by this you ſhall know it: the Iſland lyeth Northeaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the Weſt ende thereof maketh a rocke or cliffe like the cliffe of Tiburon; and comming neere the lande, you ſhall ſee two little Iſlands neere the point of the lande; and to the Northward of this cliffe or rocke a little from the land you may ride and water; and betweene that and the village [illegible] you may likewiſe ride and water: and you ſhall ſee the water run into the ſea in euery place that you looke on.

El Paſſaje a place on the Northeaſt part of the Iſle of S Iuan de Puerto rico.

Now followeth the courſe and direction to ſaile from *Paſſage* on the Northeaſt part of *S. Iuan de Puerto rico*, vnto *Hauana*, by the North ſide of the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*, and by *The oldchanell.*

Cabo del Enganno the moſt Eaſterly Cape of Hiſpaniola, or Samana.

Las Ouejas.

If you depart from S. Iuan de Puerto rico to ſeeke Cabo del Enganno, you muſt ſtirre away Weſtnorthweſt, and ſo ſhall you ſee a round heape or loafe in the ſea, which lieth on the Southweſt ſide of the gulfe of Semana; and from thence it beginneth about the hill of the Cape del Enganno, & this is the mouth of the gulfe. And if it ſhould be neere night when you ſee this lande, ſtir away Northweſt with a ſmall ſayle, becauſe of certaine rockes called Las Ouejas, or The Sheepe: and in the morning caſt about to ſee the land to the Southweſtward; and if when you ſee the land, it ſeemeth vnto you a ſmall iſland at full ſea like a round mountaine, then is it The cape del Enganno: and from thence ſtir away Weſt and by North toward Cabo Franco.

Cabo Franco.

Markes of *Cabo Franco.*

Cabo Franco is a low Cape euen with the ſea, and hath theſe markes *

El Puerto de Plata.

Baracoa.
Iſla de Tortugas otherwiſe called Hinagua.
The Iſle of Iaico.

And from thence ſtir away Weſt, and you ſhall ſee an high mountaine, and on the top thereof a cloudie homock like the top of a hat; and at the foote of this hill is the hauen or harbour called El puerto de plata. And if you will goe into this port, you muſt leaue the Iland on the Weſt ſide, and then take heede of that which you ſee, and borrow on the caſtles ſide. And from thence to goe with the olde chanell, you muſt ſtirre away Northweſt, vntill you come out of ſight of lande, and then ſtir away Weſt and by North, and ſo ſhall you goe with the lande of Baracoa, and here are hilles very high, which make the teats which looke like 3. crownes. And you ſhall paſſe betweene the Iſle of Tortugas or Hinagua, and the Iſland of Iaico; and from thence run alongſt the coaſt Northeaſt and Southweſt: and hauing doubled the outmoſt high hill or mountaine, you ſhall ſee in the midſt thereof a round hill, and vpon the Southweſt ſide by the ſea you ſhall ſee a lowe euen lande foure or fiue leagues long, and a lowe point, and this point of the hill is called Las ſier- de Cabanca; and then beginneth the bay of Cayo Romano: and ahead the ſierras you ſhall ſee a rounde loafe which is in the midſt of the ſame bay, and ahead of that you ſhall ſee a hill flat on the top like a table ſixe or ſeuen leagues, which hill is not very high, and from theſe hilles to Cayo Romano you haue fiue and thirtie leagues, and you muſt ſtirre the one halfe of the courſe Northweſt, and the other halfe Northweſt and by Weſt, and ſo ſhall you make or ſee the ſayd Cayo Romano vpon the larboord ſide of you. Note, that from Cayo Romano to Cabo de Cruz you haue three leagues, and they lie North and South one from another.

Las ſierras de Cabanca.
Cayo Romano.
This word Cayo in the Biſcaian tongue ſignifieth a flat or a ſhold.
Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of *Cayo Romano.*

* This Iland lyeth 100. leagues from Hauana.

Cayo Romano is an high Iland and lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and ſtretcheth it ſelfe as it were 4. leagues; and comming with it Northeaſt & Southweſt, it maketh a loafe or round heape or homock; in the midſt there are two ſaddles, as wee terme them, or lowe partitions, the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other ſide; and comming with it North and South, it maketh all one lowe ſeam or ſaddle in the midſt. And if night ſhould come on you at this Cayo Romano

mano, enter not the chanell, becauſe in the mid way is an Iſle, flat, or Cayo, which lyeth North and South with Cayo Romano, and it is called Cayo de la Cruz: and at full ſea you ſhall diſcerne a beach, which this Cayo hath in the midſt of it, which is like to a ſaile; but at night beare but your foreſaile a glaſſe one way and another glaſſe the other way vntill it be day, and then enter the chanell, and leaue theſe Cayos, on the larbourd ſide of you. Note, that if you bee within ſight of the Parcel, and ſee two litle Iſlands of white ſand, that then you are on the cantell of the Parcel: and if you goe more a head coaſting the Parcel about fifteene leagues, you ſhall ſee three Iſlands full of trees, which are called Las Anguillas and all theſe three Iſlands beare North and South one from another. Item from Cayo de Cruz to Hauana, if it be by day, ſtir away Weſt Northweſt; but if it be by night, then ſtir a point more to the Weſtward: and if in this courſe you chance to ſee the Parcell, feare not; for in the loweſt water there are ſixe fathomes: then caſt about to the Southweſtward to get out about two glaſſes, and then ſtir away Weſtnorthweſt vntill it be day and ſo ſhall you goe by the Cayos: and in this courſe you muſt keepe twentie foure leagues or thereabout. And from this Cayo de Cruz ſixe or ſeuen leagues lyeth another Cayo vpon the Northeaſt and by North, which is great and white, and all euen; But the point on the Southweſt is ſmaller, and vpon the ſaid point is a ſhrub or buſh which ſheweth like a ſaile: alſo there is a banke of white ſand along by the ſea-ſide, which in the middeſt thereof maketh a cliff full of trees that ſeemeth like a ſadle: and vpon the Northeaſt ſide (for on this maner the coaſt lyeth along from the Cape) going by the chanell you ſhal ſee certaine hilles eighteene or twentie leagues long lying Northeaſt and Southweſt being all ſaddle-like: and bringing the poynt Southweſt off you, you ſhall be in the middeſt of the chanell: and from thence you haue as farre to Matanças as to Cayo Romano. Likewiſe from thence on the ſide of Hauana you ſhall ſee certaine hilles which ſhewe to be three, and ly Northeaſt and Southweſt, and that on the Southweſt is higheſt: they are called Las Sierras de Guana: and North and South from them lyeth a flat, which is called Cayo de Nicola, which ſtretched out two leagues into the Sea, and in the middle of the ſayde flatte there is a little Iland of white ſand: and from thence you muſt ſayle to Cruz del Padre.

The great Parcel.

Las Anguilas.

Another Cayo 6 or 7 leagues from Cayo de Cruz.

El Puerto de Matanzas or The hauen of ſlaughters.

Las Sierras de Guana.

Cruz del Padre.

Markes of *Cruz del Padre.*

CRuz del Padre is a Cape all broken in pieces: and from thence you muſt ſtir away Northeaſt, becauſe of the Bay that is there, called the Bay of Conell, and this Bay ſtretcheth to the Bay of Caos, which is within 20 leagues of the ſayd point: and then ſtir away Weſt Northweſt to goe with the Port of Matanças, and with the hilles of Camoniaca.

La Baia de Conel.

La Baia de Caos, or Cayos.

Markes of the hilles of *Camoniaca.*

THe hilles of Camoniaca ly Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the Southeaſt ſide is lowe land and euen: alſo vpon the Northeaſt ſide it is euen land, and runneth towards the Bay of Matanças, and in the middle of theſe hilles there is one high hill, and vpon the Northeaſt ſide there appeareth a round heape: and if you ſee this hill at Weſt Southweſt, the Pan or round heape of Matanças will beare off you Weſt and by South.

Or Camolequea.

Markes of the round hill called *El pan de Matanças.*

THis Pan is a round heape ſtanding on a lowe land: and if you bring your ſelfe North and South with it, it will make you two ſaddles; and on the Weſt ſide it maketh a great parted lande as it were ſinking with the ſea. Note that whereſoeuer you ſhall goe to ſeeke the Tortugas, and ſhall come with the coaſt and finde it beare off you Northeaſt and Southweſt, I aduiſe you to goe along the coaſt to the Southweſtward: you may not deepen more then fortie fiue fathomes, for if you doe, you ſhall caſt your ſelfe without the Tortugas.

Alſo you muſt note, that if by chance you finde your ſelfe ſhorte betweene the Tortugas, and the Martyres, and that you cannot goe on the out-ſide of the ſayde Tortugas, then cauſe one to goe to the top, to ſee if you can deſcry them; and if you cannot ſee them, ſtir away Southweſt vntill you ſee them; and hauing gotten ſight of them, ſounde, and you ſhall finde eighteene or nineteene fathomes; and ſo ſholding ſtir away South and by Weſt, and goe by this courſe. And feare you not the ſholding, for you ſhall meete with 12 fathoms, and ſhall haue blacke ſand in your ſounding. And going neerer to the ende of the ſaid Tortugas (for he that is on the toppe ſhall ſee them all) as you paſſe by, you ſhall finde but eight fathomes, and ſtony ground, and

Note.

that is the ſholdeſt water you ſhall haue. And you ſhall paſſe by a buſſling of a tyde, that ſhoutes out of the chanel that way: but you neede not feare any thing for you ſhall haue no leſſe then eight fathome water: and being paſt the ſaid buſſling but a minion ſhot, you ſhal loſe the ground and be in the chanell.

An aduertizment.

When you ſhall paſſe this courſe, goe not out of ſight of the Tortugas. And if you will goe from thence to Hauana, hauing a faire winde, ſtir away Southweſt becauſe the current may not ſet you off: and if with a freſh winde and Northerly, then ſtir away Southerly.

Here follow the latitudes of the headlandes, Capes, and Iſlands, as well of *Madera*, The *Canaries*, and the *Weſt Indies*, as of the *Açores and the Iſles of Cabo Verde.*

	Degrees of latitude.
The iſland called Puerto ſanto ſtandeth in	33
The iſle of Madera ſtandeth in	32 ½
The iſle Saluaja in	30
The iſle of Alagrança in	29 ½
The iſle Fuerte ventura in	28 ½
The Grand Canaris in	28 ½
The iſle of Palma, and the point called Punta de Naga in Tenerif in	28 ½
The iſle of Gomera in	27 ½

The latitudes of the Iſlands of the *VVeſt Indies*

	Degrees of latitude.
The iſland of Fonçeca ſtandeth in	11 ¼
The iſle Tabago in	*skant* 11
The Barbudos in	13
The iſle of Trinidad vpon the North ſide in	10
The iſle of Granata in	11 ¼
The iſle of Sant Vincent in	12
The iſle of ſanta Lucia in	12 ¼
The iſle of Dominica in	14
The iſle of Matalina or Martinino in	14 ½
The iſle of Marigalante in	15
The iſle of Deſeada in	15 ½
The iſle of Monſerate in	16
The iſle called La Antigua in	17
The iſle called La Baruada in	17
The iſle of S. Bartholomew in	17
The iſle of S. Martin in	17 ½
The iſle called La Anguilla in	*skant* 18
The iſle of Sombrero in	18 ½
The iſle Anegada in	18 ½
The iſle called La iſla de Avez in	15 ½
The iſles called Las Virgines in	18
The iſle of Santa Cruz in	17
The iſle of S. Iuan de Puerto rico — On the North ſide in	18 ½
On the South ſide in	17 ½
Cape del Enganno vpon the Eaſt part of Hiſpaniola in	18 ½
The point of the iſle of Saona in	17 ½
The Cape called Punta de Niçao neere S. Domingo in Hiſpaniola in	17 ½
The iſle Beata on the South ſide of Hiſpaniola in	17
The point of Bacao on the South ſide of Hiſpaniola in	17 ½
Cape Tiburon vpon the Weſt part of Hiſpaniola, and the iſle of Nauaza in	18 ½

The iſle of Iamaica { On the South ſide in	17 ½
The iſle of Iamaica { On the North ſide in	18 ½
Cape de Cruz on the South ſide of Cuba in	20
The 3 iles called Caimanes, or Crocodiles, South of Cuba, in	19 ½
The dangerous iſles called Los Iardines South of Cuba in	21
The iſle of Pinos in	22
Cape de Corrientes vpon the Southweſt part of Cuba in	21 ½
Cabo de ſant Anton being the moſt weſterly Cape of Cuba in	22
The litle iſles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions, in	22
The iſles called Nigrillos in	23 ½
Iſla de Lobos, or The iſle of ſeales neere the maine of Nueua Eſpanna, in	22
The Cape of Iucatan called Cabo de Cotoche in	21
The iland called Iſla de Ranas in	22 ½ *large.*

The latitudes of certaine places vpon the coaſt of *Nueua Eſpanna*, and of diuers other places lying in the way from thence to *Spaine*.

	Degrees of latitude.
Villa rica ſtandeth in	19 ½
Sant. Iuan de Vllua in	18 ½
From ſant Iuan de Vllua ſayling to the Tortugas you muſt ſound in	27 ½
The ſmall iſles called Las Tortugas ſtand in	25
The Port of Hauana vpon the Northweſt part of Cuba in	23 ½
The head of the Martyrs lying before the Cape of Florida in	25
The Mimbres are in	26 ½
The Chanel of Bahama in	27 ½
The Cape de Cannaueral vpon the coaſt of Florida in	28 ½
The Iſle of Bermuda in	33
The * iſle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez in	41 ½

* This is a very commodious Iſle for vs in our way to Virginia.

The latitudes of the Iſles of the Açores.

	Degrees of latitudes.
The iſle of Flores ſtandeth in	39 ½
The iſle of Cueruo in	40
The iſle of Fayal in	38 ½
The iſle of Pico and the iſle of ſant George both in	38 ½
The iſle of Terçera in	39
The iſle of Gracioſa in	39 ½
The iſle of ſanta Maria in	37
The iſle of ſant Michael in	38
Cape ſant Vincent vpon the coaſt of Spaine	37
The Rocke in	39
The Burlings in	40
Bayona in	42 ½
Cape Finiſter in	43 ½
The enterance of the ſtreights of Gibraltar is in	36
Cape Cantin vpon the coaſt of Babarie in	32 ½
Cape Bojador vpon the coaſt of Barbarie in	27 *large.*
Rio del oro, or The riuer of Gold, in	23 ½
Cabo de Barbas in	22
Cabo blanco, or the white Cape in	20 ½

The latitude of the iſles of Cabo verde.

The iſles of Sant Anton, Sant Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Sant Nicolas ſtand all in	18 ½
Iſla del Sal, or The iſle of ſalt, in	17 ½
The iſle called Buena viſta in	16
The iſle of ſant Iago in	15

The

The latitudes of diuers Iſlands, Capes, and other places, from the Iſle of *Margarita* vpon the coaſt of *Cumana* Weſtward along the coaſt of *Tierra Firma.*

	Degrees of latitude.
The iſles of Aruba, Curaçao, and Bulnaro ſtand all in	12
The iſle of Margarita in	11
The iſlandes called Los Teſtigos in	11¼
The coaſt of Baya Honda to Cape de la Vela lyeth Eaſt and Weſt in	12
Cape del Aguja in	11½
The rockes of Serrana in	14
The Roncador in	13½
The iſle of Santa Catelina in	13½
The iſle of Sant Andrew in	13½
The Seranilla in	15½
The iſle of Centanilla or Santanilla in	17¼
Cape Camaron on the maine, South of the enterance of the Honduras	16
Ganaba in	16¼
Genaza in	16½

Here followeth a declaration of the longitudes, or Weſtern and Eaſtern diſtances, from *Spaine* to *Newe Spaine* in *America*, and from thence backe againe to *Spaine*.

	Leagues.
From Sal Medina vpon the Coaſt Andaluzia till you bring your ſelfe North and South with Cape Cantin vpon the Coaſt of Barbary	85
From Sal Medina to the iſland of Gran Canaria	200
From the Gran Canaria to Deſeada	850
From Deſeada to Monſerate	20
From Monſerate to ſanta Cruz	58
From ſanta Cruz to Cape Roxo the Southweſt Cape of ſant Iuan de Puerto Rico	45
From Cape Roxo to Saona.	25
From Saona to ſant Domingo	25
From ſant Domingo to Ocoa	18
From Ocoa to Beata	20
From Beata to the iſle Baque	43
From the iſle Baque to Nauaza	33
From Nauaza to ſant Iago of Cuba	32
From ſant Iago of Cuba to Cabo de Cruz	34
From Cabo de Cruz to the firſt Cayman	40
From the firſt Cayman to the middle Cayman	6
From the middle Cayman to the great Cayman	12
From the great Cayman to the iſle of Pinos.	48
From Cabo de Cruz to the iſle of Pinos by the forſaid courſe	106
From the iſle of Pinos to Cabo de Corrientes	19
From Cabo de Corrientes to Cabo de ſant Anton	20

The courſe from *Cabo de ſant Anton* to *ſant Iuan de Vllua* by the outſide or North of the Iſles called *Alacranes.*

From Cabo de ſant Anton to the Nigrillos	106
From the Nigrillos, vntill you bring your ſelfe North and South with the iſle Vermeja	25
From the iſle Vermja to Villa Rica	96
From Villarica to Sant Iuan de Vllua	12

The courſe from *Cabo de Corrientes* to *ſant Iuan de Vllua* on the inſide or South of the *Alacranes.*

From Cabo de Corrientes to the firſt ſounding	45
From the firſt ſounding till you come ſo farre a head as the iſland called Iſla de Ranas	80
From Iſla de Ranas vnto	

The

The longitudes from *New Spaine*, backe againe to *Spaine*.

	Leagues.
From Saint Iuan de Vllua to the Tortugas.	280
From the Tortugas to Hauana.	36
From Hauana to the head of the Martyrs:	36
From the head of the Martyrs to the Mimbres.	30
From the Mimbres to Bahamá	22
From the head of the Martyrs to Cabo de Cannaueral.	62
From Cabo de Cannauerall to Bermuda.	350
From Bermuda to the Iſle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Aluarez	320
From the Iſle of Iohn Luis or Aluárez to Flores.	300
From Flores to Fayal.	28
From Fayal to Terçera.	28
From Terçera to Saint Michael.	28
From Saint Michael to Cape Saint Vincent.	218
From Terçera to Cape Saint Vincent.	256
From Cape S. Vincent to Cabo de ſanta Maria vpon the coaſt of Algarbe.	22
From Cabo de ſanta Maria to Sal Medina in Andaluzia.	32

THE DISCOVERIE OF THE LARGE, RICH, and Beautifull Empire of *Guiana*, with a relation of the great and golden Citie of *Manoa* (which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*) and the Prouinces of *Emeria*, *Aromaia*, *Amapaia*, and other Countries, with their riuers adioyning.

Performed in the yeere *1595* by Sir *Walter Ralegh* Knight, Capteine
of her Maieſties Guard, Lorde Warden of the Stanneries,
and her Highneſſe Leiutenant generall of the
Countie of *Corne-wall.*

To the right Honourable my ſingular good Lord and kinſman *Charles Howard*, Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counceller, and of the Admirals of *England* the moſt renowmed: and to the right Honourable Sir *Robert Cecyll* knight, Counceller in her Highneſſe Priuie Councels.

For your Honours many Honourable and friendly partes, I haue hitherto onely returned promiſes, and now for anſwere of both your aduentures, I haue ſent you a bundle of papers, which I haue deuided betwene your Lordſhip, and Sir *Robert Cecyll* in theſe two reſpects chiefly: Firſt for that it is reaſon, that waſtful factors, when they haue conſumed ſuch ſtockes as they had in truſt, doe yeeld ſome colour for the ſame in their account; ſecondly for that I am aſſured, that whatſoeuer ſhall bee done, or written by me, ſhall neede a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loues, when I was left of all, but of malice and reuenge, makes me ſtill preſume, that you wil be pleaſed (knowing what litle power I had to performe ought, and the great aduantage of forewarned enemies) to anſwer that out of knowledge, which others ſhal but obiect out of malice. In my more happy times as I did eſpecially Hon. you both, ſo I found that your loues ſought mee out in the darkeſt ſhadow of aduerſitie, and the ſame affection which accompanied my better fortune, ſored not away from me in my many miſeries: al which though I can not requite, yet I ſhal euer acknowledge: & the great debt which I haue no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confeſſe to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, ſo they haue yeelded very grieuous effects, & if ought might haue bene deſerued in former times to haue counterpoyſed any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it ſeemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, & the dead ſtocke onely remained. I did therefore euen in the winter of my life, vndertake theſe trauels, fitter for bodies leſſe blaſted with miſ-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby, if it were poſſible, I might recouer but the moderation of exceſſe, & the leaſt taſt of the greateſt plenty formerly poſſeſſed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater aduentures might haue regained, if I could cõceiue what farther meanes I might yet vſe, but euen to appeaſe ſo powreful diſpleaſure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold faſt my ſoule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that litle remaine I had, I haue waſted in effect all herein. I haue vndergone many conſtructions.

I

I haue bene accompanyed with many ſorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, ſickeneſſe, & perill: it appeareth notwithſtanding that I made no other brauado of going to the ſea, then was ment, and that I was neuer hidden in *Cornewall*, or els where, as was ſuppoſed. They haue groſly belied me, that foreiudged, that I would rather become a ſeruant to the Spaniſh king, then returne, and the reſt were much miſtaken, who would haue perſwaded, that I was too eaſefull and ſenſuall to vndertake a iourney of ſo great trauell. But, if what I haue done, receiue the the gracious conſtruction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchaſe the leaſt remiſſion, I ſhall thinke all too litle, & that there were wanting to the reſt many miſeries. But if both the times paſt, the preſent, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in eternall diſtaſt; I doe not then know whether I ſhould bewaile my ſelfe, either for my too much trauell and expence, or condemne my ſelfe for doing leſſe then that, which can deſerue nothing. From my ſelfe I haue deſerued no thankes, for I am returned a begger, and withered, but that I might haue bettred my poore eſtate, it ſhall appeare by the following diſcourſe, if I had not onely reſpected her Maieſties future Honour, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once liued, to goe iourneys of picory, it had ſorted ill with the offices of Honour, which by her Maieſties grace I hold this day in *England*, to run from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinaries prizes. Many yeeres ſince, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich and beautifull Empier of *Guiana*, and of that great and golden Citie, which the Spaniards call *El Dorado*, and the naturals *Manoa*, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and inlarged by a yonger ſonne of *Guainacapa* Emperour of *Peru*, at ſuch time as *Franciſco Piçarro* and others conquered the ſaid Empire, from his two elder brethrē, *Guaſcar*, and *Atabalipa*, both then contending for the ſame, the one being fauoured by the *Orejones* of *Cuzco*, the other by the people of *Caxamalca*. I ſent my ſeruant *Iacob Whiddon* the yere before, to get knowledge of the paſſages, and I had ſome light from Captaine *Parker*, ſometime my ſeruant, and nowe attending on your Lordſhip, that ſuch a place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of *Charuas*, or *Guanipa*: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off then they ſuppoſed, and many other impediments to them vnknowen and vnheard. After I had diſplanted *Don Antonio de Berreo*, who was vpon the ſame enterprize, leauing my ſhips at *Trinidad*, at the Port called *Curiapan*, I wandred 400 miles into the ſaid countrey by lande and riuer: the particulars I will leaue to the following diſcourſe. The countrey hath more quantity of gold by manifolde, then the beſt partes of the *Indies*, or *Peru*: All the moſt of the kings of the borders are already become her Maieſties vaſſals: and ſeeme to deſire nothing more then her Maieſties protection and the returne of the Engliſh nation. It hath another ground and aſſurance of riches and glory, then the voyages of the *Weſt Indies*, an eaſier way to inuade the beſt parts thereof, then by the common courſe. The king of *Spaine* is not ſo impoueriſhed, by taking three or foure Port townes in *America*, as wee ſuppoſe, neither are the riches of *Peru*, or *Nueua Eſpanna* ſo left by the ſea ſide, as it can bee eaſily waſht away with a great flood, or ſpringtide, or left dry vpon the ſandes on a lowe ebbe. The Port townes are fewe and poore in reſpect of the reſt within the lande, and are of litle defence, and are onely rich, when the Fleets are to receiue the treaſure for *Spaine*: and we might thinke the *Spaniards* very ſimple, hauing ſo many horſes and ſlaues, if they could not vpon two dayes warning cary all the golde they haue into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our foote-men, eſpecially the *Indies* being (as they are for the moſt part) ſo mountanous, ſo full of woodes, riuers, and mariſhes. In the Port townes of the Prouince of *Veneçuela*, as *Cumana*, *Coro* and *S. Iago* (whereof *Coro* and *S. Iago* were taken by Captaine *Preſton*, and *Cumana* and *S. Ioſepho* by vs) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of *Barquaſimeta*, *Valencia*, *S. Sebaſtian*, *Corero*, *S. Lucia*, *Laguna*, *Maracaiba*, and *Truxillo*, are not ſo eaſely inuaded: neither doeth the burning of thoſe on the coaſt impoueriſh the king of *Spaine* any one ducat: and if we ſacke the riuer of *Hacha*, *S. Marta*, and *Cartagena*, which are the Portes of *Nueuo reyno*, and *Popayan*; there are beſides within the land, which are indeed riche and populous, the townes and Cities of *Merida*, *Lagrita*, *S. Chriſtophoro*, the great Cities of *Pamplon*, *S. Fe de Bogota*, *Tunxa* and *Mozo* where the *Eſmeraldes* are found, the townes and Cities of *Marequita*, *Velez*, *la Villa de Leua*, *Palma*, *Vnda*, *Angoſtura*, the great citie of *Timana*, *Tocaima*, *S. Aguila*, *Paſto*, *Iuago*, the great Citie of *Popaian* it ſelfe, *Los Remedios*, and the reſt. If we take the Ports and villages within the Bay of *Vraba* in the kingdom or riuers of *Dariene* and *Caribana*, the Cities and townes of *S. Iuan de Roydas*, of *Caſſaris*, of *Antiocha*, *Caramanta*, *Cali*, and *Anſerma* haue gold enough to pay the kings part, and are not eaſily inuaded by the way of the *Ocean*, or if *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* be taken in the Prouince of *Caſtilla del oro*, and the villages vpō the riuers of *Cenu* & *Chagre*; *Peru* hath beſides thoſe & beſides the magnificent cities of *Quito* & *Lima* ſo many ylands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I ſhould name them with the reſt, it would ſeem incredible to the reader: of all which, becauſe I haue written a particular treatiſe of the *West Indies*, I wil omit the repetition at this time, ſeeing that in the ſaid treatiſe I haue anatomized the reſt of the ſea-townes aſwel of *Nicaragua, Incatan, Nueua Eſpanna*, & the ylands, as thoſe of the *Inland*, & by what meanes they may be beſt inuaded, as far as any meane iudgement can cōprehend. But I hope it ſhal appeare that there is a way found to anſwer euery mans longing, a better *Indies* for her Maieſtie then the King of *Spaine* hath any: which if it ſhal pleaſe her highnes to vndertake, I ſhal moſt willingly end the reſt of my daies in folowing the ſame: if it be left to the ſpoile & ſackage of cōmon perſons, if the loue & ſeruice of ſo many nations be deſpiſed, ſo great riches, & ſo mighty an empire refuſed, I hope her maieſty wil yet take my humble deſire and my labor therin in gracious part, which, if it had not bin in reſpect of her highnes future honor & riches, could haue laid hands on & ranſomed many of the kings & *Caſiqui* of the country, & haue had a reaſonable proportion of gold for their redemptiō: but I haue choſen rather to beare the burden of pouerty, then reproch, & rather to endure a ſecond trauel and the chances therof, then to haue defaced an enterpriſe of ſo great aſſurance, vntill I knew whether it pleaſed God to put a diſpoſitiō in her princely & royal heart either to folow or foreſlow the ſame: I wil therefore leaue it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, & do humbly pray that your honors wil excuſe ſuch errors, as without the defence of art, ouerrun in euery part of the folowing diſcourſe, in which I haue neither ſtudied phraſe, forme nor faſhion, that you will be pleaſed to eſteeme mee as your owne (though ouer dearly bought) and I ſhall euer remaine ready to do you all honour and ſeruice.

A treatiſe of the West Indies.

W. R.

¶ *To the Reader.*

BEcauſe there haue bin diuers opiniōs cōceiued of the gold oare broght frō *Guiana*, and for ȳ an Alderman of *London* & an officer of her Maieſties Mint, hath giuen out that the ſame is of no price, I haue thought good by the additiō of theſe lines to giue anſwer aſwel to the ſaid malicious ſlāder, as to other obiections. It is true that while we abode at the yland of *Trinidad*, I was informed, by an Indian, that not far frō the Port, where we ancored, there were found certaine mineral ſtones which they eſteemed to be gold, & were thereunto perſwaded the rather for that they had ſeene both *Engliſh* and *Frenchmen* gather, & imbark ſome quantities therof: vpon this likelyhood I ſent 40. men & gaue order that each one ſhould bring a ſtone of that mine to make trial of ȳ goodnes: which being performed, I aſſured them at their returne that the ſame was *Marcaſite*, & of no riches or value: notwithſtāding diuers, truſting more to their owne ſence, then to my opinion, kept of the ſaid *Marcaſite*, & haue tried therof ſince my returne in diuers places. In *Guiana* it ſelfe I neuer ſaw *Marcaſite*, but al the rocks, moūtains, al ſtones in ȳ plaines, woods, & by the riuers ſide are in effect throughſhining, and ſeem maruelous rich, which being tried to be no *Marcaſite*, are the true ſignes of rich minerals, but are no other then *El madre del oro* (as the Spaniards terme them) which is the mother of gold, or as it is ſaid by others the ſcum of gold: of diuers ſorts of theſe many of my company brought alſo into *Englād*, euery one taking ȳ faireſt for the beſt, which is not general. For mine own part, I did not coūtermand any mans deſire, or opinion, & I could haue aforded them litle if I ſhould haue denied them the pleaſing of their owne fancies therein: but I was reſolued that gold muſt be foūd either in graines ſeparate frō the ſtone (as it is in moſt of the riuers in *Guiana*) or els in a kind of hard ſtone, which we call *The white ſpar*, of which I ſaw diuers hils, & in ſundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor inſtruments fit for labour. Neere vnto one of the riuers I found of the ſaid *White ſparre* or flint a very great ledge or banke, which I endeuoured to breake by al the meanes I could, becauſe there appeared on the outſide ſome ſmal graines of gold, but finding no meane to worke the ſame vpon the vpper part, ſeeking the ſides and circuit of the ſaid rocke, I found a clift in the ſame from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out ſome ſmal quantitie therof, of which kind of white ſtone (wherin gold ingendred) we ſaw diuers hils and rocks in euery part of *Guiana*, wherein we traueiled. Of this there haue bin made many trials, and in *London* it was firſt aſſaid by M. *Weſtwood* a refiner dwelling in *Woodſtreet*, and it held after the rate of 12000. or 13000. pounds a tunne. Another ſort was afterward tried by M. *Bulmar* & M. *Dimock* Aſſay-maſter, & it held after the rate of 13000 li. a tunne. There was ſome of it againe tried by M. *Palmer* comptroller of the Mint, and M. *Dimock* in goldſmiths hal, & it held after 26900 li. a tun. There was alſo at the ſame time, & by the ſame perſons a trial made of the duſt of the ſaid mine which held 8. li. 6. ounces weight of gold in the 100. there was likewiſe at the ſame time a triall of an image of copper made in *Guiana*, which held a third part of gold, beſides diuers trials made in the coũtrey, & by others in *Lõdon*. But becauſe there came ill with the good, & belike the ſaid Alderman was not preſented with the beſt, it hath pleaſed him therefore to ſcandall all the reſt, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath alſo bene concluded by diuers, that if there had bin any ſuch oare in *Guiana*, and the ſame diſcouered, that I would haue brought home a greater quantitie thereof: firſt I was not bound to ſatisfie any man of the quantitie, but ſuch onely as aduentured, if any ſtore had bin returned thereof: but it is very true that had al their mountaines bene of maſſie gold, it was impoſſible for vs to haue made any longer ſtay to haue wrought the ſame: and whoſoeuer hath ſeene with what ſtrength of ſtone the beſt gold oare is inuironed, hee will not thinke it eaſie to be had out in heapes, and eſpecially by vs, who had neither men, inſtruments, nor time (as it is ſaid before) to performe the ſame. There were on this diſcouery no leſſe then 100. perſons, who can all witneſſe, that when we paſt any branch of the riuer to view the land within, and ſtaied from our boats but 6. houres, wee were driuen to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if wee attempted the ſame, the day following it was impoſſible either to ford it, or to ſwim it, both by reaſon of the ſwiftneſſe, and alſo for that the borders were ſo peſtred with faſt woods, as neither boat nor man could find place, either to land or to imbarke: for in Iune, Iuly, Auguſt and September, it is impoſſible to nauigate any of thoſe riuers: for ſuch is the fury of the current, and there are ſo many trees and woods ouerflowne, as if any boat but touch vpon any tree or ſtake, it is impoſſible to ſaue any one perſon therein: and yet we departed the land it ranne with ſuch ſwiftnes, as wee draue downe moſt commonly againſt the wind, little leſſe then 100. miles a day: Beſides our veſſels were no other then whirries, one little barge, a ſmall cockboat, and a bad Galiota, which we framed in haſt for that purpoſe at *Trinidad*, and thoſe little boats had 9. or 10. men a piece, with al their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our ſhips, and had bene a moneth from them, which alſo we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promiſed our returne in 15. dayes. Others haue deuiſed that the ſame oare was had from *Barbary*, and that we caried it with vs into *Guiana*: ſurely the ſingularitie of that deuice I doe not well comprehend: for mine owne part, I am not ſo much in loue with theſe long voyages, as to deuiſe, thereby to cozen my ſelfe, to lie hard, to fare worſe, to be ſubiected to perils, to diſeaſes, to ill ſauors, to be parched & withered, and withall to ſuſtaine the care & labour of ſuch an enterprize, except the ſame had more comfort, then the fetching of *Marcaſite* in *Guiana*, or buying of gold oare in *Barbary*. But I hope the better ſort will iudge me by themſelues, & that the way of deceit is not the way of honor or good opinion: I haue herein conſumed much time, & many crownes, & I had no other reſpect or deſire then to ſerue her Maieſtie and my country thereby. If the Spaniſh nation had bene of like beliefe to theſe detracters, we ſhould litle haue feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now cõſider of the actions both of *Charles* the 5. who had the maidenhead of *Peru*, and the abundant treaſures of *Atabalipa*, together with the affaires of the Spaniſh king now liuing, what territories he hath purchaſed, what he hath added to the acts of his predeceſſors, how many kingdoms he hath indangered, how many armies, gariſons, & nauies he hath and doth mainteine, the great loſſes which he hath repaired, as in 88. aboue 100. ſaile of great ſhips with their artillery, & that no yere is leſſe vnfortunate but that many veſſels, treaſures, and people are deuoured, and yet notwithſtanding he beginneth againe like a ſtorme to threaten ſhipwrack to vs all: we ſhall find that theſe abilities riſe not frõ the trades of ſacks, and *Sivil* oringes, nor from ought els that either *Spaine*, *Portugal*, or any of his other prouinces produce: it is his *Indian* gold that indangereth and diſturbeth all the nations of *Europe*, it purchaſeth intelligence, creepeth into counſels, and ſetteth bound loyaltie at libertie, in the greateſt Monarchies of *Europe*. If the Spaniſh king can keepe vs from forren enterprizes, & from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of inuaſion, or by beſieging vs in *Britaine*, *Ireland*, or elſewhere, hee hath then brought the worke of our peril in great forwardnes. Thoſe princes which abound in treaſure haue great aduantages ouer the reſt, if they once conſtraine them to a defenſiue war, where they are driuen once a yere or oftner to caſt lots for their own garmẽts, and frõ ſuch ſhal all trades, & entercourſe be taken away, to the general loſſe and impouerishment of the kingdom and common weale ſo reduced: beſides when our men are conſtrained to fight, it hath not the like hope, as when they are preſt & incouraged by the deſire of ſpoile & riches. Farther, it is to be douted how thoſe that in time of victory ſeeme to affect their neighbor nations, wil remaine after the firſt view of miſfortunes, or il ſucceſſe; to truſt alſo to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a fearefull & vncertaine aduenture, ſeeing therein fortune is as likely to preuaile, as vertue. It ſhall not be neceſſary to alleage all that might bee ſaid, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatſoeuer kingdome ſhal be inforced to defend it ſelfe may be compared to a body dangerouſly diſeaſed, which for a ſeaſon may be preſerued with vulgar medicines, but in a ſhort time, and by litle and litle, the ſame muſt needs fall to the ground, & be diſſolued. I haue therefore laboured all my life, both according to my ſmal power, & perſwaſion, to aduance al thoſe attempts, that might either promiſe return of profit to our ſelues, or at leaſt be a let and impeachment to the quiet courſe and plentifull trades of the Spaniſh nation, who in my weake iudgement by ſuch a warre were as eaſily indangered & brought frō his powerfulnes, as any prince of *Europe*, if it be conſidered from how many kingdomes and nations his reuenues are gathered, & thoſe ſo weake in their owne beings, and ſo far ſeuered from mutual ſuccour. But becauſe ſuch a preparation and reſolution is not to be hoped for in haſt, & that the time which our enemies embrace, cannot be had againe to aduātage, I wil hope that theſe prouinces, and that Empire now by me diſcouered ſhal ſuffice to inable her Maieſtie & the whole kingdome, with no leſſe quantities of treaſure, then the king of *Spaine* hath in all the *Indies* Eaſt and Weſt, which he poſſeſſeth, which if the ſame be conſidered and followed, ere the Spaniards enforce the ſame, and if her Maieſtie wil vndertake it, I wil be contented to loſe her highneſſe fauour & good opinion for euer, and my life withall, if the ſame be not found rather to exceed, then to equal whatſoeuer is in this diſcourſe promiſed or declared. I wil now referre the Reader to the following diſcourſe, with the hope that the perillous and chargeable labours and indeuors of ſuch as thereby ſeeke the profit and honour of her Maieſtie, and the Engliſh nation, ſhall by men of qualitie and vertue receiue ſuch conſtruction, and good acceptance, as themſelues would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

W. R.

¶ The diſcouerie of *Guiana*.

On thurſday the 6. of February in the yere 1595. we departed England, and the Sunday following had ſight of the North cape of Spaine, the winde for the moſt part continuing proſperous: we paſſed in ſight of the Burlings, & the Rocke, and ſo onwards for the Canaries, and fel with Fuerte ventura the 17 of the ſame moneth, where we ſpent two or three dayes, and relieued our companies with ſome freſh meat. From thence we coaſted by the Grand Canaria, & ſo to Tenerif, and ſtayed there for the Lions whelpe your Lordſhips ſhip, and for Captaine Amyas Preſton and the reſt. But when after 7. or 8. dayes wee found them not, we departed and directed our courſe for Trinidad with mine owne ſhip, and a ſmall barke of captaine Croſſes onely (for we had before loſt ſight of a ſmal Galego on the coaſt of Spaine, which came with vs from Plimmouth:) we arriued at Trinidad the 22. of March, caſting ancker at point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call punta de Gallo, which is ſituate in 8. degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4. or 5. dayes, & in all that time we came not to the ſpeach of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coaſt we ſaw a fire, as we ſailed frō the point Carao towards Curiapan, but for feare of the Spaniards none durſt come to ſpeake with vs. I my ſelfe coaſted it in my barge cloſe abord the ſhore and landed in euery Coue, the better to know the yland, while the ſhips kept the chanell. From Curiapan after a few dayes we turned vp Northeaſt to recouer that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Eſpannoles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia, and as before (reuictualing my barge) I left the ſhips and kept by the ſhore, the better to come to ſpeach with ſome of the inhabitants, and alſo to vnderſtand the riuers, watering places, & ports of the yland, which (as it is rudely done) my purpoſe is to ſend your Lordſhip after a few dayes. From Curiapan I came to a port and ſeat of Indians called Parico, where we found a freſh water riuer, but ſaw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea: In the way betweene both were diuers little brookes of freſh water and one ſalt riuer that had ſtore of oiſters vpon the branches of the trees, and were very ſalt and well taſted. All their oiſters grow vpon thoſe boughs and ſprayes, and not on the ground: the like is commonly ſeene in other places of the Weſt Indies, and elſe where. This tree is deſcribed by Andrew Theuet in his French Antarctique, and the forme figured in the booke as a plant very ſtrange, and by Plinie in his 12. booke of his naturall hiſtorie. But in this yland, as alſo in Guiana there are very many of them.

The yle of Trinidad.

Curiapan.

Parico.

Tierra de Brea.

At this point called Tierra de Brea or Piche there is that abundance of ſtone pitch, that all the ſhips of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and wee made trial of it in trimming our ſhippes to be moſt excellent good, and melteth not with the Sunne as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for ſhippes trading the South parts very profitable. From thence wee went to the mountaine foote called Annaperima, and ſo paſſing the riuer Carone on which the Spaniſh Citie was ſeated, we met with our ſhips at Puerto de los Eſpannoles or Conquerabia.

This yland of Trinidad hath the forme of a ſheephooke, and is but narrow, the North part is very mountainous, the ſoile is very excellent and will beare ſuger, ginger, or any other commoditie that the Indies yeeld. It hath ſtore of deare, wilde porks, fruits, fiſh and foule: it hath alſo for bread ſufficient maiz, caſſaui, and of thoſe rootes and fruites which are common euery where in the Weſt Indies. It hath diuers beaſtes which the Indies haue not: the Spaniards confeſſed that they found graines of golde in ſome of the riuers, but they hauing a purpoſe to enter Guiana (the Magazin of all rich mettals) cared not to ſpend time in the ſearch thereof any further. This yland is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are diuers nations: thoſe about Parico are called Iaio, thoſe at Punta de Carao are of the Arwacas, and betweene Carao and Curiapan they are called Saluajos, betweene Carao and Punta de Galera are the Nepoios, and thoſe about the Spaniſh citie terme themſelues Carinepagotes: Of the reſt of the nations, and of other ports and riuers I leaue to ſpeake here, being impertinent to my purpoſe, and meane to deſcribe them as they are ſituate in the particular plot and deſcription of the yland, three parts whereof I coaſted with my barge, that I might the better deſcribe it.

The death of Captaine Whiddon.

Meeting with the ſhips at Puerto de los Eſpannoles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the deſcent, and they offering a ſigne of peace, I ſent captaine Whiddon to ſpeake with them, whom afterward to my great griefe I left buried in the ſaid yland after my returne from Guiana, being a man moſt honeſt and valiant. The Spaniards ſeemed to be deſirous to trade with vs, and to enter into termes of peace, more for doubt of their owne ſtrength then for ought elſe, and in the ende vpon pledge, ſome of them came aboord: the ſame euening there ſtale alſo aboord vs in a ſmall Canoa two Indians, the one of them being a Caſique or Lord of the people called Cantyman, who had the yeere before bene with Captaine Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman, wee vnderſtood what ſtrength the Spaniards had, howe farre it was to their Citie, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the gouernour, who was ſaid to be ſlaine in his ſecond attempt of Guiana, but was not.

While we remained at Puerto de los Eſpannoles ſome Spaniards came aboord vs to buy linnen of the company, and ſuch other things as they wanted, and alſo to view our ſhips and company, all which I entertained kindly and feaſted after our maner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the eſtate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew, for thoſe poore ſouldiers hauing bene many yeeres without wine, a few draughts made them merrie, in which moode they vaunted of Guiana and of the riches thereof, and all what they knewe of the wayes and paſſages, my ſelfe ſeeming to purpoſe nothing leſſe then the entrance or diſcouerie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of thoſe Engliſh which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruite was come among them; which I had performed in my returne, if extremitie of weather had not forſt me from the ſaid coaſt.

8. Engliſhmen betrayed by Antony Berreo.

I found occaſions of ſtaying in this place for two cauſes: the one was to be reuenged of Berreo, who the yere before 1594. had betraied eight of Captaine Whiddons men, and tooke them while he departed from them to ſeeke the Edward Bonauenture, which arriued at Trinidad the day before from the Eaſt Indies: in whoſe abſence Berreo ſent a Canoa aboord the pinneſſe onely with Indians and dogs inuiting the company to goe with them into the woods to kill a deare, who like wiſe men in the abſence of their Captaine followed the Indians, but were no ſooner one harquebuze ſhot from the ſhore, but Berreos ſouldiers lying in ambuſh had them al, notwithſtanding that he had giuen his word to Captaine Whiddon that they ſhould take water and wood ſafely: the other cauſe of my ſtay was, for that by diſcourſe with the Spaniards I daily learned more and more of Guiana, of the riuers and paſſages, and of the enterpriſe of Berreo, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to proſecute the ſame.

While wee thus ſpent the time I was aſſured by another Caſique of the North ſide of the yland, that Berreo had ſent to Margarita and Cumana for ſouldiers, meaning to haue giuen mee a caſſado at parting, if it had bene poſſible. For although he had giuen order through all the yland that no Indian ſhould come aboord to trade with me vpon paine of hanging & quartering, (hauing executed two of them for the ſame, which I afterwards found) yet euery night there came ſome with moſt lamentable complaints of his crueltie, how he had deuided the yland and giuen to euery ſouldier a part, that hee made the ancient Caſiques which were Lords of the countrey to be their ſlaues, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and ſuch other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the city after I entred the ſame, there were 5. of ye lords or litle kings (which they cal Caſiques in the Weſt Indies) in one chaine almoſt dead of famine, and waſted with torments: theſe are called in their owne language Acarewana, and now of late ſince Engliſh, French and Spaniſh are come among them, they call themſelues Capitaines, becauſe they perceiue that the chiefeſt of euery ſhip is called by that name. Thoſe fiue Capitaines in the chaine were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be reuenged of the former wrong, as alſo conſidering that to enter Guiana by ſmall boats, to depart 400. or 500. miles from my ſhips, and to leaue a gariſon in my backe intereſſed in the ſame enterprize, who alſo dayly expected ſupplies out of Spaine, I ſhould haue ſauoured very much of the aſſe: and therefore taking a time of moſt aduantage I ſet vpon the Corps du guard in the euening, and hauing put them to the ſword, ſent Captaine Calfield onwards with 60. ſouldiers, and my ſelfe followed with 40. more and ſo tooke their new City which they called S. Ioſeph by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a fewe ſhot, and all being diſmiſſed but onely Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me abord, and at the inſtance of the Indians I ſet their new citie of S. Ioſeph on fire.

The Citie of S. Ioſeph taken. Antony Berreo taken priſoner.

The ſame day arriued captaine George Gifford with your Lordſhips ſhip, and captaine Keymis whom I loſt on the coaſt of Spaine, with the Galego, and in them diuers gentlemen and others, which to our little armie was a great comfort and ſupply.

We then haſted away towards our purpoſed diſcouery, and firſt I called all the Captaines of the yland together that were enemies to the Spaniards; for there were ſome which Berreo had brought out of other countreys, and planted there to eate out and waſt thoſe that were naturall of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them vnderſtand that I was the ſeruant of a Queene, who was the great Caſique of the North, and a virgine, and had more Caſiqui vnder her then there were trees in that yland: that ſhee was an enemie to the Caſtellani in reſpect of their tyrannie and oppreſſion, and that ſhe deliuered all ſuch nations about her, as were by them oppreſſed, and hauing freed all the coaſt of the Northren world from their ſeruitude, had ſent mee to free them alſo, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their inuaſion and conqueſt. I ſhewed them her Maieſties picture which they ſo admired and honoured, as it had bene eaſie to haue brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large diſcourſe I made to the reſt of the nations both in my paſſing to Guiana, and to thoſe of the borders, ſo as in that part of the world her Maieſtie is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabeta Caſſipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princeſſe or greateſt commander. This done we left Puerto de los Eſpannoles, and returned to Curiapan, and hauing Berreo my priſoner I gathered from him as much of Guiana as hee knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman wel deſcended, and had long ſerued the Spaniſh king in Millain, Naples, the Low countreis and elſewhere, very valiant and liberall, and a gentleman of great aſſurednes, and of a great heart: I vſed him according to his eſtate and worth in all things I could, according to the ſmall meanes I had.

I ſent Captaine Whiddon the yeere before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my iourney at this time was to diſcouer and enter the ſame, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the countrey is ſituate aboue 600. Engliſh miles further from the Sea, then I was made beleeue it had bin, which afterward vnderſtanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who elſe would neuer haue bene brought to attempt the ſame: of which 600. miles I paſſed 400. leauing my ſhips ſo farre from mee at ancker in the Sea, which was more of deſire to performe that diſcouery, then of reaſon, eſpecially hauing ſuch poore and weake veſſels to tranſport our ſelues in; for in the bottom of an old Galego which I cauſed to be faſhioned like a galley, and in one barge, two whirries, and a ſhipboat of the Lions whelpe, we caried 100. perſons and their victuals for a moneth in the ſame, being al driuen to lie in the raine and weather in the open aire, in the burning Sunne, and vpon the hard bords, and to dreſſe our meat, and to cary all maner of furniture in them, wherewith they were ſo peſtered and vnſauory, that what with victuals being moſt fiſh, with the wette clothes of ſo many men thruſt together, and the heat of the Sunne, I will vndertake there was neuer any priſon in England, that could bee found more vnſauorie and lothſome, eſpecially to my ſelfe, who had for many yeeres before bene dieted and cared for in a ſort farre more differing.

Sir W. Ralegh paſſed 400. miles toward Guiana.

If Captaine Preſton had not bene perſwaded that he ſhould haue come too late to Trinidad to haue found vs there (for the moneth was expired which I promiſed to tary for him there ere hee could recouer the coaſt of Spaine) but that it had pleaſed God hee might haue ioyned with vs, and that we had entered the countrey but ſome ten dayes ſooner ere the Riuers were ouerflowen, wee had aduentured either to haue gone to the great Citie of Manoa, or at leaſt taken ſo many of the other Cities and townes neerer at hand, as would haue made a royall returne: but it pleaſed not God ſo much to fauour mee at this time: if it ſhall be my lot to proſecute the ſame, I ſhall willingly ſpend my life therein, and if any elſe ſhalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the ſame, I aſſure him thus much, he ſhall performe more then euer was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Piçarro, whereof the one conquered the Empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guaſcar, and Atabalipa, and whatſoeuer prince ſhall poſſeſſe it, that Prince ſhall be Lord of more golde, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then either the King of Spaine, or the great Turke.

But becauſe there may ariſe many doubts, and how this Empire of Guiana is become ſo populous, and adorned with ſo many great Cities, townes, temples and treaſures, I thought good to make it knowen, that the Emperour now reigning is deſcended from thoſe magnificent princes of Peru, of whoſe large territories, of whoſe policies, conqueſts, edifices, and riches Pedro de Cieça, Franciſco Lopez, and others haue written large diſcourſes: for when Franciſco Piçarro, Diego Almagro and others conquered the ſaid Empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa ſonne to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly cauſed his eldeſt brother Guaſcar to bee ſlaine, one of the yonger ſonnes of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and tooke with him many thouſands of thoſe ſouldiers of the Empire called Orejones, and with thoſe and many others which followed him, hee vanquiſhed all that tract and valley of America which is ſituate betweene the great riuer of Amazones, and Baraquan, otherwiſe called Orenoque and Marannon.

The Empire of Guiana is directly Eaſt from Peru towards the Sea, and lieth vnder the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of golde then any part of Peru, and as many or mo great Cities then euer Peru had when it flouriſhed moſt: it is gouerned by the ſame lawes, and the Emperour and people obſerue the ſame religion, and the ſame forme and policies in gouernment as were vſed in Peru, not differing in any part: and I haue bene aſſured by ſuch of the Spaniards as haue ſeene Manoa the Imperial Citie of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatneſſe, for the riches, and for the excellent ſeat, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at leaſt of ſo much of the world as is knowen to the Spaniſh nation: it is founded vpon a lake of ſalt water of 200. leagues long like vnto Mare Caſpium. And if we compare it to that of Peru, & but read the report of Franciſco Lopez and others, it will ſeeme more then credible: and becauſe we may iudge of the one by the other, I thought good to inſert part of the 120. Chapter of Lopez in his generall hiſtorie of the Indies, wherein he deſcribeth the Court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, anceſtour to the Emperour of Guiana, whoſe very wordes are theſe. Todo el ſeruicio de ſu caſa, meſa y cozina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en ſu recamara eſtatuas huecas de oro, que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamaño de quantos animales, aues, arboles, y yeruas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de ſus reynos. Tenia aſſi meſmo ſogas, coſtales, ceſtas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciеſſen lenna rajada para quemar. En fin no auia coſa en ſu tierra, que no la tuuieſſe de oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas vn vergel en vna Iſla cerca de la Puna, donde ſe yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, inuencion y grandeza haſta entonces nunca viſta. Allende de todo eſto tenia infinitiſſima cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que ſe perdio por la muerte de Guaſcar, ca los Indios lo eſcondieron, viendo que los Eſpannoles ſe lo tomauan, y embiauan a Eſpanna. That is, All the veſſels of his houſe, table and kitchin were of gold and ſiluer, and the meaneſt of ſiluer and copper for ſtrength and hardneſſe of metall. He had in his wardrobe hollow ſtatues of gold which ſeemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bigneſſe of all the beaſts, birds, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth foorth: and of all the fiſhes that the ſea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. He had alſo ropes, budgets, cheſtes and troughs of golde and ſiluer, heapes of billets of gold, that ſeemed wood marked out to burne. Finally, there was nothing in his countrey, whereof he had not the counterfait in gold: Yea and they ſay, The Ingas had a garden of pleaſure in an yland neere Puna, where they went to recreat themſelues, when they would take the aire of the Sea, which had all kinde of garden-hearbs, flowers and trees of golde and ſiluer, an inuention, and magnificence till then neuer ſeene. Beſides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of ſiluer and golde vnwrought in Cuzco which was loſt by the death of Guaſcar, for the Indians hid it, ſeeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and ſent it into Spaine.

The ſituation of Manoa.

Fran. Lopez de Gomara hiſt. gen. cap. 120.

And in the 117. chapter Franciſco Piçarro cauſed the gold and ſiluer of Atabalipa to be weyed after he had taken it, which Lopez ſetteth downe in theſe wordes following. Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y vn millon y trezientos y veinte y ſeys mil, y quinientos peſos de oro, Which is: They found fiftie and two thouſand markes of good ſiluer, and one million, and three hundred twenty and ſixe thouſand and fiue hundred pezos of golde.

Now although theſe reports may ſeeme ſtrange, yet if we conſider the many millions which are dayly brought out of Peru into Spaine, wee may eaſily beleeue the ſame: for we finde that by the abundant treaſure of that countrey the Spaniſh king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become, in a few yeeres, from a poore king of Caſtile, the greateſt monarch of this part of the world, and likely euery day to increaſe, if other princes forſlow the good occaſions offered, and ſuffer him to adde this empire to the reſt, which by farre exceedeth all the reſt: if his golde now indanger vs, hee will then be vnreſiſtable. Such of the Spanyards as afterward endeuoured the conqueſt thereof (whereof there haue bene many, as ſhall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperour now liuing is deſcended) tooke his way by the riuer of Amazones, by that branch which is called Papamene: for by that way followed Orellana (by the cōmandement of Gonzalo Piçarro, in the yere 1542) whoſe name the riuer alſo beareth this day, which is alſo by others called Marannon, although Andrew Theuet doeth affirme that betweene Marannon and Amazones there are 120 leagues: but ſure it is that thoſe riuers haue one head and beginning, and the Marannon, which Theuet deſcribeth, is but a branch of Amazones or Orellana, of which I will ſpeake more in another place. It was attempted by Ordas; but it is now little leſſe then 70 yeres ſince that Diego Ordas, a knight of the order of Saint Iago attempted the ſame: and it was in the yeere 1542 that Orellana diſcouered the riuer of Amazones; but the firſt that euer ſaw Manoa was Iuan Martinez maſter of the munition to Ordas. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth at this day a great anker of Ordas his ſhip; and this port is ſome 300 miles within the land, vpon the great riuer of Orenoque.

Iuan Martinez the firſt that euer ſaw Manoa.

I reſted at this port foure dayes: twenty dayes after I left the ſhips at Curiapan. The relation of this Martinez (who was the firſt that diſcouered Manoa) his ſucceſſe and ende are to bee ſeene in the Chancery of Saint Iuan de puerto rico, whereof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greateſt incouragement aſwell to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the diſcouery and conqueſt. Orellana after he failed of the diſcouery of Guiana by the ſayd riuer of Amazones, paſſed into Spaine, and there obteined a patent of the king for the inuaſion and conqueſt, but died by ſea about the Iſlands, and his fleet ſeuered by tempeſt, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordas followed the enterpriſe, and departed Spaine with 600 ſouldiers, and 30 horſe, who arriuing on the coaſt of Guiana, was ſlaine in a mutiny, with the moſt part of ſuch as fauoured him, as alſo of the rebellious part, inſomuch as his ſhips periſhed, and few or none returned, neither was it certeinly knowen what became of the ſayd Ordas, vntill Berreo found the anker of his ſhip in the riuer of Orenoque; but it was ſuppoſed, and ſo it is written by Lopez, that he periſhed on the ſeas, and of other writers diuerſly conceiued and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entred ſo farre within the land, and arriued at that city of Inga the emperour; for it chanced that while Ordas with his army reſted at the port of Morequito (who was either the firſt or ſecond that attempted Guiana) by ſome negligence, the whole ſtore of powder prouided for the ſeruice was ſet on fire; and Martinez hauing the chiefe charge, was condemned by the Generall Ordas to be executed foorthwith: Martinez being much fauoured by the ſouldiers, had all the meanes poſſible procured for his life; but it could not be obteined in other ſort then this: That he ſhould be ſet into a canoa alone without any victuall, onely with his armes, and ſo turned looſe into the great riuer: but it pleaſed God that the canoa was caried downe the ſtreame, and that certeine of the Guianians mette it the ſame euening; and hauing not at any time ſeene any Chriſtian, nor any man of that colour, they caried Martinez into the land to be wondred at, and ſo from towne to towne, vntill he came to the great city of Manoa, the ſeat and reſidence of Inga the emperour. The emperour after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Chriſtian (for it was not long before that his brethren Guaſcar and Atabalipa were vanquiſhed by the Spanyards in Peru) and cauſed him to be lodged in his palace, and well enterteined. Hee liued ſeuen moneths in Manoa, but was not ſuffered to wander into the countrey any where. He was alſo brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, vntill he came to the entrance of Manoa it ſelfe, and was foureteene or fifteene dayes in the paſſage. He auowed at his death that he entred the city at Noon, and then they vncouered his face, and that he trauelled all that day till night thorow the city, and the next day from Sun riſing to Sun ſetting yer he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martinez had liued ſeuen moneths in Manoa, and began to vnderſtand the language of the countrey, Inga aſked him whether he deſired to returne into his owne countrey, or would willingly abide with him. But Martinez not deſirous to ſtay, obteined the fauour of Inga to depart: with whom he ſent diuers Guianians to conduct him to the riuer of Orenoque, all loden with as much golde as they could cary, which he gaue to Martinez at his departure: but when he was arriued

neere

Diego de Ordas went forth with 600 ſouldiers 1531.

Fran. Lopez hiſt. gen. de las Ind. cap. 87.

The great city of Manoa or El Dorado.

neere the riuers ſide, the borderers which are called Orenoqueponi robbed him and his Guianians of all the treaſure (the borderers being at that time at warres, which Inga had not conquered) ſaue onely of two great bottels of gourds, which were filled with beads of golde curiouſly wrought, which thoſe Orenoqueponi thought had bene no other thing then his drinke or meat, or graine for food, with which Martinez had liberty to paſſe: and ſo in canoas hee fell downe from the riuer of Orenoque to Trinidad, and from thence to Margarita, and alſo to Saint Iuan de puerto rico, where remaining a long time for paſſage into Spaine, he died. In the time of his extreme ſickneſſe, and when he was without hope of life, receiuing the Sacrament at the hands of his Confeſſor, he deliuered theſe things, with the relation of his trauels, and alſo called for his calabaças or gourds of the golde beads which he gaue to the church and friers to be prayed for.

The author of the name of El Dorado.

This Martinez was he that Chriſtened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and as Berreo informed mee, vpon this occaſion: Thoſe Guianians, and alſo the borderers, and all other in that tract which I haue ſeene, are marueilous great drunkards; in which vice, I thinke no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their ſolemne feaſts, when the emperour carowſeth with his captaines, tributaries, and gouernours, the maner is thus: All thoſe that pledge him are firſt ſtripped naked, and their bodies anointed all ouer with a kind of white balſamum (by them called curca) of which there is great plenty, and yet very deare amongſt them, and it is of all other the moſt precious, whereof wee haue had good experience: when they are anointed all ouer, certeine ſeruants of the emperour, hauing prepared golde made into fine powder, blow it thorow hollow canes vpon their naked bodies, vntill they be all ſhining from the foot to the head: and in this ſort they ſit drinking by twenties, and hundreds, and continue in drunkenneſſe ſometimes ſixe or ſeuen dayes together.

The ſubſtance of this report is in the end of the nauigation of the great riuer of Maranon, written by Gonzalo Fernando de Ouiedo to cardinall Bembo, Ramuſio. Vol. 3. fol. 416.

The ſame is alſo confirmed by a letter written into Spaine, which was intercepted, which M. Robert Duddeley tolde me he had ſeene.

Sir Robert Duddeley.

Vpon this ſight, and for the abundance of golde which he ſaw in the city, the images of golde in their temples, the plates, armours, and ſhields of gold which they vſe in the warres, he called it El Dorado. After the death of Ordas and Martinez, and after Orellana, who was imployed by Gonzalo Piçarro, one Pedro de Oſua a knight of Nauarre attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigandines vpon a riuer called Oia, which riſeth to the Southward of Quito, and is very great. This riuer falleth into Amazones, by which Oſua with his companies deſcended, and came out of that prouince which is called Mutylonez: and it ſeemeth to mee that this empire is reſerued for her Maieſty and the Engliſh nation, by reaſon of the hard ſucceſſe which all theſe and other Spanyards found in attempting the ſame, whereof I will ſpeake briefly, though impertinent in ſome ſort to my purpoſe.

Reade Ioſephus Acoſta.

This Pedro de Oſua had among his troups a Biſcain, called Agiri, a man meanly borne, who bare no other office then a ſergeant or alferez: but after certeine moneths, when the ſouldiers were grieued with trauels, and conſumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazones, this Agiri raiſed a mutiny, of which hee made himſelfe the head, and ſo preuailed, as he put Oſua to the ſword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement, with a purpoſe not onely to make himſelfe emperour of Guiana, but alſo of Peru and all that ſide of the Weſt Indies: he had of his party ſeuen hundred ſouldiers, and of thoſe many promiſed to draw in other captaines & companies, to deliuer vp townes and forts in Peru: but neither finding by ÿ ſaid riuer any paſſage into Guiana, nor any poſſibility to returne towards Peru by the ſame Amazones, by reaſon that ÿ deſcent of the riuer made ſo great a current, he was inforced to diſemboque at the mouth of the ſayd Amazones, which can not be leſſe then a thouſand leagues from the place where they imbarked: from thence he coaſted the land till he arriued at Margarita to the North of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there ſlew Don Iuan de villa Andreda, gouernour of Margarita, who was father to Don Iuan Sarmiento, gouernor of Margarita when ſir Iohn Burgh landed there, and attempted the Iſland.

The voyage of ſir Iohn Burgh to the Weſt Indies.

Agiri put to the ſword all other in the Iſland that refuſed to be of his party, and tooke with him certeine Simerones, and other deſperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there ſlew the gouernour, and dealt in all as at Margarita: hee ſpoiled all the coaſt of Caracas, and the prouince of Venezuela, and of Rio de la hacha; and as I remember, it was the ſame yere that ſir Iohn Hawkins ſailed to Saint Iuan de Vllua in the Ieſus of Lubeck: for himſelfe tolde me that he met with ſuch a one vpon the coaſt that rebelled, and had ſailed downe all the riuer of Amazones. Agiri from thence landed about Sancta Marta, and ſacked it alſo, putting to death ſo many as refuſed to be his followers, purpoſing to inuade Nueuo reyno de Granada, and to ſacke Pamplon, Merida, Lagrita, Tunxa, and the reſt of the cities of Nueuo reyno, and from thence againe to enter Peru: but in a fight in the ſayd Nueuo reyno he was ouerthrowen, and finding no way to eſcape, he firſt put to the ſword his owne children, foretelling them that they ſhould not to liue to be defamed or vpbraided by the Spaniards after his death, who would haue termed them the children of a traitour or tyrant; and that ſithence hee could not make them princes, hee would yet deliuer them from ſhame and reproch. Theſe were the ends and tragedies of Ordas, Martinez, Orellana, Ozua, and Agiri.

1534. Gomar. cap. 84. & 86. Don Pedro de Silua.

Alſo ſoone after Ordas followed Ieronimo Ortal de Saragoſa with 130 ſouldiers, who failing his entrance by ſea, was caſt with the current on the coaſt of Paria, & peopled about S. Miguel de Neueri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Silua, a Portugues of the family of Ruigomes de Silua, and by the fauour which Ruigomes had with the king, he was ſet out, but he alſo ſhot wide of the marke; for being departed from Spaine with his fleet, he entred by Marannon and Amazones, where by the nations of the riuer, and by the Amazones hee was vtterly ouerthrowen, and himſelfe and all his armie defeated, onely ſeuen eſcaped, and of thoſe but two returned.

Pedro Hernandez de Serpa.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumaná in the Weſt Indies, taking his iourney by land towards Orenoque, which may be ſome 120 leagues: but yet he came to the borders of the ſaide riuer, hee was ſet vpon by a nation of the Indians called Wikiri, and ouerthrowen in ſuch ſort, that of 300 ſouldiers, horſemen, many Indians, and Negros, there returned but 18. Others affirme, that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the firſt ciuill towne of the empire called Macureguarai. Captaine Preſton in taking S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very reſolutely performed, being a great towne, and farre within the land) held a gentleman priſoner, who died in his ſhip, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and ſaued among thoſe that eſcaped, who witneſſed what opinion is held among the Spaniards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the citie of Inga. Another Spaniard was brought aboord me by captaine Preſton, who told me in the hearing of himſelfe and diuers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreos campe-maſter at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he ſaw with him forty of moſt pure plates of golde curiouſly wrought, and ſwords of Guiana decked and inlayed with gold, feathers garniſhed with golde, and diuers rarities which he caried to the Spaniſh king.

Don Gonzales Ximenes de Caſada.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was vndertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Ximenes de Caſada, who was one of the chiefeſt in the conqueſt of Nueuo reino, whoſe daughter and heire Don Antonio de Berreo maried. Gonzales ſought the paſſage alſo by the riuer called Papamene, which riſeth by Quito in Peru, & runneth Southeaſt 100 leagues, and then falleth into Amazones, but he alſo failing the entrance, returned with the loſſe of much labour and coſt. I tooke one captaine George a Spaniard that followed Gonzales in this enterpriſe. Gonzales gaue his daughter to Berreo, taking his oth & honour to follow the enterpriſe to the laſt of his ſubſtance and life, who ſince, as he hath ſworne to me, hath ſpent 300000 ducats in the ſame, & yet neuer could enter ſo far into the land as my ſelfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, ſouldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boyes, & of all ſorts: neither could any of the forepaſſed vndertakers, nor Berreo himſelfe, diſcouer the countrey, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof: for Berreo came about 1500 miles yet he vnderſtood ought, or could finde any paſſage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of al theſe forenamed, and diuers others, and was perſwaded of their errors and miſtakings. Berreo ſought it by the riuer Caſſamar, which falleth into a great riuer called Pato: Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is alſo called Orenoque.

Antonio Berreo.

He tooke his iourney from Nueuo reyno de Granada where he dwelt, hauing the inheritance of Gonzales Ximenes in thoſe parts: he was followed with 700 horſe, he draue with him 1000 head of cattell, he had alſo many women, Indians, and ſlaues. How all theſe riuers croſſe and encounter, how the countrey lieth and is bordered, the paſſage of Ximenes and Berreo, mine owne diſcouery, and the way that I entred, with all the reſt of the nations and riuers, your lordſhip ſhall receiue in a large Chart or Map, which I haue not yet finiſhed, and which I ſhall moſt humbly pray your lordſhip to ſecret, and not to ſuffer it to paſſe your owne hands; for by a draught thereof all may be preuented by other nations: for I know it is this very yeere ſought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was alſo told me yer I departed England, that Villiers the admirall was in preparation for the planting of Amazones, to which riuer the French haue made diuers voyages, and returned much golde, and other rarities. I ſpake with a captaine of a French ſhip that came from thence, his ſhip riding in Falmouth the ſame yeere that my ſhips came firſt from Virginia.

A note of the trade of the French to the riuer of Amazones.

There was another this yeere in Helford that alſo came from thence, and had bene foureteene moneths at an anker in Amazones, which were both very rich. Although, as I am perſwaded,

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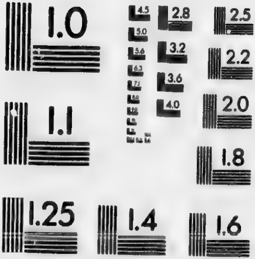

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Guiana cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence paſſeth by branches of riuers into the riuer of Amazones, and ſo it doth on euery hand far from the countrey it ſelfe; for thoſe Indians of Trinidad haue plates of golde from Guiana, and thoſe canibals of Dominica which dwell in the Iſlands by which our ſhips paſſe yerely to the Weſt Indies, alſo the Indians of Paria, thoſe Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all thoſe other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from Paria thorow the prouince of Veneſuela, and in Maracapana, and the canibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Aſſawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the reſt (all which ſhall be deſcribed in my deſcription as they are ſituate) haue plates of golde of Guiana. And vpon the riuer of Amazones, Theuet writeth that the people weare croiſſants of golde, for of that forme the Guianians moſt commonly make them: ſo as from Dominica to Amazones, which is aboue 250 leagues, all the chiefe Indians in all parts weare of thoſe plates of Guiana. Vndoubtedly thoſe that trade Amazones returne much golde, which (as is aforeſayd) commeth by trade from Guiana, by ſome branch of a riuer that falleth from the countrey into Amazones, and either it is by the riuer which paſſeth by the nations called Tiſnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiry amongſt the moſt ancient and beſt trauelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the riuers betweene Orenoque & Amazones, and was very deſirous to vnderſtand the truth of thoſe warlike women, becauſe of ſome it is beleeued, of others not. And though I digreſſe from my purpoſe, yet I will ſet downe that which hath bene deliuered me for trueth of thoſe women, & I ſpake with a caſique or lord of people, that told me he had bene in the riuer, and beyond it alſo. The nations of theſe women are on the South ſide of the riuer in the prouinces of Topago, and their chiefeſt ſtrengths and retracts are in the Iſlands ſituate on the South ſide of the entrance ſome 60 leagues within the mouth of the ſayd riuer. The memories of the like women are very ancient aſwell in Africa as in Aſia: In Africa thoſe that had Meduſa for queene: others in Scithia nere the riuers of Tanais and Thermadon: we finde alſo that Lampedo & Martheſia were queenes of the Amazones: in many hiſtories they are verified to haue bene, and in diuers ages and prouinces: but they which are not far from Guiana doe accompany with men but once in a yere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation, to be in April: and that time all kings of the borders aſſemble, and queenes of the Amazones; and after the queenes haue choſen, the reſt caſt lots for their Valentines. This one moneth, they feaſt, dance, and drinke of their wines in abundance; and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne prouinces. If they conceiue, and be deliuered of a ſonne, they returne him to the father; if of a daughter they nouriſh it, and reteine it: and as many as haue daughters ſend vnto the begetters a preſent; all being deſirous to increaſe their owne ſex and kind: but that they cut off the right dug of the breſt, I doe not finde to be true. It was farther tolde me, that if in theſe warres they tooke any priſoners that they vſed to accompany with thoſe alſo at what time ſoeuer, but in the end for certeine they put them to death: for they are ſayd to be very cruell and bloodthirſty, eſpecially to ſuch as offer to inuade their territories. Theſe Amazones haue likewiſe great ſtore of theſe plates of golde, which they recouer by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene ſtones, which the Spanyards call Piedras hijadas, & we vſe for ſpleene ſtones: and for the diſeaſe of the ſtone we alſo eſteeme them. Of theſe I ſaw diuers in Guiana: and commonly euery king or caſique hath one, which their wiues for the moſt part weare; and they eſteeme them as great iewels.

The ſeat of the Amazones.

But to returne to the enterpriſe of Bereo, who (as I haue ſayd) departed from Nueuo reyno with 700 horſe, beſides the prouiſions aboue rehearſed, he deſcended by the riuer called Caſſanar, which riſeth in Nueuo reyno out of the mountaines by the city of Tuuia, from which mountaine alſo ſpringeth Pato; both which fall into the great riuer of Meta: and Meta riſeth from a mountaine ioyning to Pamplon in the ſame Nueuo reyno de Granada. Theſe, as alſo Guaiare, which iſſueth out of the mountaines by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads; for at their comming together they loſe their names; and Baraquan farther downe is alſo rebaptized by the name of Orenoque. On the other ſide of the city and hilles of Timana riſeth Rio grande, which falleth in the ſea by Sancta Marta. By Caſſonar firſt, and ſo into Meta, Berreo paſſed, keeping his horſemen on the banks, where the countrey ſerued them for to march, and where otherwiſe, he was driuen to imbarke them in boats which he builded for the purpoſe, and ſo came with the current downe the riuer of Meta, and ſo into Baraquan. After he entred that great & mighty riuer, he began dayly to loſe of his companies both men and horſe; for it is in many places violently ſwift, and hath forcible eddies, many ſands, and diuers Iſlands ſharpe pointed with rocks: but after one whole yeere, iourneying for the moſt part by riuer, and the reſt by land, he grew dayly to fewer numbers; for both by ſickneſſe, and by encountring with the people of thoſe regions, thorow which he trauelled, his companies were much waſted, eſpecially by diuers encounters with the Amapaians: and in all this time hee neuer could learne of any paſſage into Guiana, nor any newes or fame thereof, vntill he came to a further border of the ſayd Amapaia, eight dayes iourney from the riuer Caroli, which was the furtheſt riuer that he entred. Among thoſe of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of theſe people accoſted Berreo, or would trade with him the firſt three moneths of the ſix, which he ſoiourned there. This Amapaia is alſo maruellous rich in golde (as both Berreo confeſſed and thoſe of Guiana with whom I had moſt conference) and is ſituate vpon Orenoque alſo. In this countrey Berreo loſt 60 of his beſt ſouldiers, and moſt of all his horſe that remained in his former yeeres trauell: but in the end, after diuers encounters with thoſe nations, they grew to peace; and they preſented Berreo with tenne images of fine golde among diuers other plates and croiſſants, which, as he ſware to me & diuers other gentlemen, were ſo curiouſly wrought, as he had not ſeene the like either in Italy, Spaine, or the Low-countreys: & he was reſolued, that when they came to the hands of the Spaniſh king, to whom he had ſent them by his campmaſter, they would appeare very admirable, eſpecially being wrought by ſuch a nation as had no yron inſtruments at all, nor any of thoſe helps which our goldſmiths haue to worke withall. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gaue him theſe pieces, are called Anebas, and the riuer of Orenoque at that place is aboue 12 Engliſh miles broad, which may be from his out fall into the ſea 700 or 800 miles.

This prouince of Amapaia is a very low and a mariſh ground nere the riuer; and by reaſon of the red water which iſſueth out in ſmall branches thorow the fenny and boggy ground, there breed diuers poiſonfull wormes and ſerpents; and the Spanyards not ſuſpecting, nor in any ſort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grieuous kinde of fluxe by drinking thereof; and euen the very horſes poiſoned therwith: inſomuch as at the end of the 6 moneths, that they abode there, of all their troups, there were not left aboue 120 ſouldiers, & neither horſe nor cattell: for Berreo hoped to haue found Guiana by 1000 miles nerer then it fel out to be in the end: by meanes whereof they ſuſteined much want, and much hunger, oppreſſed with grieuous diſeaſes, and all the miſeries that could be imagined. I demanded of thoſe in Guiana that had trauelled Amapaia, how they liued with that tawny or red water when they trauelled thither: and they tolde me that after the Sun was neere the middle of the ſkie, they vſed to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the ſetting of the Sun it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night ſtrong poiſon. I learned alſo of diuers other riuers of that nature among them, which were alſo (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very ſafe to drinke, and in the morning, euening, and night woonderfull dangerous and infectiue. From this prouince Berreo haſted away aſſoone as the Spring and beginning of Summer appeared, and ſought his entrance on the borders of Orenoque on the South ſide; but there ran a ledge of ſo high and impaſſable mountaines, as he was not able by any meanes to march ouer them, continuing from the Eaſt ſea into which Orenoque falleth, euen to Quito in Peru: neither had he meanes to cary victuall or munition ouer thoſe craggie, high, and faſt hilles, being all woody, & thoſe ſo thicke and ſpiny, & ſo full of prickles, thornes, and briers, as it is impoſſible to creepe thorow them: hee had alſo neither friendſhip among the people, nor any interpreter to perſwade or treat with them: and more, to his diſaduantage, the caſiques and kings of Amapaia had giuen knowledge of his purpoſe to the Guianians, and that he ſought to ſacke and conquer the empire, for the hope of their ſo great abundance and quantities of golde: he paſſed by the mouthes of many great riuers, which fell into Orenoque both from the North and South, which I forbeare to name for tediouſneſſe, and becauſe they are more pleaſing in deſcribing then reading.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred riuers into Orenoque from the North and South, whereof the leaſt was as big as Rio grande, that paſſed betweene Popayan and Nueuo reyno de Granada (Rio grande being eſteemed one of the renowmed riuers in all the Weſt Indies, and numbred among the great riuers of the world:) but he knew not the names of any of theſe, but Caroli onely; neither from what nations they deſcended, neither to what prouinces they led; for he had no meanes to diſcourſe with the inhabitants at any time: neither was he curious in theſe things, being vtterly vnlearned, and not knowing the Eaſt from the Weſt. But of all theſe I got ſome knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine owne trauell, and the reſt by conference: of ſome one I learned one, of others the reſt, hauing with me an Indian that ſpake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I ſought out all the aged men, and ſuch as were greateſt trauellers, and by the one and the other I came to vnderſtand the ſituations, the riuers, the kingdomes from the Eaſt ſea to the borders of Peru, and from Orenoque Southward as farre as Amazones or Marannon, and the religions of Maria Tamball, & of all the kings of prouinces, and captaines of townes and villages, how they ſtood in tearmes of peace or warre, and which were

Many great riuers falling into Orenoque.

friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conqueſt in thoſe parts, nor elſwhere: for by the diſſention betweene Guaſcar and Atabalipa, Piçarro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Tlaxcallians bare to Mutezuma, Cortez was victorious ouer Mexico; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterpriſe, and of the great honour and riches which they atteined vnto.

The prouince of Emeria inhabited by gentle Indians.
Carapana.

Now Berreo began to grow into diſpaire, and looked for no other ſucceſſe then his predeceſſor in this enterpriſe, vntill ſuch time as hee arriued at the prouince of Emeria towards the Eaſt ſea and mouth of the riuer, where he found a nation of people very fauourable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall. The king of this land is called Carapana, a man very wiſe, ſubtill, and of great experience, being little leſſe then an hundred yeeres olde: in his youth he was ſent by his father into the Iſland of Trinidad, by reaſon of ciuill warre among themſelues, and was bred at a village in that iſland, called Parico: at that place in his youth hee had ſeene many Chriſtians, both French and Spaniſh, and went diuers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Margarita and Cumaná in the Weſt Indies (for both thoſe places haue euer beene relieued with victuall from Trinidad) by reaſon whereof he grew of more vnderſtanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the ſtrength and armes of his countrey with thoſe of the Chriſtians, and euer after temporized ſo, as whoſoeuer els did amiſſe, or was waſted by contention, Carapana kept himſelfe and his countrey in quiet & plenty: he alſo held peace with the Caribes or Canibals his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whoſoeuer els had warre.

Berreo ſoiourned and reſted his weake troupe in the towne of Carapana ſixe weeks, and from him learned the way and paſſage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then vtterly diſable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another yere, when he had renewed his prouiſions, and regathered more force, which hee hoped for aſwell out of Spaine as from Nueuo reyno, where hee had left his ſonne Don Antonio Ximenes to ſecond him vpon the firſt notice giuen of his entrance, and ſo for the preſent imbarked himſelfe in canoas, and by the branches of Orenoque arriued at Trinidad, hauing from Carapana ſufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coaſted Paria, and ſo recouered Margarita: and hauing made relation to Don Iuan Sermiento the gouernour, of his proceeding, and perſwaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obteined from thence fifty ſouldiers, promiſing preſently to returne to Carapana, and ſo into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing leſſe at that time; for he wanted many prouiſions neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe, and therefore departed from Margarita, ſeated himſelfe in Trinidad, and from thence ſent his camp-maſter, and his ſergeant-maior backe to the borders to diſcouer the neereſt paſſage into the empire, as alſo to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and loue; without which, he knew he could neither paſſe ſafely, nor in any ſort be relieued with victuall or ought els. Carapana directed his company to a king called Morequito, aſſuring them that no man could deliuer ſo much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but fiue dayes iourney from Macureguarai, the firſt ciuill towne of Guiana.

Morequito.

Now your lordſhip ſhall vnderſtand, that this Morequito, one of the greateſt lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three yeeres before bene at Cumaná and at Margarita, in the Weſt Indies, with great ſtore of plates of golde, which he caried to exchange for ſuch other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dayly feaſted, & preſented by the gouernours of thoſe places, and held amongſt them ſome two moneths, in which time one Vides gouernour of Cumaná wanne him to be his conductour into Guiana, being allured by [illegible]ſe croiſſants and images of golde which hee brought with him to trade, as alſo by the anci[illegible]e and magnificence of El Dorado: whereupon Vides ſent into Spaine for a patent to diſc[illegible] and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreos patent, which, as Berreo affirm[illegible]th, was ſigned before that of Vides: ſo as when Vides vnderſtood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and foregone his deſire and hope, it was verily thought that Vides practiſed with Morequito to hinder and diſturbe Berreo in all he could, and not to ſuffer him to enter thorow his ſignorie, nor any of his companies; neither to victuall, nor guide them in any ſort; for Vides gouernour of Cumaná, and Berreo, were become mortall enemies, aſwell for that Berreo had gotten Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as alſo in that he was by Berreo preuented in the iourney of Guiana it ſelfe: howſoeuer it was, I know not, but Morequito for a time diſſembled his diſpoſition, ſuffered Spanyards, and a frier (which Berreo had ſent to diſcouer Manoa) to trauell thorow his countrey, gaue them a guide for Macureguaray, the firſt towne of ciuill and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa the great city of Inga: and being furniſhed with thoſe things which they had learned of Carapana were of moſt price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleuen dayes arriued at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certeine: although

Vides the gouernour of Cumana competitor with Berreo in the conqueſt of Guiana.

Macureguaray.

Ten Spanyards arriue at Manoa.

could not be aſſured thereof by the lord which now gouerneth the prouince of Morequito, for he tolde me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this ſide Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he ſayd) built like the townes of Chriſtians, with many roomes.

When theſe ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Aromaia, the people of Morequito ſet vpon them, and ſlew them all but one that ſwam the riuer, and tooke from them to the value of forty thouſand pezos of golde: and one of them onely liued to bring the newes to Berreo, that both his nine ſouldiers and holy father were benighted in the ſaid prouince. I my ſelfe ſpake with the captaines of Morequito that ſlew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo inraged herewithall, ſent all the ſtrength he could make into Aromaia, to be reuenged of him, his people, and countrey. But Morequito ſuſpecting the ſame, fled ouer Orenoque, and thorow the territories of the Saima, and Wikiri, recouered Cumaná, where hee thought himſelfe very ſafe, with Vides the gouernour. But Berreo ſending for him in the kings name, and his meſſengers finding him in the houſe of one Faſhardo on the ſudden yer he was ſuſpected, ſo as he could not then be conueyed away, Vides durſt not deny him, aſwell to auoid the ſuſpicion of the practiſe, as alſo for that an holy father was ſlaine by him and his people. Morequito offered Faſhardo the weight of three quintals in golde, to let him eſcape: but the poore Guianian, betrayed on all ſides, was deliuered to the campe-maſter of Berreo, and was preſently executed.

Aromaia.

Saima and Wikiri.

Morequito executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the ſouldiers of Berreo ſpoiled his territorie, and tooke diuers priſoners, among others they tooke the vncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Aromaia (whoſe ſonne I brought with me into England) and is a man of great vnderſtanding and policy: he is aboue an hundred yeeres olde, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards ledde him in a chaine ſeuenteene dayes, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey & Emeria, the prouince of Carapana aforeſayd, and he was at laſt redeemed for an hundred plates of golde, and diuers ſtones called Piedras Hijadas, or Spleene-ſtones. Now Berreo for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, ſpoiles, and ſlaughters done in Aromaia, hath loſt the loue of the Orenoqueponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not ſend any of his ſouldiers any further into the land then to Carapana, which he called the port of Guiana: but from thence by the helpe of Carapana he had trade further into the countrey, and alwayes appointed ten Spaniards to reſide in Carapanas towne, by whoſe fauour, and by being conducted by his people, thoſe ten ſearched the countrey thereabouts, aſwell for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

The towne of Carapana is the port of Guiana.

They alſo haue gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they haue Chriſtened, and named Don Iuan, of whom they haue great hope, endeuouring by all meanes to eſtabliſh him in the ſayd prouince. Among many other trades, thoſe Spaniards vſed canoas to paſſe to the riuers of Barema, Pawroma, & Diſſequebe, which are on the South ſide of the mouth of Orenoque, and there buy women and children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or foure hatchets ſell the ſonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and ſiſters, and for ſomewhat more, euen their owne daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit: for buying a maid of twelue or thirteene yeres for three or foure hatchets, they ſell them againe at Margarita in the Weſt Indies for fifty and an hundred pezos, which is ſo many crownes.

Some fewe Spaniards are now ſeated in Diſſequebe.

The maſter of my ſhippe, Iohn Dowglas, tooke one of the canoas which came laden from thence with people to be ſolde, and the moſt of them eſcaped; yet of thoſe he brought, there was one as well fauoured, and as well ſhaped as euer I ſaw any in England, and afterward I ſaw many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may be compared to any of Europe. They alſo trade in thoſe riuers for bread of Caſſaui, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and ſell it at Margarita for ten pezos. They alſo recouer great ſtore of Cotton, Braſill wood, and thoſe beds which they call Hamacas or Braſill beds, wherein in hot countreyes all the Spaniards vſe to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we our ſelues while we were there. By meanes of which trades, for ranſome of diuers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and kniues, Berreo recouered ſome ſtore of golde plates, eagles of golde, and images of men and diuers birdes, and diſpatched his campe-maſter for Spaine, with all that hee had gathered, therewith to leuie ſouldiers, and by the ſhew thereof to draw others to the loue of the enterpriſe. And hauing ſent diuers images aſwell of men as beaſts, birds & fiſhes, ſo curiouſly wrought in gold, he doubted not but to perſwade the king to yeeld to him ſome further helpe, eſpecially for that this land hath neuer beene ſacked, the mines neuer wrought, and in the Indies their works were well ſpent, and the golde drawen out with great labour and charge. He alſo diſpatched meſſengers to his ſonne in Nueuoreyno to leuie all the forces he could, & to come downe the riuer Orenoque to Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, to meet him: he had alſo ſent to Saint Iago de Leon on the coaſt of the Caracas, to buy horſes and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings paſt and purpoſed, I told him that I had reſolued to ſee Guiana, and that it was the end of my iourney, and the cauſe of my comming to Trinidad, as it was indeed, (and for that purpoſe I ſent Iacob Whiddon the yeere before to get intelligence with whom Berreo himſelfe had ſpeech at that time, and remembred how inquiſitiue Iacob Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of Guiana) Berreo was ſtricken into a great melancholy and ſadneſſe, and vſed all the arguments he could to diſſwade me, and alſo aſſured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour loſt, and that they ſhould ſuffer many miſeries if they proceeded. And firſt he deliuered that I could not enter any of the riuers with any barke or pinneſſe, or hardly with any ſhips boat, it was ſo low, ſandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were dayly grounded in their canoas, which drew but twelue inches water. Hee further ſayde, that none of the countrey would come to ſpeake with vs, but would all flie; and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes: and beſides that, the way was long, the Winter at hand, and that the riuers beginning once to ſwell, it was impoſſible to ſtem the current, and that we could not in thoſe ſmall boats by any means cary victuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed moſt diſcouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of Guiana had decreed that none of them ſhould trade with any Chriſtians for golde, becauſe the ſame would be their owne ouerthrow, and that for the loue of gold the Chriſtians meant to conquer and diſpoſſeſſe them of all together.

Many and the moſt of theſe I found to be true, but yet I reſoluing to make triall of all whatſoeuer happened, directed captaine George Gifford my vice-admirall to take the Lions whelpe, and captaine Calfield his barke to turne to the Eaſtward, againſt the mouth of a riuer called Capuri, whoſe entrance I had before ſent captaine Whiddon, and Iohn Dowglas the maſter, to diſcouer, who found ſome nine foot water or better vpon the flood, and fiue at low water, to whom I had giuen inſtructions that they ſhould anker at the edge of the ſhoald, and vpon the beſt of the flood to thruſt ouer, which ſhoald Iohn Dowglas bwoyed and beckoned for them before: but they laboured in vaine; for neither could they turne it vp altogether ſo farre to the Eaſt, neither did the flood continue ſo long, but the water fell yer they could haue paſſed the ſands; as wee after found by a ſecond experience: ſo as now wee muſt either giue ouer our enterpriſe, or leauing our ſhips at aduenture foure hundred mile behinde vs, muſt run vp in our ſhips boats, one barge, and two wheries. But being doubtfull how to cary victuals for ſo long a time in ſuch babies, or any ſtrength of men, eſpecially for that Berreo aſſured vs that his ſonne muſt be by that time come downe with many ſouldiers, I ſent away one King, maſter of the Lions whelpe, with his ſhipboat, to trie another branch of a riuer in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prooue if there were water to be found for either of the ſmall ſhips to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the reſt, but ſtayed not to diſcouer it thorowly, becauſe he was aſſured by an Indian, his guide, that the Canibals of Guanipa would aſſaile them with many canoas, and that they ſhot poiſoned arrowes; ſo as if he haſted not backe, they ſhould all be loſt.

The riuer of Capuri.

In the meane time, fearing the worſt, I cauſed all the carpenters we had, to cut downe a Galego boat, which we meant to caſt off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the beſt they could, ſo as ſhe might be brought to draw but fiue foot, for ſo much we had on the barre of Capuri at low water. And doubting of Kings returne, I ſent Iohn Dowglas againe in my long barge, aſwell to relieue him, as alſo to make a perfect ſearch in the bottome of that bay: for it hath bene held for infallible, that whatſoeuer ſhip or boat ſhall fall therein, can neuer diſemboque againe, by reaſon of the violent current which ſetteth into the ſayde bay, as alſo for that the brize and Eaſterly winde bloweth directly into the ſame. Of which opinion I haue heard Iohn Hampton of Plymmouth, one of the greateſt experience of England, and diuers other beſides that haue traded to Trinidad.

Iohn Hampton captaine of the Minion vnder ſir Iohn Hawkins in his voiage to S. Iuan de Vllua.

I ſent with Iohn Dowglas an olde caſique of Trinidad for a pilot, who tolde vs that we could not returne againe by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the Eaſtward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and ſo returne in foure dayes. Iohn Dowglas ſearched thoſe riuers, and found foure goodly entrances, whereof the leaſt was as bigge as the Thames at Wolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was ſhoald, and but ſixe foot water: ſo as we were now without hope of any ſhip or barke to paſſe ouer, and therefore reſolued to go on with the boats, and the bottome of the Galego, in which we thruſt 60 men. In the Lions whelps boat & whery we caried 20. Captaine Calfield in his whery caried ten more, and in my barge other tenne, which made vp a hundred: we had no other meanes but to carry victuall for a moneth in the ſame, and alſo to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dreſſe our meat. Captaine Gifford had with him maſter Edward Porter, captaine Eynos, and eight more in his wherry, with all their victuall, weapons, and prouiſions. Captaine Calfield had with him my couſin Butſhead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers my ſelfe had captaine Thin, my couſin Iohn Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, captaine Whiddon, captaine Keymis, Edward Handcocke, captaine Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Vpton, captaine Facy, Ierome Ferrar, Anthony Welles, William Connocke, and aboue fifty more. We could not learne of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, ſo farre to wind-ward, as it was impoſſible for vs to recouer: for wee had as much ſea to croſſe ouer in our wheries, as betweene Douer and Calice, and in a great billow, the winde and current being both very ſtrong, ſo as we were driuen to goe in thoſe ſmall boats directly before the winde into the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of ſome one of thoſe riuers which Iohn Dowglas had laſt diſcouered, and had with vs for pilot an Indian of Barema, a riuer to the South of Orenoque, betweene that and Amazones, whoſe canoas we had formerly taken as hee was going from the ſayd Barema, laden with Caſſaui-bread, to ſell at Margarita. This Arwacan promiſed to bring me into the great riuer of Orenoque, but indeed of that which he entred he was vtterly ignorant, for he had not ſeene it in twelue yeeres before; at which time he was very yoong, and of no iudgement: and if God had not ſent vs another helpe, we might haue wandred a whole yere in that labyrinth of riuers, yer wee had found any way, either out or in, eſpecially after wee were paſt ebbing and flowing, which was in foure dayes: for I know all the earth doeth not yeelde the like confluence of ſtreames and branches, the one croſſing the other ſo many times, and all ſo faire and large, and ſo like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if wee went by the Sunne or Compaſſe, hoping thereby to goe directly one way or other, yet that way wee were alſo caried in a circle amongſt multitudes of Iſlands, and euery Iſland ſo bordered with high trees, as no man coulde ſee any further then the bredth of the riuer, or length of the breach. But this it chanced, that entering into a riuer, (which becauſe it had no name, wee called the riuer of the Red croſſe, our ſelues being the firſt Chriſtians that euer came therein) the two and twentieth of May, as wee were rowing vp the ſame, wee eſpied a ſmall canoa with three Indians, which (by the ſwiftneſſe of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I ouertooke yer they could croſſe the riuer, the reſt of the people on the banks ſhadowed vnder the thicke wood, gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall thoſe three which we had taken. But when they perceiued that we offered them no violence, neither entred their canoa with any of ours, nor tooke out of the canoa any of theirs, they then began to ſhew themſelues on the banks ſide, and offered to traffique with vs for ſuch things as they had. And as wee drew neere, they all ſtayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great riuer.

The bay of Guanipa.

Barema.

A woonderfull confluence of ſtreames.

The riuer of the Red croſſe.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs goe aſhore to their village, to fetch ſome fruits, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and alſo to ſee the place, and know the lord of it againſt another time, and tooke with him a brother of his, which hee had with him in the iourney: when they came to the village of theſe people, the lord of the Iſland offered to lay hands on them, purpoſing to haue ſlaine them both, yeelding for reaſon that this Indian of ours had brought a ſtrange nation into their territory, to ſpoile and deſtroy them. But the pilot being quicke, and of a diſpoſed body, ſlipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recouered the creekes mouth, where we ſtayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was ſlaine: with that we ſet hands on one of them that was next vs, a very olde man, and brought him into the barge, aſſuring him that if we had not our pilot againe, we would preſently cut off his head. This olde man being reſolued that he ſhould pay the loſſe of the other, cried out to thoſe in the woods to ſaue Ferdinando our pilot; but they followed him notwithſtanding, and hunted after him vpon the foot with the Deere-dogges, and with ſo maine a crie, that all the woods eckoed with the ſhout they made: but at the laſt this poore chaſed Indian recouered the riuer ſide, and got vpon a tree, and as we were coaſting, leaped downe and ſwamme to the barge halfe dead with feare. But our good happe was, that we kept the other olde Indian which we handfaſted to redeeme our pilot withall; for being naturall of thoſe riuers, we aſſured our ſelues hee knew the way better then any ſtranger could. And indeed, but for this chance, I thinke we had neuer found the way either to Guiana, or backe to our ſhips: for Ferdinando after a few dayes knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the old man himſelfe was in great doubt which riuer to take. Thoſe people which dwell in theſe broken

Two nations of the Tiuitiuas, called Ciawani, and Waraweete.

Iſlands and drowned lands, are generally called Tiuitiuas; there are of them two ſorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

A deſcription of the mighty riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan.

The great riuer of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the North ſide of his owne maine mouth: on the South ſide it hath ſeuen other fallings into the ſea, ſo it diſemboqueth by ſixteene armes in all, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are very great, many of them as bigge as the Iſle of Wight, and bigger, and many leſſe. From the firſt branch on the North to the laſt of the South, it is at leaſt 100 leagues, ſo as the riuers mouth is 300 miles wide at his entrance into the ſea, which I take to be farre bigger then that of Amazones. All thoſe that inhabit in the mouth of this riuer vpon the ſeuerall North branches, are theſe Tiuitiuas, of which there are two chiefe lords which haue continuall warres one with the other. The Ilands which lie on the right hand, are called Pallamos, and the land on the left, Horotomaka, and the riuer by which Iohn Dowglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

What maner of people the Tiuitiuas are.

Theſe Tiuitiuas are a very goodly people and very valiant, and haue the moſt manly ſpeech and moſt deliberate that euer I heard, of what nation ſoeuer. In the Summer they haue houſes on the ground, as in other places: in the Winter they dwell vpon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spaniſh ſtory of the Weſt Indies, that thoſe people do in the low lands nere the gulfe of Vraba: for betweene May & September the riuer of Orenoque riſeth thirty foot vpright, and then are thoſe ilands ouerflowen twenty foot high aboue the leuell of the ground, ſauing ſome few raiſed grounds in the middle of them: and for this cauſe they are inforced to liue in this maner. They neuer eat of any thing that is ſet or ſowen: and as at home they vſe neither planting nor other manurance, ſo when they come abroad, they refuſe to feed of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They vſe the tops of Palmitos for bread, and kill deere, fiſh, and porks, for the reſt of their ſuſtenance. They haue alſo many ſorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowle.

And if to ſpeake of them were not tedious, and vulgar, ſurely we ſaw in thoſe paſſages of very rare colours and formes, not elſewere to be found, for as much as I haue either ſeene or read. Of theſe people thoſe that dwell vpon the branches of Orenoque, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the moſt part carpenters of canoas, for they make the moſt and faireſt canoas, and ſel them into Guiana for golde, and into Trinidad for tabacco, in the exceſſiue taking whereof, they exceed all nations; and notwithſtanding the moiſtneſſe of the aire in which they liue, the hardneſſe of their diet, and the great labours they ſuffer to hunt, fiſh and fowle for their liuing: in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I neuer behold a more goodly or better fauoured people or a more manly. They were woont to make warre vpon all nations, and eſpecially on the Canibals, ſo as none durſt without a good ſtrength trade by thoſe riuers: but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they vſe great lamentation, and when they thinke the fleſh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take vp the carcaſe againe, and hang it in the caciques houſe that died, and decke his ſcull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his golde plates about the bones of his armes, thighs, and legs. Thoſe nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the South of Orenoque, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are diſperſed in many other places, and doe vſe to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wiues and friends drinke it all in their ſeuerall ſorts of drinks.

The Arwacas on the South ſide of Orenoque.

The port of the Ciawani.

After we departed from the port of theſe Ciawani, wee paſſed vp the riuer with the flood, and ankered the ebbe, and in this ſort we went onward. The third day that we entred the riuer, our galley came on ground, and ſtucke ſo faſt, as we thought that euen there our diſcouery had ended, and that we muſt haue left foureſcore and ten of our men to haue inhabited like rooks vpon trees with thoſe nations: but the next morning, after we had caſt out all her ballaſt, with tugging and haling to and fro, we got her aflote, and went on. At foure dayes end wee fell into as goodly a riuer as euer I beheld, which was called The great Amana, which ranne more directly without windings and turnings then the other: but ſoone after the flood of the ſea left vs; and being inforced either by maine ſtrength to row againſt a violent current, or to returne as wiſe as we went out, we had then no ſhift but to perſwade the companies that it was but two or three dayes worke, and therefore deſired them to take paines, euery gentleman & others taking their turnes to row, and to ſpell one the other at the houres end. Euery day we paſſed by goodly branches of riuers, ſome falling from the Weſt, others frō the Eaſt into Amana, but thoſe I leaue to the deſcription in the Cart of diſcouery, where euery one ſhalbe named with his riſing and deſcent. When three dayes more were ouergone, our companies began to deſpaire, the weather being extreame hote, the

A riuer called The great Amana.

the riuer bordered with very high trees, that kept away the aire, and the current againſt vs euery day ſtronger then other: but we euermore commanded our pilots to promiſe an ende the next day, and vſed it ſo long, as we were driuen to aſſure them from foure reaches of the riuer to three, and ſo to two, and ſo to the next reach: but ſo long we laboured, that many dayes were ſpent, and wee driuen to drawe our ſelues to harder allowance, our bread euen at the laſt, and no drinke at all; and our men and our ſelues ſo wearied and ſcorched, and doubtfull withall, whether wee ſhould euer performe it or no, the heat increaſing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in fiue degrees.

They are in fiue degrees.

The further we went on (our victuall decreaſing and the aire breeding great faintneſſe) wee grew weaker and weaker, when wee had moſt need of ſtrength and abilitie; for hourely the riuer ranne more violently then other againſt vs, and the barge, wheries, and ſhippes boat of captaine Gifford and captaine Calfield, had ſpent all their prouiſions; ſo as we were brought into deſpaire and diſcomfort, had wee not perſwaded all the company that it was but onely one dayes worke more to atteine the land where wee ſhould be relieued of all wee wanted, and if we returned, that wee were ſure to ſtarue by the way, and that the world would alſo laugh vs to ſcorne. On the banks of theſe riuers were diuers ſorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of ſuch variety, as were ſufficient to make tenne volumes of herbals: we relieued our ſelues many times with the fruits of the countrey, and ſometimes with fowle and fiſh. Wee ſaw birds of all colours, ſome carnation, ſome crimſon, orenge-tawny, purple, watchet, and of all other ſorts both ſimple and mixt, and it was vnto vs a great good paſſing of the time to beholde them, beſides the reliefe we found by killing ſome ſtore of them with our fowling pieces; without which, hauing little or no bread, and leſſe drinke, but onely the thicke and troubled water of the riuer, we had beene in a very hard caſe.

Our olde pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I ſayd before, wee tooke to redeeme Ferdinando) tolde vs, that if we would enter a branch of a riuer on the right hand with our barge and wheries, and leaue the galley at anker the while in the great riuer, he would bring vs to a towne of the Arwacas, where we ſhould finde ſtore of bread, hennes, fiſh, and of the countrey wine; and perſwaded vs, that departing from the galley at noone, we might returne yer night. I was very glad to heare this ſpeech, and preſently tooke my barke, with eight muſketiers, captaine Giffords whery, with himſelfe and foure muſketiers, and captaine Calfield with his whery, and as many; and ſo we entred the mouth of this riuer: and becauſe we were perſwaded that it was ſo nere, we tooke no victuall with vs at all. When we had rowed three houres, we maruelled we ſaw no ſigne of any dwelling, and aſked the pilot where the towne was: he tolde vs a little further. After three houres more, the Sun being almoſt ſet, we began to ſuſpect that he led vs that way to betray vs; for hee confeſſed that thoſe Spanyards which fled from Trinidad, and alſo thoſe that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were ioyned together in ſome village vpon that riuer. But when it grew towards night; and wee demanded where the place was: hee tolde vs but foure reaches more. When we had rowed foure and foure, we ſaw no ſigne; and our poore water-men, euen heart-broken, and tired, were ready to giue vp the ghoſt: for wee had now come from the galley neere forty miles.

At the laſt we determined to hang the pilot; and if wee had well knowen the way backe againe by night, hee had ſurely gone; but our owne neceſſities pleaded ſufficiently for his ſafety: for it was as darke as pitch, and the riuer began ſo to narrow it ſelfe, and the trees to hang ouer from ſide to ſide, as wee were driuen with arming ſwords to cut a paſſage thorow thoſe branches that couered the water. Wee were very deſirous to finde this towne, hoping of a feaſt becauſe wee made but a ſhort breakefaſt aboord the galley in the morning, and it was now eight a clocke at night, and our ſtomacks began to gnawe apace: but whether it was beſt to returne or goe on, we beganne to doubt, ſuſpecting treaſon in the pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian euer aſſured vs that it was but a little further, but this one turning and that turning: and at the laſt about one a clocke after midnight wee ſaw a light; and rowing towards it, wee heard the dogges of the village. When we landed wee found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with diuers canoas aboue foure hundred miles off, vpon a iourney towardes the head of Orenoque to trade for golde, and to buy women of the Canibals, who afterward vnfortunately paſſed by vs as wee rode at an anker in the port of Morequito in the darke of the night, and yet came ſo neere vs, as his canoas grated againſt our barges: he left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom wee vnderſtood that hee had brought thirty yoong women, diuers plates of golde, and had great ſtore of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his houſe we had good ſtore of bread, fiſh, hennes, and Indian drinke, and ſo reſted that night, and in the morning after we had traded with ſuch of his people as came downe, we returned towards our gally, and brought with vs ſome quantity of bread, fiſh, and hennes.

A moſt beautifull countrey.

On both ſides of this riuer, we paſſed the moſt beautifull countrey that euer mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had ſeene before was nothing but woods, prickles, buſhes, and thornes, here we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the graſſe ſhort and greene, and in diuers parts groues of trees by themſelues, as if they had beene by all the arte and labour in the world ſo made of purpoſe: and ſtill as we rowed, the deere came downe feeding by the waters ſide, as if they had beene vſed to a keepers call. Vpon this riuer there were great ſtore of fowle, and of many ſorts: we ſaw in it diuers ſorts of ſtrange fiſhes, and of maruellous bignes: but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thouſands of thoſe vgly ſerpents; and the people call it for the abundance of them, The riuer of Lagartos, in their language. I had a Negro a very proper yoong fellow, who leaping out of the galley to ſwim in the mouth of this riuer, was in all our ſights taken and deuoured with one of thoſe lagartos. In the meane while our companies in the gally thought we had bene all loſt, (for wee promiſed to returne before night) and ſent the Lions whelps ſhippes boat with captaine Whiddon to follow vs vp the riuer; but the next day, after we had rowed vp and downe ſome foureſcore miles, we returned, and went on our way, vp the great riuer; and when we were euen at the laſt caſt for want of victuals, captaine Gifford being before the galley and the reſt of the boats, ſeeking out ſome place to land vpon the banks to make fire, eſpied foure canoas comming downe the riuer; & with no ſmall ioy cauſed his men to trie the vttermoſt of their ſtrengths, and after a while two of the foure gaue ouer, and ranne themſelues aſhore, euery man betaking himſelfe to the faſtneſſe of the woods, the two other leſſer got away, while he landed to lay holde on theſe; and ſo turned into ſome by-creeke, we knew not whither. Thoſe canoas that were taken, were loaden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the Weſt Indies, which thoſe Indians (called Arwacas) purpoſed to cary thither for exchange: but in the leſſer there were three Spanyards, who hauing heard of the defeat of their gouernour in Trinidad, and that we purpoſed to enter Guiana, came away in thoſe canaos: one of them was a cauallero, as the captaine of the Arwacas after tolde vs, another a ſouldier, and the third a refiner.

The riuer of Lagartos, or Crocodiles.

Two canoas taken.

Three Spanyards eſcaped.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could haue bene more welcome to vs, next vnto gold, then the great ſtore of very excellent bread which we found in theſe canoas; for now our men cried, Let vs goe on, we care not how farre. After that captaine Gifford had brought the two canoas to the galley, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks ſide with a dozen ſhot, where the canoas firſt ranne themſelues aſhore, and landed there, ſending out captaine Gifford, and captaine Thyn on one hand, and captaine Calfield on the other, to follow thoſe that were fled into the woods: and as I was creeping thorow the buſhes, I ſawe an Indian baſket hidden, which was the refiners baſket; for I found in it his quick-ſiluer, ſalt-peter, and diuers things for the triall of metals, and alſo the duſt of ſuch ore as he had refined, but in thoſe canoas which eſcaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered fiue hundred pound to what ſouldier ſoeuer could take one of thoſe three Spanyards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe; for they put themſelues into one of the ſmall canoas: and ſo while the greater canoas were in taking, they eſcaped. But ſeeking after the Spanyards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spanyards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefeſt for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I vnderſtood where and in what countreyes the Spanyards had laboured for golde, though I made not the ſame knowen to all: for when the ſprings began to breake, and the riuers to raiſe themſelues ſo ſuddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the digging of any mine, eſpecially for that the richeſt are defended with rocks of hard ſtones, which wee call the White ſpar, and that it required both time, men, and inſtruments fit for ſuch a worke, I thought it beſt not to houer thereabouts, leaſt if the ſame had beene perceiued by the company, there would haue beene by this time many barks and ſhippes ſet out, and perchance other nations would alſo haue gotten of ours for pilots; ſo as both our ſelues might haue beene preuented, and all our care taken for good vſage of the people bene vtterly loſt, by thoſe that onely reſpect preſent profit, and ſuch violence or inſolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would haue changed their deſire of our loue and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer ſtay to haue brought a more quantity (which I heare hath beene often obiected) whoſoeuer had ſeene or prooued the fury of that riuer after it beganne to ariſe, and had bene a moneth and odde dayes, as we were, from hearing ought from our ſhippes, leauing them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance haue turned ſomewhat ſooner then we did, if all the mountaines had bene golde, or rich ſtones. And to ſay the trueth, all the branches and ſmall riuers which fell into Orenoque were raiſed with ſuch ſpeed,

The Spaniſh golde-finers baſket & other things taken.

The richeſt mines defended with the white ſpar.

as if we waded them ouer the ſhooes in the morning outward, we were couered to the ſhoulders homeward the very ſame day: and to ſtay to digge out gold with our nailes, had bene Opus laboris but not Ingenij: ſuch a quantitie as would haue ſerued our turnes we could not haue had, but a diſcouery of the Mines to our infinite diſaduantage wee had made, and that could haue bene the beſt profite of farther ſearch or ſtay: for thoſe Mines are not eaſily broken, nor opened in haſt, and I could haue returned a good quantitie of gold ready caſt, if I had not ſhot at another marke, then preſent profit.

This Arwacan Pilot with the reſt, feared that wee would haue eaten them, or otherwiſe haue put them to ſome cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the paſſage towards Guiana or in Guiana it ſelfe might come to ſpeach with vs, perſwaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had ſeene vs, and that wee gaue them meate, and to euery one ſomething or other, which was rare and ſtrange to them, they beganne to conceiue the deceit and purpoſe of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confeſſed) tooke from them both their wiues and daughters dayly, and vſed them for the ſatiſfying of their owne luſts, eſpecially ſuch as they tooke in this maner by ſtrength. But I proteſt before the Maieſtie of the liuing God, that I neither know nor beleeue, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwiſe, euer knew any of their women, and yet we ſaw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of thoſe very yong, and excellently fauoured, which came among vs without deceit, ſtarke naked.

The Spaniards diuelish lies.

Nothing got vs more loue amongſt them then this vſage: for I ſuffered not any man to take from any of the nations ſo much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giuing them contentment, nor any man ſo much as to offer to touch any of their wiues or daughters: which courſe ſo contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize ouer them in all things) drewe them to admire her Maieſtie, whoſe commaundement I tolde them it was, and alſo wonderfully to honour our nation.

But I confeſſe it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner ſort from ſpoyle and ſtealing, when wee came to their houſes: which becauſe in all I coulde not preuent, I cauſed my Indian interpreter at euery place when wee departed, to knowe of the loſſe or wrong done, and if ought were ſtolen or taken by violence, either the ſame was reſtored, and the partie puniſhed in their ſight, or elſe was payed for to their vttermoſt demand.

A notable courſe of iuſtice.

They alſo much wondered at vs, after they heard that we had ſlaine the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before reſolued, that no nation of Chriſtians durſt abide their preſence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great ouerthrow that her Maieſties armie and Fleete had giuen them of late yeeres in their owne Countreys.

After we had taken in this ſupply of bread, with diuers baſkets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gaue one of the Canoas to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were eſcaped, and when I had diſmiſſed all but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was chriſtened Martin) I ſent backe in the ſame Canoa the olde Ciawan, and Ferdinando my firſt Pilot, and gaue them both ſuch things as they deſired, with ſufficient victuall to cary them backe, and by them wrote a letter to the ſhips, which they promiſed to deliuer, and performed it, and then I went on, with my newe hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or ſecond day after, wee came aground againe with our Galley, and were like to caſt her away, with all our victuall and prouiſion, and ſo lay on the ſand one whole night and were farre more in deſpaire at this time to free her then before, becauſe wee had no tide of flood to helpe vs, and therefore feared that all our hopes would haue ended in miſhaps: but we faſtened an ancker vpon the lande, and with maine ſtrength drewe her off: and ſo the fifteenth day wee diſcouered afarre off the mountaines of Guiana to our great ioy, and towards the euening had a ſlent of a Northerly winde that blewe very ſtrong, which brought vs in ſight of the great Riuer Orenoque; out of which this Riuer diſcended wherein wee were: wee deſcried afarre off three other Canoas as farre as wee could deſcerne them, after whom wee haſtened with our barge and wherries, but two of them paſſed out of ſight, and the thirde entered vp the great Riuer, on the right hande to the Weſtward, and there ſtayed out of ſight, thinking that wee meant to take the way Eaſtward towards the prouince of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe vpwards to Guiana, the people in thoſe parts being all their enemies, and thoſe in the Canoas thought vs to haue bene thoſe Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had eſcaped killing: and when wee came ſo farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they ſlipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what wee were, wherewith they came backe willingly abord vs: and of ſuch

They come on ground with their gally.

fiſh and Tortugas egges as they had gathered, they gaue vs, and promiſed in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do vs all other ſeruices they could.

Two branches of the riuer Orenoque.

That night we came to an ancker at the parting of the three goodly Riuers (the one was the Riuer of Amana by which we came from the North, and ranne athwart towards the South, the other two were of Orenoque which croſſed from the Weſt and ranne to the Sea towardes the Eaſt) and landed vpon a faire ſand, where wee found thouſands of Tortugas egges, which are very wholeſome meate, and greatly reſtoring, ſo as our men were nowe well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neereneſſe of the land of Guiana which appeared in ſight.

Toparimaca.

In the morning there came downe according to promiſe the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with ſome thirtie or fourtie followers, and brought vs diuers ſorts of fruites, and of his wine, bread, fiſh, and fleſh, whom wee alſo feaſted as wee could, at leaſt wee dranke good Spaniſh wine (whereof wee had a ſmall quantitie in bottles) which aboue all things they loue. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boates to his owne port, and caried vs from thence ſome mile and a halfe to his Towne, where ſome of our Captaines karouſed of his wine till they were reaſonable pleaſant, for it is very ſtrong with pepper, and the iuice of diuers hearbes, and fruites digeſted and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of tenne or twelue galons very cleane and ſweete, and are themſelues at their meetings and feaſtes the greateſt karouſers and drunkards of the world: when wee came to his towne wee found two Caſiques, whereof one was a ſtranger that had bene vp the Riuer in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where wee anckered, and the other was of that countrey a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotten Hamaca, which wee call braſill beds, and two women attending them with ſixe cuppes and a little ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and ſo they dranke each of them three of thoſe cups at a time one to the other, and in this ſort they drinke drunke at their feaſtes and meetings.

That Caſique that was a ſtranger had his wife ſtaying at the port where wee anckered, and in all my life I haue ſeldome ſeene a better fauoured woman: Shee was of good ſtature, with blacke eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her haire almoſt as long as her ſelfe, tied vp againe in pretie knots, and it ſeemed ſhee ſtood not in that awe of her huſband, as the reſt, for ſhee ſpake and diſcourſed, and dranke among the gentlemen and Captaines, and was very pleaſant, knowing her owne comelineſſe, and taking great pride therein. I haue ſeene a Lady in England ſo like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would haue ſworne might haue bene the ſame.

The towne of Arowocay.

The great breadth of the riuer Orenoque.

The ſeat of this Towne of Toparimaca was very pleaſant, ſtanding on a little hill, in an excellent proſpect, with goodly gardens a mile compaſſe round about it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fiſh adioyning. This towne is called Arowocai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I ſawe very aged people, that wee might perceiue all their ſinewes and veines without any fleſh, and but euen as a caſe couered onely with ſkinne. The Lord of this place gaue me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and traueile, and knew the Riuer moſt perfectly both by day and night: and it ſhall bee requiſite for any man that paſſeth it, to haue ſuch a Pilot, for it is foure, fiue, and ſixe miles ouer in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and ſtrong currents, many great ylands, and diuers ſholds, and many dangerous rockes, and beſides vpon any increaſe of winde ſo great a bilowe, as wee were ſometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the ſmall boates durſt not come from the ſhoare, but when it was very faire.

They enter the riuer Orenoque, which runneth Eaſt and Weſt.

The yle of Aſſapana.

The yland of Iwana.

The next day we haſted thence, and hauing an Eaſterly winde to helpe vs, we ſpared our armes from rowing: for after wee entred Orenoque, the Riuer lieth for the moſt part Eaſt and Weſt, euen from the Sea vnto Quito in Peru. This Riuer is nauigable with barkes, litle leſſe then a thouſand miles, & from the place where we entred, it may be ſailed vp in ſmall pinneſſes to many of the beſt parts of Nueuo reyno de Granada, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of theſe parts of the Indies be ſo eaſily taken and inuaded as from hence. All that day wee ſailed vp a branch of that Riuer, hauing on the left hand a great yland which they call Aſſapana which may conteine ſome fiue and twentie miles in length, and ſixe miles in breadth, the great body of the Riuer running on the other ſide of this yland. Beyond that middle branch there is alſo another yland in the Riuer called Iwana, which is twiſe as bigge as the yle of Wight, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of Guiana, runneth a thirde branch of Orenoque called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all nauigable for great ſhips. I iudge the riuer in this place to be at leaſt thirty miles brode, reckoning the ylands which deuide the branches in it, for afterwards I ſought alſo both the other branches.

After wee reached to the head of the yland, called Aſſapana, a little to the Weſtward on the right hand there opened a riuer which came from the North, called Europa, and fel into the great Riuer, and beyond it on the ſame ſide, wee anchered for that night, by another yland ſixe miles long, and two miles broade, which they call Ocaywita: From hence in the morning wee landed two Guianians, which wee found in the Towne of Toparimaca, that came with vs, who went to giue notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chiefe Lord of Aromaia, who ſucceeded Morequito, whom (as you haue heard before) Berreo put to death: but his towne being farre within the land, he came not vnto vs that day, ſo as we ankered againe that night neere the bankes of another yland, of bigneſſe much like the other, which they call Putapayma, ouer againſt which yland, on the maine lande, was a very high mountaine called Oecope: we coueted to ancker rather by theſe ylands in the Riuer, then by the maine, becauſe of the Tortugas egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and alſo becauſe the ground serued better for vs to caſt our nets for fiſh, the maine bankes being for the moſt part ſtonie and high, and the rocks of a blew metalline colour, like vnto the beſt ſteele-ore, which I aſſuredly take it to be: of the ſame blew ſtone are alſo diuers great mountaines, which border this riuer in many places.

The yle of Ocaywita.

The yle of Putapayma.

Steele-ore.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, wee weighed ancker, and the brize increaſing, we ſailed alwayes Weſt vp the riuer, and after a while opening the land on the right ſide, the countrey appeared to bee champaine, and the bankes ſhewed very perfect red. I therefore ſent two of the little barges with Captaine Gifford, and with him Captaine Thyn, Captaine Calfield, my coſen Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert, Captaine Eynus, Maſter Edward Porter, and my coſen Butſhead Gorges, with ſome fewe ſouldiers, to march ouer the bankes of that red land, and to diſcouer what maner of countrey it was on the other ſide, who at their returne found it all a plaine leuell, as farre as they went or could diſcerne, from the higheſt tree they could get vpon: And my old Pilot, a man of great trauell, brother to the Caſique Toparimica tolde mee, that thoſe were called the plaines of the Sayma, and that the ſame leuell reached to Cumaná, and Caracas in the Weſt Indies, which are a hundreth and twentie leagues to the North, and that there inhabited foure principall nations. The firſt were the Sayma, the next Aſſawai, the third and greateſt the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was ouerthrowen, as hee paſſed with three hundred horſe from Cumaná towards Orenoque, in his enterprize of Guiana: the fourth are called Aroras, and are as blacke as Negros, but haue ſmooth haire, and theſe are very valiant, or rather deſperate people, and haue the moſt ſtrong poyſon on their arrowes, and moſt dangerous of all nations, of which poyſon I will ſpeake ſomewhat being a digreſſion not vnneceſſary.

The plaines of Sayma ſtretching to Cumaná, and the Caracas.

Aroras a blacke people vſing venemous arrowes.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, then to finde out the true remedies of theſe poyſoned arrowes: for beſides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie ſhotte indureth the moſt inſufferable torment in the world, and abideth a moſt vgly and lamentable death, ſometimes dying ſtarke mad, ſometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: which are preſently diſcoloured as blacke as pitch, and ſo vnſauory, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them. And it is more ſtrange to know, that in all this time there was neuer Spaniard either by gift or torment that could atteine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they haue martyred and put to inuented torture I know not how many of them. But euery one of theſe Indians know it not, no not one among thouſands, but their ſoothſayers and prieſtes, who doe conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the ſonne.

Thoſe medicines which are vulgar, and ſerue for the ordinarie poyſon, are made of the iuice of a roote called Tupara: the ſame alſo quencheth marueilouſly the heate of burning feauers, and healeth inward woundes, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians then any other: for Anthonio de Berreo tolde mee that hee could neuer attaine to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught mee the beſt way of healing as well thereof, as of all other poyſons. Some of the Spaniards haue bene cured in ordinary woundes, of the common poyſoned arrowes with the iuice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that ſhall hereafter trauell the Indies where poyſoned arrowes are vſed, that they muſt abſtaine from drinke, for if they take any licour into their body, as they ſhall bee marueilouſly prouoked thereunto by drought, I ſay, if they drinke before the wound bee dreſſed, or ſoone vpon it, there is no way with them but preſent death.

The iuice of garlike good againſt ordinary poyſons. Speedy drinking to be auoyded of ſuch as are wounded with poyſoned arrowes.

And ſo I will returne againe to our iourney which for this thirde day we finiſhed, and caſt ancker againe neere the continent or the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no ſtay here but till midnight, for I feared hourely leaſt any raine ſhould fall, and then it had bene impoſſible to haue gone any further vp, notwithſtanding that there is euery day a very ſtrong brize, and Eaſterly winde, I deferred the ſearch of the countrey on Guiana-ſide, till my returne downe the riuer.

The yle of Manoripano.

The next day we ſailed by a great yland in the middle of the riuer called Manoripano, and as wee walked a while on the yland, while the Galley got a head of vs, there came for vs from the maine a ſmall Canoa with ſeuen or eight Guianians, to inuite vs to ancker at their port, but I deferred till my returne; It was that Caſique to whom thoſe Nepoios went, which came with vs from the towne of Toparimaca: and ſo the fift day we reached as high vp as the prouince of Aromaia the countrey of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and ankered to the Weſt of an yland called Murrecotima, tenne miles long and fiue broad: and that night the Caſique Aramiary, (to whoſe towne we made our long and hungry voyage out of the riuer of Amana) paſſed by vs.

The prouince of Aromaia.
The yle of Murrecotima.

The next day wee arriued at the port of Morequito, and anckered there, ſending away one of our Pilots to ſeeke the king of Aromaia, vncle to Morequito ſlaine by Berreo as aforeſaid. The next day following before noone hee came to vs on foote from his houſe, which was foureteene Engliſh miles (himſelfe being a hundreth and tenne yeeres olde) and returned on foote the ſame day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring vs downe victuall, which they did in great plentie, as veniſon, porke, hennes, chickens, foule, fiſh, with diuers ſorts of excellent fruites and rootes, and great abundance of Pinas, the princes of fruites, that grow vnder the Sunne, eſpecially thoſe of Guiana. They brought vs alſo ſtore of bread, and of their wine, and a ſort of Paraquitos, no bigger then wrennes, and of all other ſorts both ſmall and great: one of them gaue mee a beaſt called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Caſſacam, which ſeemeth to be all barred ouer with ſmal plates ſomewhat like to a Rinoceros, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as bigge a great hunting horne, which they vſe to winde in ſtead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horne put into the eare, cureth deafeneſſe.

After this olde King had reſted a while in a little tent, that I cauſed to bee ſet vp, I beganne by my interpreter to diſcourſe with him of the death of Morequito his predeceſſour, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cauſe of my comming thither, whoſe ſeruant I was, and that the Queenes pleaſure was, I ſhould vndertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliuer them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large, (as I had done before to thoſe of Trinidad) her Maieſties greatneſſe, her iuſtice, her charitie to all oppreſſed nations, with as many of the reſt of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expreſſe, or they conceiue: all which being with great admiration attentiuely heard, and maruelouſly admired, I beganne to ſound the olde man as touching Guiana, and the ſtate thereof, what ſort of common wealth it was, how gouerned, of what ſtrength and policie, howe farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enemies adioyning, and finally of the diſtance and way to enter the ſame: hee tolde mee that himſelfe and his people with all thoſe downe the Riuer towards the Sea, as farre as Emeria, the prouince of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themſelues Orenoqueponi, and that all the nations betweene the riuer and thoſe mountaines in ſight called Wacarima, were of the ſame caſt and appellation: and that on the other ſide of thoſe mountaines of Wacarima there was a large plaine (which after I diſcouered in my returne) called the valley of Amariocapana, in all that valley the people were alſo of the ancient Guianians.

The valley of Amariocapana.

I asked what nations thoſe were which inhabited on the farther ſide of thoſe mountaines, beyond the valley of Amariocapana: hee anſwered with a great ſigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the loſſe of his Countrey and libertie, eſpecially for that his eldeſt ſonne was ſlaine in a battell on that ſide of the mountaines, whom hee moſt entirely loued) that hee remembred in his fathers life time when hee was very olde, and himſelfe a yong man, that there came downe into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from ſo farre off as the Sunne ſlept, (for ſuch were his owne wordes) with ſo great a multitude as they coulde not bee numbred nor reſiſted, and that they wore large coates, and hattes of crimſon colour, which colour hee expreſſed, by ſhewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was ſupported, and that they were called Orejones, and Epuremei, thoſe that had ſlaine and rooted out ſo many of the ancient people, as there were leaues in the wood vpon all the trees, and had nowe made themſelues Lords of all, euen to that mountaine foote called Curaa, ſauing onely of two nations, the one called Awarawaqueri, and the other Caſſipagotos, and that in the laſt battell fought betweene the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldeſt ſonne was choſen to carry to the aide of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troupe of the Orenoqueponi, and was there ſlaine with all his people and friendes, and that hee had now remayning but one ſonne: and farther tolde mee that thoſe Epuremei had built a great Towne called Macu-

Orejones are the gentlemen of Peru. Lop. de Gomar. Hiſt. gen. cap. 120.

The towne of Macureguarai.

Macureguarai at the ſaid mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of Guiana, which haue no ende: and that their houſes haue many roomes, one ouer the other, and that therein the great King of the Orejones and Epuremei kept three thouſande men to defend the borders againſt them, and withall dayly to inuade and ſlay them: but that of late yeeres ſince the Chriſtians offered to inuade his territories, and thoſe frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, ſauing onely the Iwarawaqueri, and thoſe other nations vpon the head of the riuer of Caroli, called Caſſipagotos, which we afterwards diſcouered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemie.

After hee had anſwered thus farre, he deſired leaue to depart, ſaying that hee had farre to goe, that hee was olde, and weake, and was euery day called for by death, which was alſo his owne phraſe: I deſired him to reſt with vs that night, but I could not intreate him, but hee tolde mee that at my returne from the countrey aboue, hee would againe come to vs, and in the meane time prouide for vs the beſt he could, of all that his countrey yeelded: the ſame night hee returned to Orocotona his owne towne, ſo as hee went that day eight and twentie miles, the weather being very hot, the countrey being ſituate betweene foure and fiue degrees of the Equinoctial.

Orotona betweene 4. and 5. degrees of Northerly latitude.

This Topiawari is helde for the prowdeſt, and wiſeſt of all the Orenoqueponi, and ſo hee behaued himſelfe towardes mee in all his anſweres at my returne, as I marueiled to finde a man of that grauitie and iudgement, and of ſo good diſcourſe, that had no helpe of learning nor breede.

The next morning we alſo left the port, and ſailed Weſtward vp to the Riuer, to view the famous Riuer called Caroli, as well becauſe it was marueilous of it ſelfe, as alſo for that I vnderſtoode it ledde to the ſtrongeſt nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are ſubiects to Inga, Emperour of Guiana, and Manoa, and that night we anckered at another yland called Caiama, of ſome fiue or ſixe miles in length, and the next day arriued at the mouth of Caroli. When we were ſhort of it as lowe or further downe as the port of Morequito wee heard the great rore and fall of the Riuer, but when wee came to enter with our barge and whirries thinking to haue gone vp ſome fourtie miles to the nations of the Caſſipagotos, wee were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one ſtones caſt in an houre, and yet the Riuer is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and wee tried both ſides, and the middle, and euery part of the Riuer, ſo as we incamped vpon the bankes adioyning, and ſent off our Orenequepone (which came with vs from Morequito) to giue knowledge to the nations vpon the Riuer of our being there, and that wee deſired to ſee the Lordes [illegible]anuria, which dwelt within the prouince vpon that Riuer, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this Riuer ſide that Morequito ſlewe the Frier, and thoſe nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the Citie of Inga, and tooke from them fourtie thouſande pezós of golde) ſo as the next day there came downe a Lord or Caſique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all ſtore of prouiſions to entertaine vs, as the reſt had done. And as I had before made my comming knowen to Topiawari, ſo did I acquaint this Caſique therewith, and howe I was ſent by her Maieſtie for the purpoſe aforeſaide, and gathered alſo what I could of him touching the eſtate of Guiana, and I founde that thoſe alſo of Caroli were not onely enemies to the Spaniards, but moſt of all to the Epuremei, which abound in golde, and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this Riuer were three mighty nations, which were ſeated on a great lake, from whence this Riuer deſcended, & were called Caſſipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos, and that all thoſe either againſt the Spaniards, or the Epuremei would ioyne with vs, and that if wee entred the land ouer the mountaines of Curaa, we ſhould ſatiſfie our ſelues with gold and all other good things: he told vs farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before ſpoken off, that held dayly warre with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai the firſt ciuill towne of Guiana, of the ſubiects of Inga the Emperour.

The yle of Caiama.

They arriue at the mouth of the riuer Caroli.

Wanuretona.

Caſſipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos three mighty nations ſeated on a lake at the head of the riuer Caroli.

Vpon this riuer one Captaine George, that I tooke with Berreo tolde mee there was a great ſiluer Mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the ſaide riuer. But by this time as well Orenoque, Caroli, as all the reſt of the riuers were riſen foure or fiue foote in height, ſo as it was not poſſible by the ſtrength of any men, or with any boat whatſoeuer to rowe into the Riuer againſt the ſtreame. I therefore ſent Captaine Thyn, Captaine Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gylbert, my coſen Butſhead Gorges, Captaine Clarke, and ſome thirtie ſhotte more to coaſt the Riuer by land, and to goe to a towne ſome twentie miles ouer the valley called Amnatapoi, and they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another great towne called Capurepana, belonging to a Caſique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to olde Topiawari King of Arromaia our chiefeſt friend) becauſe this towne and prouince of Capurepana adioyned to Macureguarai,

A great ſiluer Mine.

Amnatapoi a towne.

The ſtrange ouerfals of Caroli.

A moſt beautifull countrey.

Abundance of minerall Sparre.

cureguarai, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my ſelfe with Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and ſome halfe a doſen ſhotte marched ouer land to viewe the ſtrange ouerfals of the riuer of Caroli which rored ſo farre off, and alſo to ſee the plaines adioyning, and the reſt of the prouince of Canuri: I ſent alſo Captaine Whiddon, William Connocke, and ſome eight ſhotte with them, to ſee if they coulde finde any Minerall ſtone alongſt the riuer ſide. When we were come to the tops of the firſt hilles of the plaines adioyning to the riuer, we behelde that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne downe Caroli: and might from that mountaine ſee the riuer howe it ranne in three parts, aboue twentie miles off, and there appeared ſome tenne or twelue ouerfals in ſight, euery one as high ouer the other as a Church-tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it ſeeme, as if it had bene all couered ouer with a great ſhower of raine: and in ſome places wee tooke it at the firſt for a ſmoke that had riſen ouer ſome great towne. For mine owne part I was well perſwaded from thence to haue returned, being a very ill footeman, but the reſt were all ſo deſirous to goe neere the ſaide ſtrange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till wee came into the next valley where we might better diſcerne the ſame. I neuer ſaw a more beautifull countrey, nor more liuely proſpects, hils ſo raiſed here and there ouer the valleys, the riuer winding into diuers branches, the plaines adioyning without buſh or ſtubble, all faire greene graſſe, the ground of hard ſand eaſie to march on, either for horſe or foote, the deere croſſing in euery path, the birdes towards the euening ſinging on euery tree with a thouſand ſeuerall tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimſon, and carnation pearching in the riuers ſide, the aire freſh with a gentle Eaſterly winde, and euery ſtone that we ſtouped to take vp, promiſed either golde or ſiluer by his complexion. Your Lordſhip ſhall ſee of many ſorts, and I hope ſome of them cannot bee bettered vnder the Sunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out here and there, the rockes being moſt hard of that minerall Sparre aforeſaide, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and beſides the veines lye a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all things requiſite ſaue onely our deſires and good will to haue performed more if it had pleaſed God. To be ſhort, when both our companies returned, each of them brought alſo ſeuerall ſorts of ſtones that appeared very faire, but were ſuch as they found looſe on the ground, and were for the moſt part but coloured, and had not any golde fixed in them, yet ſuch as had no iudgement or experience kept al that gliſtered, and would not be perſwaded but it was rich becauſe of the luſtre, and brought of thoſe, and of Marqueſite with all, from Trinidad, and haue deliuered of thoſe ſtones to be tried in many places, and haue thereby bred an opinion that all the reſt is of the ſame: yet ſome of theſe ſtones I ſhewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who tolde mee that it was El Madre del oro, that is the mother of gold, and that the Mine was farther in the ground.

But it ſhall be found a weake policie in me, either to betray my ſelfe, or my countrey with imaginations, neither am I ſo farre in loue with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diſeaſes, ill ſauours, bad fare, and many other miſchiefes that accompany theſe voyages, as to woo my ſelfe againe into any of them, were I not aſſured that the Sunne couereth not ſo much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine Whiddon, and our Chirurgion Nicholas Millechap brought mee a kinde of ſtones like Saphires, what they may proue I know not, I ſhewed them to ſome of the Orenoqueponi, and they promiſed to bring mee to a mountaine, that had of them very large pieces growing Diamond wiſe: whether it be Chriſtall of the mountaine, Briſtol-Diamond, or Saphire I doe not yet know, but I hope the beſt, ſure I am that the place is as likely as thoſe from whence all the rich ſtones are brought, and in the ſame height or very neere.

Caſſipa a great lake.

On the left hand of this riuer Caroli are ſeated thoſe nations which are called Iwarawakeri before remembred, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it adioyning to the great lake Caſſipa, are ſituate thoſe other nations which alſo reſiſt Inga, and the Epuremei, called Caſſepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther vnderſtood that this lake of Caſsipa is ſo large, as it is aboue one dayes iourney for one of their Canoas to croſſe, which may bee ſome fourtie miles, and that thereinto fall diuers riuers, and that great ſtore of graines of gold are found in the Summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in thoſe branches.

The riuer of Arui.

The riuers of Atoica and Caora.

Ewaipanoma a ſtrange headleſſe nation.

There is alſo another goodly riuer beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which alſo runneth thorow the lake Caſsipa, and falleth into Orenoque farther Weſt, making all that land betweene Caroli and Arui an yland, which is likewiſe a moſt beautifull countrey. Next vnto Arui there are two riuers Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora, are a nation of people, whoſe heads appeare not aboue their ſhoulders; which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am reſolued it is true, becauſe euery childe in the prouinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the ſame: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to haue their eyes in their ſhoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breaſts, and that a long traine of haire groweth backward betweene their ſhoulders. The ſonne of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the moſt mightie men of all the land, and vſe bowes, arrowes, and clubbes thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Orenoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri tooke a priſoner of them the yeere before our arriuall there, and brought him into the borders of Aromaia his fathers countrey. And farther when I ſeemed to doubt of it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the prouinces, and had of late yeeres ſlaine many hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but ſpoken one worde of it while I was there, I might haue brought one of them with mee to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandeuile, whoſe reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet ſince the Eaſt Indies were diſcouered, we finde his relations true of ſuch things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there bee any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part I ſaw them not, but I am reſolued that ſo many people did not all combine, or forethinke to make the report.

When I came to Cumana in the Weſt Indies afterwards by chance I ſpake with a Spaniard dwelling not farre from thence, a man of great trauell, and after hee knew that I had bene in Guiana, and ſo farre directly Weſt as Caroli, the firſt queſtion hee aſked me was, whether I had ſeene any of the Ewaipanoma, which are thoſe without heads: who being eſteemed a moſt honeſt man of his word, and in all things elſe, tolde mee that hee had ſeene many of them: I may not name him, becauſe it may be for his diſaduantage, but hee is well knowen to Monſieur Mucherons ſonne of London, and to Peter Mucheron merchant of the Flemiſh ſhippe that was there in trade, who alſo heard what he auowed to be true of thoſe people.

The riuer of Caſnero.

The fourth riuer to the Weſt of Caroli is Caſnero which falleth into Orenoque on this ſide of Amapaia, and that riuer is greater then Danubius, or any of Europe: it riſeth on the South of Guiana from the mountaines which deuide Guiana from Amazones, and I thinke it to bee nauigable many hundreth miles: but wee had no time, meanes, nor ſeaſon of the yeere, to ſearch thoſe riuers for the cauſes aforeſayd, the Winter being come vpon vs, although the Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees euer ſenſibly loſe their leaues, but haue alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and moſt of them both bloſſome, leaues, ripe fruite, and greene at one time: but their Winter onely conſiſteth of terrible raines, and ouerflowing of the riuers, with many great ſtormes and guſtes, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

The Winter of Guiana.

On the North ſide, the firſt riuer that falleth into Orenoque is Cari, beyond it on the ſame ſide is the riuer of Limo, betweene theſe two is a great nation of Canibals, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the riuer, and is called Acamacari: at this towne is a continuall market of women for three or foure hatchets a piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them ſold into the Weſt Indies. To the Weſt of Limo is the riuer Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri which falleth out of the great riuer of Meta, by which Berreo deſcended from Nueuo reyno de Granada. To the Weſtward of Capuri is the prouince of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had ſo many of his people poyſoned with the tawny water of the marſhes of the Anebas. Aboue Amapaia toward Nueuo reyno fall in Meta, Pato, and Caſſanar. To the Weſt of thoſe towards the prouinces of the Aſhaguas and Catetios are the riuers of Beta, Dawney, and Vbarro, and toward the frontier of Peru are the prouinces of Thomebamba, and Caxamalca. Adioyning to Quito in the North ſide of Peru are the riuers of Guiacar and Goauar: and on the other ſide of the ſayd mountaynes the riuer of Papamene which deſcendeth into Marannon or Amazones paſſing thorough the prouince Mutylones where Don Pedro de Oſua who was ſlaine by the traytour Agiri before rehearſed, built his brigandines, when he ſought Guiana by the way of Amazones.

Meta, Pato, Caſſanar.

Papamene.

The Iſle of Baraquan.

Betweene Dawney and Beta lyeth a famous Iſland in Orenoque now called Baraquan (for aboue Meta it is not knowen by the name of Orenoque) which is called Athule, beyond which, ſhips of burden cannot paſſe by reaſon of a moſt forcible ouerfall, and current of waters: but in the eddy al ſmaller veſſels may be drawen euen to Peru it ſelfe: But to ſpeake of more of theſe riuers without the deſcription were but tedious, and therefore I will leaue the reſt to the deſcription. This riuer of Orenoque is nauigable for ſhips little leſſe then 1000 miles, and for leſſer veſſels neere 2000. By it (as aforeſayd) Peru, Nueuo reyno, and Popaian, may be inuaded: it alſo leadeth to the great empire of Inga, & to the prouinces of Amapaia, and Anebas which abound

Orenoque a mightie riuer by which Peru, Nueuo reyno, & Popaian may be inuaded.

Canuri,

They returne

in gold: his branches of Coſnero, Manta, Caora deſcended from the middle land & valley, which lieth betweene the eaſter prouince of Peru and Guiana; and it falles into the ſea betweene Marannon and Trinidad in two degrees and a halfe: all which your Honours ſhall better perceiue in the general deſcription of Guiana, Peru, Nueuo reyno, the kingdome of Popayan, and Roidas, with the prouince of Veneçuela, to the bay of Vraba, behind Cartagena Weſtward: and to Amazones Southward. While we lay at ankor on the coaſt of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations vpon the head and branches of this riuer, and had found out ſo many ſeueral people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerours: I thought it time loſt to linger any longer in that place, eſpecially for that the fury of Orenoque began dayly to threaten vs with dangers in our returne: for no halfe day paſſed, but the riuer began to rage and ouerflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible ſhowers, and guſtes in great abundance: and withall, our men began to crie out for want of ſhift, for no man had place to beſtowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly waſht on his body for the moſt part tenne times in one day: and we had now bene wel neere a moneth, euery day paſſing to the Weſtward farther and farther from our ſhippes. Wee therefore turned towards the Eaſt, and ſpent the reſt of the time in diſcouering the riuer towards the ſea, which we had not viewed, and which was moſt materiall.

The laſt conference of ſir Walter Ralegh with Topiawari, whoſe ſonne he brought into England.

Counſell to be followed in other conqueſts

Macureguarai is firſt towne of Guiana, and of rich and apparelled people.

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arriued againe at the port of Morequito where we were before: for paſſing downe the ſtreame we went without labour, and againſt the winde, little leſſe then a hundreth miles a day. Aſſoone as I came to ankor, I ſent away one for olde Topiawari, with whom I much deſired to haue further conference, and alſo to deale with him for ſome one of his countrey, to bring with vs into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, the time being nowe ſpent of any longer ſtay there. Within three houres after my meſſenger came to him, he arriued alſo, and with him ſuch a rabble of all ſorts of people, and euery one loden with ſomewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies cluſtered thicke and threefold among their baſkets, euery one laying hand on what he liked. After he had reſted a while in my tent, I ſhut out all but our ſelues, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other ſought to regaine the ſame from them both: and therefore I deſired him to inſtruct me what he could, both of the paſſage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the ciuill townes and apparelled people of Inga. Hee gaue mee an anſwere to this effect: firſt that hee could not perceiue that I meant to goe onward towards the citie of Manoa, for neither the time of the yeere ſerued, neither could hee perceiue any ſufficient numbers for ſuch an enterprize: and if I did, I was ſure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that ſtrength, as that many times ſo many men more were too fewe: beſides hee gaue mee this good counſell and aduiſed mee to holde it in minde (as for himſelfe hee knewe, hee could not liue till my returne) that I ſhould not offer by any meanes hereafter to inuade the ſtrong parts of Guiana without the helpe of all thoſe nations which were alſo their enemies: for that it was impoſſible without thoſe, either to bee conducted, to be victualled, or to haue ought caried with vs, our people not being able to indure the march in ſo great heate, and trauell, vnleſſe the borderers gaue them helpe, to carie with them both their meate and furniture: For hee remembred that in the plaines of Macureguarai three hundreth Spaniards were ouerthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes: but meeting their enemies as they paſſed the frontier, were enuironed on all ſides, and the people ſetting the long drie graſſe on fire, ſmoothered them, ſo as they had no breath to fight, nor could diſcerne their enemies for the great ſmoke. He told me farther that 4 daies iourney from his towne was Macureguarai, and that thoſe were the next and nereſt of the ſubiects of Inga, and of the Epuremei, and the firſt towne of apparelled and rich people, and that all thoſe plates of gold which were ſcattered among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the ſayd Macureguarai and were there made, but that thoſe of the land within were farre finer, and were faſhioned after the images of men, beaſtes, birds, and fiſhes. I aſked him whether hee thought that thoſe companies that I had there with me, were ſufficient to take that towne or no? He told me that he thought they were. I then aſked him, whether he would aſſiſt me with guides, and ſome companies of his people to ioyne with vs? He anſwered that he would go himſelfe with al the borderers, if the riuers did remaine foordable, vpon this condition that I would leaue with him til my return againe fifty ſouldiers, which hee vndertooke to victuall: I anſwered that I had not aboue fiftie good men in all there, the reſt were labourers and rowers, & that I had no prouiſion to leaue with them of powder, ſhot, apparell, or ought elſe, and that without thoſe things neceſſary for their defence, they ſhould bee in danger of the Spaniards in my abſence, who I knewe would vſe the ſame meaſure towards mine, that I offered them at Trinidad: And although vpon the motion Captaine Calfeild, Captaine Greenuile, my nephew Iohn Gilbert and diuers others were deſirous to ſtay, yet I was reſolued that they muſt needes haue periſhed, for Berreo expected daylie a ſupply out of Spaine, and looked alſo hourely for his ſonne to come downe from Nueuo reyno de Granada, with many horſe and foote, and had alſo in Valencia in the Caracas, two hundreth horſe ready to march, and I could not haue ſpared aboue fortie, and had not any ſtore at all of powder, leade, or match to haue left with them, nor any other prouiſion, either ſpade, pickeaxe, or ought elſe to haue fortified withall.

When I had giuen him reaſon that I could not at this time leaue him ſuch a companie, he then deſired mee to forbeare him and his countrey for that time, for he aſſured mee that I ſhould bee no ſooner three dayes from the coaſt, but thoſe Epuremei would inuade him, and deſtroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee ſhould any way either guide vs or aſſiſt vs againſt them.

He further alleaged, that the Spaniards ſought his death, and as they had already murthered his Nephew Morequito lord of that prouince, ſo they had him ſeuenteene dayes in a chaine before hee was king of the countrey, and ledde him like a dog from place to place, vntill hee had payde an hundreth plates of golde, and diuers chaines of Spleen-ſtones for his ranſome: and nowe ſince he became owner of that prouince, that they had many times layd waite to take him, and that they would bee nowe more vehement, when they ſhould vnderſtand of his conference with the Engliſh, and becauſe, ſayd hee, they would the better diſplant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they haue gotten a Nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they haue Chriſtened Don Iuan, and his ſonne Don Pedro, whom they haue alſo apparelled and armed, by whom they ſeeke to make a partie againſt me in mine owne countrey: hee alſo had taken to wife one Louiana of a ſtrong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my ſelfe now being olde and in the handes of death am not able to trauell nor to ſhifte, as when I was of yonger yeeres: hee therefore prayed vs to deferre it till the next yeere, when he would vndertake to draw in all the borderers to ſerue vs, and then alſo it would bee more ſeaſonable to trauell, for at this time of the yeere, wee ſhould not bee able to paſſe any riuer, the waters were and would bee ſo growen ere our returne.

He farther told me, that I could not deſire ſo much to inuade Macureguari, and the reſt of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cauſe that in the warres with the Epuremei, they were ſpoyled of their women, and that their wiues and daughters were taken from them, ſo as for their owne parts they deſired nothing of the golde or treaſure, for their labours, but onely to recouer women from the Epuremei: for hee farther complayned very ſadly (as it had beene a matter of great conſequence) that whereas they were wont to haue tenne or twelue wiues, they were now inforced to content themſelues with three or foure, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundreth: And in truth they war more for women then either for gold or dominion: For the lords of countreys deſire many children of their owne bodies, to increaſe their races and kinreds, for in thoſe conſiſt their greateſt truſt and ſtrength. Diuers of his followers afterwards deſired mee to make haſte againe, that they might ſacke the Epuremei, and I aſked them of what? They anſwered, of their women for vs, and their gold for you: for the hope of thoſe many of women they more deſire the war, then either for gold, or for the recouery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the ſubiects of Inga, and the Spaniards, thoſe frontiers are growen thinne of people, and alſo great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniards.

After I receiued this anſwere of the old man, we fell into conſideration, whether it had bene of better aduice to haue entred Macureguarai, and to haue begun a warre vpon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeere, and all things elſe had ſorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the riuers, neither had any ſuch ſtrength as was requiſite, and durſt not abide the comming of the Winter, or to tarie any longer from our ſhips(I though it were euill counſell to haue attempted it at that time, although the deſire of gold will anſwere many obiections: but it would haue bin in mine opinion an vtter ouerthrow to the enterprize, if the ſame ſhould be hereafter by her Maieſty attẽpted: for then (wheras now they haue heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were ſent by her Maieſty to relieue them) they would as good cheap haue ioyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to haue yeelded vnto vs, whē they had proued that we came both for one errant, and that both ſought but to ſacke & ſpoile them, but as yet our deſire of gold, or our purpoſe of inuaſion is not knowen to them of the empire: and it is likely that if her Maieſtie vndertake the enterprize, they will rather ſubmit themſelues to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whoſe cruelty both themſelues and the borderers haue already taſted: and therefore till I had knowen her Maieſties pleaſure, I would rather haue loſt the ſacke of one or two townes (although they might haue beene very profitable) then to haue defaced or indangered the future hope of ſo many millions, & the great good, & rich trade which England may be poſſeſſed of thereby. I am aſſured nowe that they will all die euen to the laſt man againſt the Spaniards in hope of our ſuccour and returne: whereas otherwiſe if I had either layd handes on the borderers, or ranſommed the lords, as Berreo did, or inuaded the ſubiects of Inga, I know all had beene loſt for hereafter.

After that I had reſolued Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leaue with him the companies he deſired, and that I was contented to forbeare the enterprize againſt the Epuremei till the next yeare, he freely gaue me his onely ſonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though hee himſelfe had but a ſhort time to liue, yet that by our meanes his ſonne ſhould be eſtabliſhed after his death: and I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a ſeruant of captaine Gifford, (who was deſirous to tarie, and could deſcribe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learne the language. I after aſked the maner how the Epuremei wrought thoſe plates of golde, and howe they could melt it out of the ſtone; hee tolde mee that the moſt of the golde which they made in plates and images, was not ſeuered from the ſtone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other riuers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as bigge as ſmall ſtones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwiſe they could not worke it, and that they vſed a great earthen pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they faſtened canes to the holes, and ſo with the breath of men they increaſed the fire till the metall ran, & then they caſt it into moulds of ſtone and clay, and ſo make thoſe plates and images. I haue ſent your Honors of two ſortes ſuch as I could by chance recouer, more to ſhewe the maner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any ſort make my deſire of gold knowen, becauſe I had neither time, nor power to haue a greater quantity. I gaue among them manie more peeces of gold, then I receiued, of the new money of 20 ſhillings with her Maieſties picture to weare, with promiſe that they would become her ſeruants thenceforth.

Francis Sparrow.

The lake of Manoa.

I haue alſo ſent your Honours of the ore, whereof I know ſome is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of which I know there is ſufficient, if nothing elſe were to bee hoped for. But beſides that we were not able to tarrie and ſearch the hils, ſo we had neither pioners, barres, ſledges, nor wedges of yron to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but wee ſaw all the hilles with ſtones of the colour of gold and ſiluer, and we tried them to be no Marqueſite, and therefore ſuch as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or, The mother of gold, which is an vndoubted aſſurance of the generall abundance; and my ſelfe ſaw the outſide of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the ſame that all couet in this world, and of thoſe, more then I will ſpeake of.

Moſt rich gold ore.

Hauing learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and receiued a faithfull promiſe of the principalleſt of thoſe prouinces to become ſeruants to her Maieſtie, and to reſiſt the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our abſence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Caſſipa, and thoſe Iwarawaqueri, I then parted from olde Topiawari, and receiued his ſonne for a pledge betweene vs, and left with him two of ours as aforeſayd. To Francis Sparrowe I gaue inſtructions to trauell to Marcureguarai, with ſuch merchandizes as I left with them, thereby to learne the place, and if it were poſſible, to goe on to the great citie of Manoa: which being done, we weyed ankor, and coaſted the riuer on Guiana ſide, becauſe wee came vpon the North ſide, by the launes of the Saima and Wikiri.

The lake of Caſſipa.

Guiana on the Southſide.

There came with vs from Aromaia a Caſſique called Putijma, that commanded the prouince of Warapana, (which Putijma ſlewe the nine Spaniards vpon Caroli before ſpoken of) who deſired vs to reſt in the Porte of his countrey, promiſing to bring vs vnto a mountaine adioyning to his towne that had ſtones of the colour of golde, which hee perfourmed. And after wee had reſted there one night, I went my ſelfe in the morning with moſt of the Gentlemen of my company, ouer land towards the ſaid mountaine, marching by a riuers ſide called Mana, leauing on the right hand a towne called Tutericona, ſtanding in the Prouince of Tarracoa, of the which Wariaaremagoto is principall. Beyond it lieth another towne towards the South, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the ſayd valley, whoſe plaines ſtretch themſelues ſome ſixtie miles in length, Eaſt and Weſt, as faire ground, and as beautifull

Mana.

fields, as any man hath euer ſeene, with diuers copſes ſcattered here and there by the riuers ſide, and all as full of deere as any forreſt or parke in England, and in euerie lake and riuer the like abundance of fiſh and foule, of which Irraparragota is lord.

Oiana.

From the riuer of Mana, we croſt another riuer in the ſaid beautiful valley called Oiana, & reſted our ſelues by a cleere lake, which lay in the middle of the ſaid Oiana, and one of our guides kindling vs fire with two ſtickes, wee ſtayed a while to drie our ſhirts, which with the heate hong very wette and heauie on our ſholders. Afterwards wee ſought the ford to paſſe ouer towards the mountaine called Iconuri, where Putijma foretold vs of the mine. In this lake we ſaw one of the great fiſhes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, being moſt excellent and holſome meate. But after I perceiued, that to paſſe the ſaid riuer would require halfe a dayes march more, I was not able my ſelfe to indure it, and therefore I ſent Captaine Keymis with ſixe ſhot to goe on, and gaue him order not to returne to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leiſure, and to march downe the ſayd valley, as farre as a riuer called Cumaca, where I promiſed to meete him againe, Putijma himſelfe promiſing alſo to bee his guide: and as they marched, they left the townes of Emparepana, and Capurepana, on the right hand, and marched from Putijmas houſe, downe the ſayd valley of Amariocapana, and wee returning the ſame day to the riuers ſide, ſaw by the way many rockes, like vnto gold ore, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which conſiſted of minerall ſtone.

Great fiſhes called Manati moſt excellent meate.

From hence we rowed downe the ſtreame, coaſting the prouince of Parino: As for the branches of riuers which I ouerpaſſe in this diſcourſe, thoſe ſhall be better expreſſed in the deſcription with the mountaines of Aio, Ara, and the reſt, which are ſituate in the prouinces of Parino and Carricurrina. When we were come as farre down as the land called Ariacoa, (where Orenoque deuideth it ſelfe into three great branches, each of them being moſt goodly riuers) I ſent away captaine Henrie Thin, and captaine Greeneuile with the galley, the neereſt way, and tooke with mee captaine Gifford, captaine Calfield, Edward Porter, and captaine Eynos with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of Orenoque, which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria the prouince of Carapana, and towards the Eaſt ſea, as well to finde out captaine Keymis, whome I had ſent ouer land, as alſo acquaint my ſelfe with Carapana, who is one of the greateſt of all the lords of the Orenoqueponi: and when I came to the riuer of Cumaca (to which Putijma promiſed to conduct captaine Keymis) I left captaine Eynos and maſter Porter in the ſayd riuer to expect his comming, & the reſt of vs rowed downe the ſtreame towards Emeria.

Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were alſo many goodly Iſlands, ſome of ſixe miles long, ſome of ten, and ſome of twenty. When it grew towards ſunne-ſet, we entred a branch of a riuer that fell into Orenoque called Winicapora: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Chriſtall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the euill ſeaſon of the yeere, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer vpon the iourney: wee ſaw it afarre off and it appeared like a white Curch-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth ouer it a mighty riuer which toucheth no part of the ſide of the mountaine, but ruſheth ouer the toppe of it, and falleth to the ground with ſo terrible a noyſe and clamor, as if a thouſand great bels were knockt one againſt another. I thinke there is not in the world ſo ſtrange an ouer-fall, nor ſo wonderfull to behold: Berreo told mee that there were Diamonds and other precious ſtones on it, and that they ſhined very farre off: but what it hath I know not, neither durſt he or any of his men aſcend to the top of the ſayd mountaine, thoſe people adioyning being his enemies (as they were) and the way to it ſo impaſſable.

Winicapora.

A mighty cataract or ouer-fall of water.

Diamonds & other precious ſtones.

Vpon this riuer of Winicapora wee reſted a while, and from thence marched into the countrey to a town called after the name of the riuer, whereof the captaine was one Timitwara, who alſo offered to conduct mee to the top of the ſayd mountaine called Wacarima: But when wee came in firſt to the houſe of the ſayd Timitwara, being vpon one of their ſayd feaſt dayes, we found them all as drunke as beggers, and the pots walking from one to another without reſt: we that were weary, and hote with marching, were glad of the plenty though a ſmall quantitie ſatiſfied vs, their drinke being very ſtrong and heauie, and ſo reſted our ſelues a while; after wee had fedde, we drew our ſelues backe to our boats, vpon the riuer and there came to vs all the lordes of the countrey, with all ſuch kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens, and other prouiſions, and of thoſe ſtones which wee call Spleeneſtones.

Wacarima.

Wee vnderſtood by the chiefetaines of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in ſight, & that he was fled to Cairamo, adioyning to the mountains of Guiana, ouer the valley called Amariocapana, being perſwaded by thoſe tenne Spaniards which lay at his houſe, that we would deſtroy him, and his countrey.

But after theſe Caſſiques of Winicapora & Saporatona his followers perceiued our purpoſe, and ſaw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards onely, and had not ſo much as harmed any of thoſe nations, no though we found them to be of the Spaniards owne ſeruants, they aſſured vs that Carapana would be as ready to ſerue vs, as any of the lords of the prouinces, which we had paſſed; and that he durſt doe no other till this day but entertaine the Spaniards, his countrey lying ſo directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that ſhould be made in Guiana on that ſide.

And they farther aſſured vs, that it was not for feare of our comming that he was remooued, but to be acquited of the Spaniards or any other that ſhould come hereafter. For the prouince of Cairoma is ſituate at the mountaine foote, which deuideth the plaines of Guiana from the countreys of the Orenoqueponi: by meanes whereof if any ſhould come in our abſence into his townes, hee would ſlip ouer the mountaines into the plaines of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durſt not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I aſſure my ſelfe, that Carapana (being a notable wiſe and ſubtil fellow, a man of one hundred yeeres of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooued, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne ſtrong he will be ours, if not, hee will excuſe his departure to the Spaniards, and ſay it was for feare of our comming.

Wee therefore thought it bootleſſe to rowe ſo farre downe the ſtreame, or to ſeeke any farther of this olde fox: and therefore from the riuer of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we returned againe, and left to the Eaſtward thoſe foure riuers which fall from the mountaines of Emeria into Orenoque, which are Waracayari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below thoſe foure are alſo theſe branches and mouthes of Orenoque, which fall into the Eaſt ſea, whereof the firſt is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fift Morooca, the ſixt Paroma, the laſt Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land betweene Orenoque and Amazones 14 riuers which I forbeare to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to returne towards the North, and wee found it a weariſome way backe from the borders of Emeria, to recouer vp againe to the head of the riuer Carerupana, by which we deſcended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entred firſt.

All the night it was ſtormie and darke, and full of thunder and great ſhowers, ſo as wee were driuen to keepe cloſe by the bankes in our ſmall boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible curent of the riuer. By the next morning we recouered the mouth of the riuer of Cumaca, where we left captaine Eynus and Edward Porter to attend the comming of captaine Keymis ouer land: but when wee entred the ſame, they had heard no newes of his arriuall, which bred in vs a great doubt what might become of him: I rowed vp a league or two farther into the riuer, ſhooting off pieces all the way, that hee might know of our being there. And the next morning wee heard them anſwere vs alſo with a piece: wee tooke them aboord vs, and tooke our leaue of Putima their guide, who of all others moſt lamented our departure, and offered to ſend his ſonne with vs into England, if we could haue ſtayed till he had ſent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increaſe of Orenoque, and therefore departed, and turned toward the Weſt, till we had recouered the parting of the three branches aforeſayd, that we might put downe the ſtreame after the galley.

The next day we landed on the Iſland of Aſſapano (which deuideth the riuer from that branch by which we ſent downe to Emeria) and there feaſted our ſelues with that beaſt which is called Armadilla preſented vnto vs before at Winicapora, and the day following we recouered the galley at ankor at the port of Toparimaca, & the ſame euening departed with very foule weather and terrible thunder, and ſhowers, for the Winter was come on very farre: the beſt was, we went no leſſe then 100 miles a day, downe the riuer: but by the way we entred, it was impoſſible to returne, for that the riuer of Amana, being in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be ſayled backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the ſea were ſo forcible: and therefore wee followed a branch of Orenoque called Capuri, which entred into the ſea Eaſtward of our ſhips, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to croſſe of the maine ſea after we came to the riuers mouth, as betweeen Grauelyn and Douer, in ſuch boats as your Hon. hath heard.

The port of Toparimaca.

To ſpeake of what paſt homeward were tedious, either to deſcribe or name any of the riuers, Iſlands, or villages of the Tiuitiuas which dwell on trees: we will leaue all thoſe to the generall mappe: and to be ſhort, when we were arriued at the ſea ſide, then grew our greateſt doubt, and the bittereſt of all our iourney forepaſſed, for I proteſt before God, that we were in a moſt deſperate eſtate: for the ſame night which we ankored in the mouth of the riuer of Capuri, where it falleth into the ſea, there aroſe a mightie ſtorme, and the riuers mouth was at leaſt a league broad, ſo as we ran before night cloſe vnder the land with our ſmall boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but ſhe had as much a doe to liue as could be, and there wanted little of her ſinking, and all thoſe in her: for mine owne part I confeſſe, I was very doubtfull which way to take, either to goe ouer in the peſtred Galley, there being but ſixe foote water ouer the ſandes, for two leagues together, and that alſo in the channell, and ſhe drew fiue: or to aduenture in ſo great a billow, and in ſo doubtfull weather, to croſſe the ſeas in my barge. The longer we taried the worſe it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfeild, and my coſen Greeneuile into my barge; and after it cleared vp, about midnight we put our ſelues to Gods keeping, and thruſt out into the ſea, leauing the Galley at anker, who durſt not aduenture but by day-light: And ſo being all very ſober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to ſhewe courage, it pleaſed God that the next day about nine of the clocke, wee deſcried the Ilande of Trinidad, and ſtearing for the neereſt part of it, wee kept the ſhore till wee came to Curiapan, where wee founde our ſhippes at ankor, then which there was neuer to vs a more ioyfull ſight.

A rehearſall & deſcription of all the nations and riuers found in this diſcouerie.

Now that it hath pleaſed God to ſende vs ſafe to our ſhippes, it is time to leaue Guiana to the Sunne, whom they worſhippe, and ſteare away towardes the North: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finiſh the diſcouery thereof. Of the ſeuerall nations which we found vpon this diſcouery I will once againe make repetition, and howe they are affected. At our firſt enterance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Orenoque, we left on the right hand of vs in the bottome of the bay, lying directly againſt Trinidad, a nation of inhumaine Canibals, which inhabite the riuers of Guanipa and Berbeeſe; in the ſame bay there is alſo a third riuer which is called Areo, which riſeth on Paria ſide towards Cumaná, and that riuer is inhabited with the Wikiri, whoſe chiefe towne vpon the ſayd riuer is Sayma; In this bay there are no more riuers, but theſe three before rehearſed, and the foure branches of Amana, all which in the Winter thruſt ſo great abundance of water into the ſea, as the ſame is taken vp freſh, two or three leagues from the land. In the paſſages towardes Guiana (that is, in all thoſe landes which the eight branches of Orenoque faſhion into Ilands) there are but one ſort of people called Tiuitiuas, but of two caſtes as they tearme them, the one called Çiawani, the other Waraweeti, and thoſe warre one with another.

On the hithermoſt part of Orenoque, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, thoſe are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria. Betweene Winicapora and the port of Morequito which ſtandeth in Aromaia, and all thoſe in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orenoqueponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Upon the riuer of Caroli, are the Canuri, which are gouerned by a woman (who is inheritrix of that Prouince) who came farre off to ſee our Nation, and aſked me diuerſe queſtions of her Maieſtie, being much delighted with the diſcourſe of her Maieſties greatneſſe, and wondering at ſuch reports as we truely made of her Highneſſe many vertues. And vpon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Caſſipa, are the three ſtrong Nations of the Caſſipagotos. Right South into the land are the Capurepani, and Emparepani, and beyond thoſe adioyning to Macureguarai (the firſt citie of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri: all theſe are profeſſed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei alſo. To the Weſt of Caroli are diuerſe nations of Canibals, and of thoſe Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly Weſt are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are alſo maruellous rich in gold. The reſt towards Peru we will omit. On the North of Orenoque, betweene it and the Weſt Indies are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the reſt before ſpoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spaniardes. On the South ſide of the maine mouth of Orenoque, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals and to the South of them the Amazones.

To make mention of the ſeuerall beaſts, birds, fiſhes, fruites, flowers, gummes, ſweet woods, and of their ſeuerall religions and cuſtomes, would for the firſt require as many volumes as thoſe of Geſnerus, and for the reſt another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the ſame which the Ingas, Emperours of Peru vſed, which may be read in Cieça, and other Spaniſh ſtories, how they beleeue the immortalitie of the ſoule, worſhip the Sunne, and burie with them aliue their beſt beloued wiues and treaſure, as they likewiſe doe in Pegu in the Eaſt Indies, and other places. The Orenoqueponi bury not their wiues with them, but their iewels, hoping to

Pedro de Cieça.

inioy them againe. The Arwacas dry the bones of their Lords, and their wiues and friends drinke them in powder. In the graues of the Peruuians the Spaniards found their greateſt abundance of treaſure: the like alſo is to be found among theſe people in euery Prouince. They haue all many wiues, and the Lords-fiue fould to the common ſort: their wiues neuer eate with their huſbands, nor among the men, but ſerue their huſbands at meales, and afterwardes feede by themſelues. Thoſe that are paſt their younger yeeres, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their cotten beds, and doe all elſe of ſeruice and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunt, fiſh, play, and drinke, when they are out of the warres.

I will enter no further into diſcouſe of their maners, lawes and cuſtomes: and becauſe I haue not my ſelfe ſeene the cities of Inga, I cannot auow on my credit what I haue heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent pallaces in Guiana, as his anceſtors did in Peru, which were for their riches and rareneſſe moſt maruellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which alſo the Spaniards (which I had) aſſured me to be true, as alſo the Nations of the borderers, who being but Saluages to thoſe of the in-land, doe cauſe much treaſure to be buried with them: for I was enformed of one of the Caſſiques of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arriuall, a chaire of golde moſt curiouſly wrought, which was made either in Macureguaray adioyning, or in Manoa: but if we ſhould haue grieued them in their religion at the firſt, before they had bene taught better, and haue digged vp their graues, we had loſt them all: and therefore I helde my firſt reſolution, that her Maieſtie ſhould either accept or refuſe the enterpriſe, ere any thing ſhould be done that might in any ſort hinder the ſame. And if Peru had ſo many heapes of golde, whereof thoſe Ingas were Princes, and that they delighted ſo much therin; no doubt but this which now liueth and reigneth in Manoa, hath the ſame honour, and I am aſſured hath more abundance of golde, within his territorie, then all Peru and the Weſt Indies.

Great riches.

Exceeding commendation of the riuer of Orenoque.

For the reſt, which my ſelfe haue ſeene, I will promiſe theſe things that follow, which I know to be true. Thoſe that are deſirous to diſcouer and to ſee many nations, may be ſatiſfied within this riuer, which bringeth foorth ſo many armes and branches leading to ſeuerall countries, and prouinces, aboue 2000 miles Eaſt and Weſt, and 800 miles South and North, and of theſe, the moſt eyther rich in golde, or in other marchandizes. The common ſouldier ſhall here fight for golde, and pay himſelfe in ſteede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for prouant and penury. Thoſe commanders and chieftaines that ſhoot at honour and abundance, ſhall finde there more rich and beautifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more ſepulchres filled with treaſure, then either Cortez found in Mexico, or Piçarro in Peru: and the ſhining glorie of this conqueſt will eclipſe all thoſe ſo farre extended beames of the Spaniſh nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleaſure to the inhabitants, either for thoſe common delights of hunting, hawking, fiſhing, fowling, or the reſt, then Guiana doth. It hath ſo many plaines, cleere riuers, abundance of Pheſants, Partridges, Quailes, Railes, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deere of all ſorts, Porkes, Hares, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and diuers other ſortes of beaſtes, either for chaſe, or food. It hath a kind of beaſt called Cama, or Anta, as bigge as an Engliſh beefe, and in great plentie.

The holſomneſſe of the countrey.

To ſpeake of the ſeuerall ſorts of euery kind, I feare would be troubleſome to the Reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleaſure, and riches I am reſolued it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the Eaſt or Weſt. Moreouer the countrey is ſo healthfull, as of an hundred perſons & more (which lay without ſhift moſt ſluttiſhly, and were euery day almoſt melted with heate in rowing and marching, and ſuddenly wet againe with great ſhowers, and did eate of all ſorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of freſh fiſh without ſeaſoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all ſorts good and bad, without either order or meaſure, and beſides lodged in the open aire euery night) we loſt not any one, nor had one ill diſpoſed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of thoſe peſtilent diſeaſes which dwell in all hot regions, and ſo neere the Equinoctiall line.

Gold.

Braſil wood.
Excellent dyes.

Cotton, ſilke, Balſamum, gummes, and pepper.

Where there is ſtore of gold, it is in effect needleſſe to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the South part of the riuer, great quantities of Braſil-wood, and diuerſe berries that die a moſt perfect crimſon and carnation: And for painting, all France, Italy, or the Eaſt Indies yeelde none ſuch: For the more the ſkin is waſhed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which, euen thoſe browne and tawnie women ſpot themſelues, and colour their cheekes. All places yeeld abundance of cotton, of ſilke, of balſamum, and of thoſe kindes moſt excellent, and neuer knowen in Europe, of all ſortes of gummes, of Indian pepper: and what elſe the countries may afford within the land we knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and ſearch. The ſoile beſides is ſo excellent and ſo full of riuers, as it will carrie ſugar, ginger, and all thoſe other commodities, which the Weſt Indies haue.

The nauigation is ſhort, for it may be ſayled with an ordinarie winde in ſixe weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee ſhore, enemies coaſt, rockes, nor ſandes, all which in the voyages to the Weſt Indies, and all other places we are ſubiect vnto, as the chanell of Bahama, comming from the Weſt Indies, cannot well be paſſed in the Winter, & when it is at the beſt, it is a perilous and a fearefull place. The reſt of the Indies for calmes, and diſeaſes very troubleſome, and the ſea about the Bermudas a helliſh ſea for thunder, lightning, and ſtormes.

The ſhort, eaſie, and commodious nauigation to Guiana.

This very yeere *there were ſeuenteene ſayle of Spaniſh ſhips loſt in the chanell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to haue ſunke at the Bermudas was put backe to Saint Iuan de Puerto rico. And ſo it falleth out in that Nauigation euery yeere for the moſt part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of yeere to leaue England is beſt in Iuly, and the Summer in Guiana is in October, Nouember, December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ſhips may depart thence in Aprill, and ſo returne againe into England in Iune, ſo as they ſhall neuer be ſubiect to Winter-weather, either comming, going, or ſtaying there: which for my part, I take to be one of the greateſt comforts and incouragements that can be thought on, hauing (as I haue done) taſted in this voyage by the Weſt Indies ſo many calmes, ſo much heat, ſuch outragious guſtes, foule weather, and contrarie windes.

*1595.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, neuer ſackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and ſalt of the ſoyle ſpent by manurance, the graues haue not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with ſledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath neuer bene entered by any armie of ſtrength, and neuer conquered or poſſeſſed by any chriſtian Prince. It is beſides ſo defenſible, that if two forts be builded in one of the Prouinces which I haue ſeene, the flood ſetteth in ſo neere the banke, where the channell alſo lyeth, that no ſhip can paſſe vp but within a Pikes length of the artillerie, firſt of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a ſufficient guarde both to the Empire of Inga, and to an hundred other ſeueral kingdomes, lying within the ſaid riuer, euen to the citie of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference betweene the eaſineſſe of the conqueſt of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the Weſt or Eaſt Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the ſea (if it hath that) for any veſſels of burden: ſo as whoſoeuer ſhall firſt poſſeſſe it, it ſhall be found vnacceſſible for any enemie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or Canoas, or elſe in flat bottomed boates, and if he doe offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are ſo thicke two hundred miles together vpon the riuers of ſuch entrance, as a mouſe cannot ſit in a boat vnhit from the banke. By lande it is more impoſſible to approch, for it hath the ſtrongeſt ſituation of any region vnder the ſunne, and is ſo enuironed with impaſſable mountaines on euery ſide, as it is impoſſible to victuall any company in the paſſage: which hath bene well prooued by the Spaniſh nation, who ſince the conqueſt of Peru haue neuer left fiue yeeres free from attempting this Empire, or diſcouering ſome way into it, and yet of three and twentie ſeuerall Gentlemen, Knights, and Noblemen, there was neuer any that knewe which way to leade an army by land, or to conduct ſhippes by ſea, any thing neere the ſaide countrie. Orellana, of whom the riuer of Amazones taketh name, was the firſt, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we diſplanted) the laſt: and I doubt much, whether he himſelfe or any of his yet know the beſt way into the ſayde Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any ſtrength be formerly ſet downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumſters or gallies built, and furniſhed vpon the riuer within: The Weſt Indies haue many portes, watering places, and landings, and nearer then three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a ſhippe, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haſte, and which I will vndertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whoſoeuer hearkened moſt after it.

Beſides by keeping one good Fort, or building one towne of ſtrength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatſoeuer companies ſhall be afterwardes planted within the land, although in twentie ſeuerall Prouinces, thoſe ſhall be able all to reunite themſelues vpon any occaſion eyther by the way of one riuer, or be able to march by land without either wood, bogge, or mountaine: whereas in the Weſt Indies there are fewe townes or Prouinces that can ſuccour or relieue one the other, eyther by land or ſea: By land the countries are either deſert, mountaynous, or ſtrong enemies: by ſea, if any man inuade to the Eaſtward, thoſe to the Weſt cannot in many moneths turne againſt the brize and Eaſtern wind, beſides the Spaniards are therein ſo diſperſed, as they are no where ſtrong, but in Nueua Eſpanna onely: the ſharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poyſoned prickles, the ſandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the ſmothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and beſt defence, which (becauſe thoſe nations that inuade them are not victualled or prouided to ſtay, neither haue any place to friend adioyning) doe ſerue them in ſteede of good armes and great multitudes.

The Weſt Indies were firſt offered her Maieſties grandfather by Columbus a ſtranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceipt, and beſides it was then thought incredible that there were ſuch and ſo many lands & regions neuer written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Maieſtie by her owne vaſſall, and by him that oweth to her more duetie then an ordinary ſubiect, ſo that it ſhall ill ſute with the many graces and benefites which I haue receiued to abuſe her Highneſſe either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is alreadie diſcouered, many nations wonne to her Maieſties loue and obedience, and thoſe Spaniardes which haue lateſt and longeſt laboured about the conqueſt, beaten out, diſcouraged and diſgraced, which among theſe nations were thought inuincible. Her Maieſtie may in this enterprize employ all thoſe ſouldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment, and the charge will be onely the firſt ſetting out in victualling and arming them: for after the firſt or ſecond yeere I doubt not but to ſee in London a Contractation houſe of more receipt for Guiana, then there is now in Siuill for the Weſt Indies.

And I am reſolued that if there were but a ſmall army a foote in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chiefe citie of Inga, he would yeeld to her Maieſtie by compoſition ſo many hundred thouſand pounds yeerely, as ſhould both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would beſides pay a garriſon of three or foure thouſand ſouldiers very royally to defend him againſt other nations: For he cannot but knowe, how his predeceſſors, yea how his owne great vncles Guaſcar and Atabalipa ſonnes to Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late yeeres and euer ſince the ſaid conqueſt, the Spaniards haue ſought the paſſages and entrey of his countrey: and of their cruelties vſed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which reſpects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladneſſe, if not, he hath neither ſhot nor yron weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may eaſily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confeſſed to me and others (which I proteſt before the Maieſtie of God to be true) that there was found among propheſies in Peru (at ſuch time as the Empire was reduced to the Spaniſh obedience) in their chiefeſt temples, amongſt diuers others which foreſhewed the loſſe of the ſaid Empire, that from Inglatierra thoſe Ingas ſhould be againe in time to come reſtored, and deliuered from the ſeruitude of the ſaid Conquerours. And I hope, as we with theſe few hands haue diſplanted the firſt garriſon, and driuen them out of the ſaid countrey, ſo her Maieſtie will giue order for the reſt, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Empreſſe of the ſame. For whatſoeuer Prince ſhall poſſeſſe it, ſhall be greateſt, and if the king of Spaine enioy it, he will become vnreſiſtable. Her Maieſtie hereby ſhall confirme and ſtrengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazones, thoſe women ſhall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but alſo to inuade and conquer ſo great Empires and ſo farre remoued.

To ſpeake more at this time, I feare would be but troubleſome: I truſt in God, this being true, will ſuffice, and that he which is King of all Kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to poſſeſſe it, if not, I will iudge thoſe men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leaue will vndertake it of themſelues.

An abſtract taken out of certaine Spaniards letters concerning *Guiana* and the countries lying vpon the great riuer *Orenoque*: with certaine reports alſo touching the ſame.

An aduertiſement to the Reader.

THoſe letters out of which the abſtracts following are taken, were ſurpriſed at ſea as they were paſſing for *Spaine* in the yeere 1594. by Captaine *George Popham*: who the next yeere, and the ſame that Sir *Walter Ralegh* diſcouered *Guiana*, as he was in a voyage for the *Weſt Indies*, learned alſo the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two moneths after Sir *Walter*, as alſo ſo long after the writing of the former diſcourſe, hearing alſo of his diſcouerie: he made knowen and deliuered to ſome of her Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Councell & others. The which ſeeing they confirme in ſome part the ſubſtance, I meane, the riches of that countrey: it hath bene thought fit that they ſhould be thereunto adioyned. Wherein the Reader is to be aduertiſed, that although the Spaniards ſeeme to glorie much of their formall poſſeſſion taken before *Morequito* the Lord of *Aromaya*, and others thereabouts, which throughly vnderſtood them not at that time, whatſoeuer the Spaniards otherwiſe pretend: yet, according to the former diſcourſe, and as alſo it is related by *Caywaraco*, the ſonne of *Topiawary* now chiefe Lord of the ſaid *Aromaya*, who was brought into *England* by Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and was preſent at the ſame poſſeſſion and diſcouerie of the Spaniards mentioned in theſe letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their countrey, the Indians then hauing farther conſideration of the matter, and more then coniecture of their intent, hauing knowen and heard of their former cruelties vpon their borderers and others of the Indians elſewhere: At their next comming, there being ten of them ſent and imployed for a farther diſcouery, they were prouided to receiue and entertaine them in an other maner of ſort then they had done before; that is to ſay, they ſlew them and buried them in the countrey ſo much ſought. They gaue them by that meanes a full and complete poſſeſſion, the which before they had but begunne. And ſo they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other poſſeſſion they haue had none ſince. Neither doe the Indians meane, as they proteſt, to giue them any other. One other thing to be remembred is that in theſe letters the Spaniards ſeeme to call *Guiana* and other countries neere it, bordering vpon the riuer of *Orenoque*, by the name of *Nueuo Dorado*, becauſe of the great plentie of golde there in moſt places to be found. Alluding alſo to the name of *El Dorado* which was giuen by *Martinez* to the great citie of *Manoa*, as is in the former treatiſe ſpecified. This is all I thought good to aduertiſe. As for ſome other matters, I leaue them to the conſideration and iudgement of the indifferent Reader.

W. R.

Letters taken at ſea by Captaine *George Popham*. 1594

Alonſo his letter from the *Gran Canaria* to his brother being commander of S. *Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado*.

There haue bene certaine letters receiued here of late, of a land newly diſcouered called Nueuo Dorado, from the ſonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the diſcouery: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the ſaid Dorado, and that golde there is in great abundance: the courſe to fall with it is fiftie leagues to the windeward of Margarita.

Alonſos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of Sant *Lucar* concerning *El Dorado*.

Sirs, we haue no newes worth the writing, ſauing of a diſcouery lately made by the Spaniardes in a new land called Nueuo Dorado, which is two dayes ſayling to the windward of Margarita: there is golde in ſuch abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. Wee haue it for certaine in letters written from thence by ſome that were in the diſcouerie, vnto their parents here in this citie. I purpoſe (God willing) to beſtow tenne or twelue dayes in ſearch of the ſaid Dorado, as I paſſe in my voyage towards Carthagena, hoping there to make ſome good ſale of our commodities. I haue ſent you herewith part of the information of the ſaid diſcouerie, that was ſent to his Maieſtie.

Part of the Cople that was ſent to his Maieſtie, of the diſcouery of *Nueuo Dorado*.

In the riuer of Paro otherwiſe called Orenoque, in the principall part thereof called Wariſmero, the 23 of April 1593 Domingo de vera maſter of the campe, and Generall for Antonio de Berreo Gouernour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the riuers of Paro and Papamene alias Orenoque, and Marannon, and of the Iland of Trinidad, in preſence of me Rodrigo de Carança Regiſter for the ſea, commanded all the ſouldiers to be drawen together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and ſouldiers, and Maſter of the campe ſtanding in the middeſt of them, ſaid vnto them: Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you vnderſtand long ſince that our Generall Antonio de Berreo, with the trauell of eleuen yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thouſand pezos of golde, diſcouered the royall Prouinces of Guiana and Dorado: of the which he tooke poſſeſſion to gouerne the ſame, but through want of his peoples health, and neceſſarie munition, he iſſued out at the Iland Magarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they haue ſent me to learne out and diſcouer the wayes moſt eaſily to enter, and to people the ſaid Prouinces, and where the campes and armies may beſt enter the ſame. By reaſon whereof I intend ſo to doe in the name of his Maieſtie, and the ſaide gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to aduance this croſſe that lieth here on the ground, which they ſet on end towardes the Eaſt, and the ſaid Maſter of the campe, the captaines and ſouldiers kneeled downe, and did due reuerence vnto the ſaide croſſe, and thereupon the maſter of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he alſo drewe out his ſworde and cut the graſſe off the ground, and the boughes off the trees ſaying, I take this poſſeſſion in the name of the king Don Philip our maſter, and of his Gouernour Antonio de Berreo: and becauſe ſome make queſtion of this poſſeſſion, to them I anſwere, that in theſe our actions was preſent the Caſſique or principall Don Antonio, otherwiſe called Morequito, whoſe land this was, who yeelded conſent to the ſaid poſſeſſion, was glad thereof, and gaue his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the ſaid Gouernour Antonio de Berreo. And the ſaid maſter of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and ſouldiers ſaid, that the poſſeſſion was well taken, and that they would defend it with their liues, vpon whoſoeuer would ſay the contrary. And the ſaid maſter of the campe hauing his ſword drawen in his hand ſaide vnto me: Regiſter, that art here preſent, giue me an inſtrument or teſtimoniall to confirme me in this poſſeſſion, which I haue taken of this land, for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are preſent to witneſſe the ſame, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the poſſeſſion of all theſe landes whereſoeuer I ſhall enter. Signed thus.

Domingo de vera, and vnderneath, Before me *Rodrigo de Carança*, Regiſter of the armie.

And in proſecution of the ſaid poſſeſſion, and the diſcouerie of the way and Prouinces, the 27 of April of the ſaid yeere, the maſter of the campe entred vp little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him vnderſtand by meanes of Antonio Biſante the Interpretor, that his Maieſtie and Antonio de Berreo had ſent him to take the ſaid poſſeſſion. And the ſaid frier Francis Carillo by the Interpretor, deliuered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he anſwered, that they vnderſtood him well and would become Chriſtians, and that with a very good will they ſhould aduance the croſſe, in what part or place of the towne it pleaſed them, for he was for the Gouernour Antonio de Berreo, who was his maſter. Thereupon the ſaid maſter of the campe tooke a great croſſe, and ſet it on end towarde the Eaſt, and requeſted the whole campe to witneſſe it, and Domingo de vera firmed it thus.

It is well and firmely done. And vnderneath. Before me *Rodrigo Carança*, Regiſter of the armie.

The firſt of May they proſecuted the ſaid poſſeſſion and diſcouerie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the ſaid Maſter of the campe paſſed to the towne of Toroco whoſe principall is called Topiawary being fiue leagues farther within the land then the firſt Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpretor they gaue to vnderſtand that his Maieſtie and the ſaid Corrigidor commanded them to take the poſſeſſion of that lande, and that they ſhould yeelde their obedience to his Maieſtie, and to his Corrigidor, and to the maſter of the campe in his name, and that in token therof he would place a croſſe in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the ſaid Caſſique anſwered they ſhould aduance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the ſaid Gouernour Antonio de Berreo whoſe vaſſall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Prouince aboue fiue leagues thence, of all ſides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met vs in peaceable maner: and he is called Reuato, he brought vs to a very large houſe where he entertained vs well, and gaue vs much vs much Golde, and the interpreter aſking him from whence that golde was, he anſwered, From a Prouince not paſſing a dayes iourney off, where there are ſo many Indians as would ſhadowe the ſunne, and ſo much Golde as all yonder plaine will not conteine it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feaſts) they take of the ſaid Golde in duſt and anoynt themſelues all ouer therewith to make the brauer ſhew; and to the end the Golde may couer them, they anoynt their bodies with ſtamped herbes of a glewy ſubſtance: & they haue warre with thoſe Indians. They promiſed vs that if we would goe vnto them, they would ayde vs; but they were ſuch infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill vs. And being aſked how they gat ẏ ſame Gold, they told vs they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged vp the graſſe by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to waſh at the riuer, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracheras or drunken feaſts: and that which was in peeces they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about fiue leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thouſand Indians, men and women all in peace and with much victuall, as Hennes and Veniſon in great abundance, and many ſortes of wine. Hee intreated vs to goe to his houſe, and to reſt that night in his Towne, being of fiue hundred houſes. The interpreter aſked whence hee had thoſe Hennes: he ſayde they were brought from a mountaine not paſſing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea ſo many as graſſe on the ground, and that theſe men had the points of their ſhoulders higher then the Crownes of their heads, and had ſo many Hennes as was wonderfull; and if wee would haue any, wee ſhould ſend them Iewes harpes, for they would giue for euery one two Hennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gaue him fiue hundred Harpes; the Hennes were ſo many that hee brought vs, as were not to be numbred. Wee ſayde wee would goe thither; they tolde vs they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feaſts, and would kill vs. Wee aſked the Indian that brought the Hennes, if it were true; hee ſayde it was moſt true. Wee aſked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feaſts; hee ſayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breaſts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all couered with Golde. The Indian ſayde vnto vs, if wee would ſee them, wee ſhould giue him ſome Hatchets, and he would bring vs of thoſe Eagles. The Maſter of the Campe gaue him one Hatchet (hee would giue him no more becauſe they ſhould not vnderſtand we went to ſeeke golde) he brought vs an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Maſter of the Campe tooke it, and ſhewed it to the ſouldiers, and then threw it from him, making ſhewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and ſayd vnto him, Giue mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high ſhoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Maſter of the Campe, who commanded one to be giuen him: hee then tolde vs, thoſe Indians were comming to kill vs for our marchandize. Hereupon the Maſter of the Campe cauſed his company to bee ſet in order, and beganne to march. The eleuenth day of May wee went about ſeuen leagues from thence to a Prouince, where wee found a great company of Indians apparelled: they tolde vs that if wee came to fight, they would fill vp thoſe Plaines with Indians to fight with vs; but if wee came in peace, wee ſhould enter and bee well entertained of them, becauſe they had a great deſire to ſee Chriſtians: and there they tolde vs of all the riches that was. I doe not heere ſet it downe, becauſe there is no place for it, but it ſhall appeare by the information that goeth to his Maieſtie: for if it ſhould heere bee ſet downe, foure ſtaues of paper would not containe it.

Indians with high ſhoulders.

The Letter of *George Burien Britton* from the ſayde *Canaries* vnto his couſin a French man dwelling in *S. Lucar*, concerning *El Dorado.*

SIr, and my very good couſin, there came of late certaine Letters from a new diſcouered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance: the newes ſeemeth to bee very certaine, becauſe it paſſeth for good amongſt the beſt of this Citie. Part of the information of the Diſcouery that went to his Maieſtie, goeth incloſed in Alonſos letters; it is a thing worth the ſeeing.

The report of *Domingo Martinez* of *Iamaica* concerning *El Dorado.*

HE ſayth that in 1593. being at Carthagena, there was a generall report of a late diſcouery called Nueuo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigat from the ſaid Dorado, bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Chriſtianitie and obedience to the King of Spaine, they ſent their ſayd Idol vnto him in token they were become Chriſtians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the ſaid Frigat, reported Golde to be there in moſt abundance, Diamonds of ineſtimable value, with great ſtore of pearle.

The report of a French man called *Bountillier* of *Sherbrouke*, concerning *Trinidad* and *Dorado*.

1591. He ſaith that beeing at Trinidad in 1591. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the ſayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that riuer which commeth to Paracoa in Trinidad: and that within the Riuer of Orenoque, it was in great abundance. Paracoa. Alſo in 1593. beeing taken by the Spanyardes, and brought priſoner into the Iland of Madera (the place for his priſon) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortie Tunnes from a new Diſcouery, with two millions of Golde; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to bee in great abundance, and called it El Nueuo Dorado. This Frenchman paſſed from Spaine in the Barke, and hauing a cabben neere a gentleman, one of the Diſcouerers that came from that place in the ſayde Barke, had diuers times conference with him, and amongſt other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the ſayd Dorado, being as they ſayd within the riuer of Orenoque.

Reportes of certaine Marchants of *Rio de Hacha*, concerning *El Nueuo Dorado*.

They ſayd (aduancing the kings great treaſure in the Indies) that Nueuo Reyno yeelded very many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich; but lately was diſcouered a certaine Prouince ſo rich in Golde, as the report thereof may ſeeme incredible, it is there in ſuch abundance, and is called El Nueuo Dorado: Antonio de Berreo made the ſaid diſcouerie.

The report of a Spanyard, Captaine with *Berreo* in the diſcouerie of *El Nueuo Dorado*.

That the information ſent to the King was in euery poynt truely ſayde, that the riuer Orenoque hath ſeuen mouths, or outlets into the ſea, called Las Siete bocas de dragon, that the ſayd riuer runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to goe to conquere and people the ſayd Dorado.

A Relation of the ſecond Voyage to *Guiana*, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by *Laurence Keymis* Gent.

TO THE APPROVED, RIGHT VALOROVS, AND worthy Knight, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine *of her Maieſties Guard, and her Highneſſe Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.*

I Haue here briefly ſet downe the effect of this your ſecond Diſcouerie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, ſingle ſpeech beſt beſeemeth a ſimple trueth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your perſon, leadeth mee to write of your ſelfe, vnto your ſelfe, that ſmall libertie which I haue therein vſed, ſhall, I doubt not, without offence or ſiniſter conſtruction, be giuen to the cauſe in hand: which, whether it ſuffer not detriment, by attributing leſſe then of right belongeth; the iudgement bee theirs, that vprightly and indifferently ſhall weigh the conſequents of their euill purpoſe, who in ſeeking to detract from the Author of theſe Diſcoueries, doe ſo much as in thē lieth, wound, deface, & tread vnder foot the thing it ſelfe. But this is no nouelty, nor proper only to theſe our dayes. For long ſince it hath bin ſaid, *Laudes eo vſque ſunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, quæ auditores ſe quoque facere poſſe exiſtimant: ſi maiora proferantur, inuident, non credunt.* Pericles. The feruent zeale & loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of ſo honorable expectation, as it hath deſerued a recompence farre different, ſo needeth it not my poore ſuffrage to endeare the toyle, care and danger that you haue willingly vndergone for the good and aduancement of our weale publique. The praiſe-worthineſſe thereof doeth approue it ſelfe, and is better read in your liuing doings, then in my dead vnregarded papers. All that I can wiſh, is that my life were a ſufficient pledge, to iuſtifie, how much more eaſie, and more materiall, the courſe for *Guiana* would bee then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not ſo large benefit, and are ſubiect to more doubtfull euents. If vnto their wiſdomes who ſit in place and authority, it ſhall appeare otherwiſe, and that in following of other attempts there is leſſe difficultie, certainer profit, and needfuller offence vnto the enemie: the coſt and trauaile which you haue beſtowed, ſhall not, I hope, be altogether loſt, if vnto your Honour I can proue how, and where the amends is to be had, maugre the force and preuention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordſhips to be commanded in all ſeruice,

LAVRENCE KEYMIS.

To the Fauourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

IN things earneſtly deſired, though neuer ſo likely, we are ſtill ſuſpicious: thinking it more credite to our common wiſedome, to diſcredite moſt noble and profitable indeuours with diſtruſt, then touch to our valours and ſafeties, to lie wilfully idle. So that howſoeuer an action well and iudicially attempted, bee eſteemed halfe performed; yet is this my iealous conceite concerning *Guiana*, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I haue preſumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good cauſe, and in ſtead of opening it throughly to thy prudent conſideration, to note only mine owne vnſatiſfied affections: hoping that becauſe I doe name *Guiana* vnto thee, thou wilt vouchſafe *hoc nomine*, to vaile and couer all other my defects in the deſert of a good meaning. In publiſhing this Treatiſe, my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remoue all fig-leaues from our vnbeliefe, that either it may haue cauſe to ſhake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or if we will not be perſwaded; that our ſelfe-will may reſt inexcuſable. They that ſhall apply, and conſtrue this my doing, to ſerue the Spaniard his turne ſo wel as our owne; in ſo much as it may ſeeme to inſtruct, warne, and arme him: for their ſatisfaction herein, they muſt not be ignorant, that his eyes, in ſeeing our ſhipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it ſhould be credibly aduertiſed by ſome corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write, and diſcourſe of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps proue, & be hereafter taken for worſe thẽ paricide) would be of better purpoſe, then to hoodwinke our ſelues, as who would ſay, No man ſhall ſee vs. Beſides, if the action were wholy to bee effected at her Maieſties charge; then might it at her Highneſſe pleaſure be ſhadowed with ſome other drift, and neuer be diſcouered, vntill it were acted. But ſince it craueth the approbation and purſes of many Aduenturers, who cannot be ſo prodigall both of their poſſeſſions and liues, as voluntarily to run themſelues out of breath, in purſuing they know not what: great reaſon it is, that where aſſiſtance is to be asked, due cauſes be yeelded to perſwade & induce them vnto it. The Spaniard is not ſo ſimple, vnſetled, & vncertaine in his determinations, as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor ſo ſlow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are ſufficiently ſtrengthened with the trauailes, reports, & ſubſtantial proofes of his own men, that haue aboue 60. yeres beaten round about this buſh. And to ſay a trueth, the expedition that he hath vſed in ſending ſo many ſhips in February laſt to people this country, & diſappoint vs; as it doth conſequently ſhew, that he findeth his chiefeſt force and ſinewes to conſiſt in golde: ſo doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remiſneſſe & long deliberations, that in 12. moneths ſpace haue done, or ſought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame & reputation of our Engliſh nation, intereſſed in ſo weighty buſineſſe. * His late prouiſion of a new ſupply of whole families In Iune 1596
to the number of 600. perſons, bound for *Guiana*, but that it pleaſed God, that by meanes of that right honourable ſeruice moſt reſolutely performed in the ſea-fight, and ſacking of *Cadiz*, the ſhips wherein they ſhould haue bin conueyed, were conuerted into aſhes: what might it ſignifie? Certes, as it doth euidently proue, that *El Dorado* hath vndoubted credit & account in their iudgemẽts: ſo pointeth it at vs, whilſt we only to entertain idle time, ſit liſtening for *Guiana* newes, & inſtantly forget it, as if it were nought els, but a pleaſing dreame of a goldẽ fancy.

If we with our ſelues ſhall expoſtulate, how this commeth to paſſe, that the aduantage wholy reſting on our ſide, in reſpect that *Berreo* was this laſt yere beaten out, the countrey throughly diſcouered, & the Inhabitants made deſirous of her ſacred Maieſties happy gouernment; they notwithſtanding by entring before vs, haue now gotten ÿ ſtart of vs: what may we thinke? Shal wee iudge that their natiue countrey is leſſe deare, or more weariſome vnto them, then ours is vnto vs? Their *Peruleri*, who going bare & empty out of *Spaine*, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres returne from *Peru*, rich and in good eſtate, doe apparantly diſproue all ſuch conceits of them. Shall wee ſay that they haue more ſpare men to be imployed in ſuch actions? It is no ſecret to know the contrary. Are they ſubiect to penury? In all parts of Chriſtendom, where money is not ſcant, all other things are plentifull. Or is their land not able to ſuſtain their numbers of people? They buy many ſlaues to follow their husbandry, & themſelues diſdaining baſe idlenes & beggery, do all honour military profeſſion, highly eſteeming it in their mercenaries and ſtrangers. Is it then want of ability, in thoſe that are willing, lacke of incouragement, or default of ſpeedy order and direction for thoſe that doe voluntarily offer themſelues, their ſubſtance, & beſt indeuour to further this cauſe; that maketh vs to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The firſt is no queſtion. The later needeth no anſwere. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to looſe opportunitie by delay, or to ſeeme feareful and diſmayed, where there is no cauſe of doubt. For as yet their poſt-haſte doeth no way preiudice our aduiſed leiſure in ſetting forward, ſince their preparations of *Negros* to worke in the mynes, their horſes, cattell, and other neceſſaries may (by the fauour of God) at our firſt comming, both ſtore vs wͭ quantities of gold oare, and eaſe vs of much trouble, paines, and trauaile. If we ſhould ſuppoſe our ſelues now to liue in the dayes of King *Henry* the ſeuenth of famous memory, and the ſtrange report of a Weſt *Indies*, or new world abounding with great treaſure ſhould entice vs to beleeue it: perhaps it might be imputed for ſome blame to the grauity of wiſe men, lightly to bee carried with the perſwaſion and hope of a new found *Vtopia*, by ſuch a one as *Columbus* was, being an alien, and many wayes ſubiect to ſuſpition. But ſince the penance of that incredulity lieth euen now heauy on our ſhoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what repentance: and that we haue the perſonal triall of ſo honourable and ſufficient a Reporter, our own Countriman: let it be farre from vs to condemne our ſelues in that, which ſo worthily we reproue in our predeceſſors; and to let our idle knowledge content it ſelfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monaſtery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth conſiſt in action: we truely ſay, that *Otium* is *anima viua ſepultura:* we beleeue, that perfect wiſedome in this mobility of all humaine affaires, refuſeth not with any price to purchaſe ſafetie: and we iuſtly do acknowledge that the Caſtilians from barelegged mountainers haue atteined to their greatneſſe by labour & induſtrie. To ſleepe then, becauſe it coſteth nothing; to imbrace the preſent time, becauſe it flattereth vs with deceitfull contentment; and to kiſſe ſecurity, ſaying, What euill happeneth vnto vs? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliuer vs, and giue vs an vnderſtanding heart, in time to ſee, and to ſeeke that, which belongeth vnto our peace.

De Guiana *carmen Epicum.*

WHat worke of honour and eternall name,
For all the world t'emuie and vs t'atchieue,
Filles me with furie, and giues armed hands
To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne
My limmes and euery ſenſe into my thoughts
Rapt with the thirſted action of my mind?
O *Clio*, *Honors Muſe*, ſing in my voyce,
Tell the attempt, and prophecie th'exploit
Of his *Eliza*-conſecrated ſworde,
That in this peacefull charme of *Englands* ſleepe,
Opens moſt tenderly her aged throte,
Offring to powre freſh youth through all her vaines,
That fleſh of braſſe and ribs of ſteele retaines.

Riches, and *Conqueſt*, and *Renowme* I ſing,
Riches with honour, *Conqueſt* without blood,

Enough to ſeat the Monarchie of earth,
Like to *Ioues* Eagle on *Elizas* hand.
Guiana, whoſe rich feete are mines of golde,
Whoſe forehead knockes againſt the roofe of Starres,
Stands on her tip-toes at faire *England* looking,
Kiſſing her hand, bowing her mightie breaſt,
And euery ſigne of all ſubmiſſion making,
To be her ſiſter, and the daughter both
Of our moſt ſacred Maide: whoſe barrenneſſe
Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,
Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,
What heretofore ſauage corruption held
In barbarous *Chaos*; and in this affaire
Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then moſt admired Soueraigne, let your breath
Goe foorth vpon the waters, and create
A golden world in this our yron age,
And be the proſperous forewind to a Fleete,
That ſeconding your laſt, may goe before it
In all ſucceſſe of profite and renowme:
Doubt not but your election was diuine,
(Aſwell by *Fate* as your high iudgement ordred)
To raiſe him with choiſe Bounties, that could adde
Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,
Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,
Free from the Preſſe of ſquint-eyd *Enuies* feete,
But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,
And ſhroude it with broad leaues of *Rule* oregrowne
From all blacke tempeſts of inuaſion.

Thoſe Conqueſts that like generall earthquakes ſhooke
The ſolid world, and made it fall before them,
Built all their braue attempts on weaker grounds,
And leſſe perſwaſiue likelihoods then this;
Nor was there euer princely Fount ſo long
Powr'd forth a ſea of Rule with ſo free courſe,
And ſuch aſcending Maieſtie as you:
Then be not like a rough and violent wind,
That in the morning rends the Forreſts downe,
Shoues vp the ſeas to heauen, makes earth to tremble,
And toombes his waſtfull brauery in the Euen:
But as a riuer from a mountaine running,
The further he extends, the greater growes,
And by his thriftie race ſtrengthens his ſtreame,
Euen to ioyne battell with th'imperious ſea
Diſdayning his repulſe, and in deſpight
Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,
Taking on him his titles and commandes:
So let thy ſoueraigne Empire be encreaſt,
And with *Iberian Neptune* part the ſtake,
Whoſe *Trident* he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wiſe in Wiſdomes ſpight,
Directing with diſcredite of direction,
And hunt for honour, hunting him to death,
With whom before you will inherite gold,

You will looſe golde, for which you looſe your ſoules;
You that chuſe nought for right, but certaintie,
And feare that valour will get onely blowes,
Placing your faith in *Incredulitie*.
Sit till you ſee a wonder, *Vertue* rich:
Till *Honour* hauing golde, rob golde of honour,
Till as men hate deſert that getteth nought,
They loath all getting that deſerues not ought;
And vſe you gold-made men as dregges of men;
And till your poyſoned ſoules, like Spiders lurking
In ſluttiſh chinckes, in myſtes of Cobwebs hide
Your foggie bodies, and your dunghill pride.

O *Incredulitie*, the wit of Fooles,
That ſlouenly will ſpit on all things faire,
The *Cowards caſtle*, and the *Sluggards cradle*
How eaſie t'is to be an Infidel?

But you *Patrician* Spirites that refine
Your fleſh to fire, and iſſue like a flame
On braue indeuours, knowing that in them
The tract of heauen in morne-like glory opens,
That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,
(Claiming the Rights of your creation)
And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you;
That are ſo farre from doubting likely drifts,
That in things hardeſt y'are moſt confident:
You that know death liues, where power liues vnuſde,
Ioying to ſhine in waues that burie you,
And ſo make way for life euen through your graues;
That will not be content like horſe to hold
A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires:
But where the ſea in enuie of your reigne,
Cloſeth her wombe, as faſt as t'is diſcloſde,
That ſhe like *Auarice* might ſwallow all,
And let none find right paſſage through her rage:
There your wiſe ſoules as ſwift as *Eurus* lead
Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,
And skorne to let your bodies choke your ſoules,
In the rude breath and priſoned life of beaſtes:
You that herein renounce the courſe of earth,
And lift your eyes for guidance to the ſtarres,
That liue not for your ſelues, but to poſſeſſe
Your honour'd countrey of a generall ſtore;
In pitie of the ſpoyle rude ſelfe-loue makes,
Of them whoſe liues and yours one ayre doth feede,
One ſoile doeth nouriſh, and one ſtrength combine;
You that are bleſt with ſence of all things noble,
In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

But how is *Nature* at her heart corrupted,
(I meane euen in her moſt ennobled birth)
How in exceſſe of Sence is Sence bereft her!
That her moſt lightening-like effects of luſt
Wound through her fleſh, her ſoule, her fleſh vnwounded;
And ſhe muſt neede incitements to her good,
Euen from that part ſhe hurtes! O how moſt like
Art thou (heroike Autor of this Act)

To this wrong'd ſoule of *Nature*, that ſuſtainſt
Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,
And ſhe much like a bodie numb'd with ſurfeits,
Feeles not thy gentle applications
For the health, vſe, and honour of her powers!
Yet ſhall my verſe through all her eaſe-lockt eares
Trumpet the Nobleſſe of thy high intent:
And if it cannot into act proceed,
The fault and bitter penance of the fault
Make red ſome others eyes with penitence,
For thine are cleare; and what more nimble ſpirits,
Apter to byte at ſuch vnhooked baytes,
Gaine by our loſſe; that muſt we needs confeſſe
Thy princely valure would haue purchaſt vs.
Which ſhall be fame eternall to thy name,
Though thy contentment in thy graue deſires,
Of our aduancement, faile deſeru'd effect.
O how I feare thy glory which I loue,
Leaſt it ſhould dearely grow by our decreaſe.
Natures that ſticke in golden-graueld ſprings,
In mucke-pits cannot ſcape their ſwallowings.

But we ſhall foorth I know; Golde is our Fate,
Which all our actes doth faſhion and create.

Then in the *Theſpiads* bright Propheticke Fount,
Me thinkes I ſee our Liege riſe from her throne,
Her eares and thoughts in ſteepe amaze erected,
At the moſt rare endeuour of her power.
And now ſhe bleſſeth with her woonted Graces
Th'induſtrious Knight, the ſoule of this exploit,
Diſmiſſing him to conuoy of his ſtarres.
And now for loue and honour of his woorth,
Our twiſe-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,
That is eſpouſde for vertue to his loue
With feaſts and muſicke, rauiſhing the aire,
To his *Argolian* Fleet, where round about
His bating Colours Engliſh valure ſwarmes
In haſte, as if *Guianian Orenoque*
With his Fell waters fell vpon our ſhore.
And now a wind as forward as their ſpirits,
Sets their glad feet on ſmooth *Guianas* breaſt,
Where (as if ech man were an *Orpheus*)
A world of Sauages fall tame before them,
Storing their theft-free treaſuries with golde,
And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,
There *Learning* eates no more his thriftleſſe bookes,
Nor *Valure* Eſtridge-like his yron armes.
There *Beautie* is no ſtrumpet for her wants,
Nor *Gallique* humours putrifie her blood:
But all our Youth take *Hymens* lights in hand,
And fill eche roofe with honor'd progenie.
There makes *Societie* Adamantine chaines,
And ioyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth diſioin'd.
There healthfull Recreations ſtrow their meades,
And make their manſions daunce with neighbourhood,
That here were drown'd in churliſh *Auarice*.
And there do Pallaces and temples riſe

Our

Out of the earth, and kiſſe th'enamored skies,
Where new *Britannia* humblie kneeles to heauen,
The world to her, and, both at her bleſt feet,
In whom the Circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad *Thomam Hariotum* Matheſeos, & vniuerſæ Philoſophiæ peritiſſimum, de *Guiana* Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

Montibus eſt Regio, quaſi muris, obſita, multis:
Circumſepit aquis quos Raleana ſuis.
Intus habet largos Guaiana receſſus:
hoſtili geſtans libera colla iugo.
Hiſpanus clinis illis ſudauit, & alſit
ſeptem annos, nouies: nec tamen inualuit.
Numen, & omen ineſt numeris. Fatale ſit illi:
Et nobis virtus ſit recidiua, precor.
Gualtero patefacta via eſt duce & auſpice Ralegh
Menſe vno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?
Nocte dieq́, datis velis, remiſque laborans,
Exegit ſumma dexteritatis opus.
Scilicet expenſis magnis non ille pepercit,
Communi natus conſuluiſſe bono.
Prouidus excubuit ſimili diſcrimine Ioſeph:
Sic fratres, fratrem deſeruêre ſuum:
Fama coloratam deſignet ſi bona, veſtem:
Veſtis Sciſſa malis ſic fuit illa modis.
Mira leges. Aureſque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus
Hæc aurum, & gemmas graminis inſtar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum eſt: ibi prodiga terra quotannis
Luxuriat, ſola fertilitate nocens.
Anglia noſtra licet diues ſit, & vndique fœlix:
Anglia, ſi confers, indigna frugis erit.
Expertes capitum, volucres, piſceſque feraſq́,
Prætereo: haud proſunt, quæ nouitate, placent.
Eſt ibi, vel nuſquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:
Det Deus, hanc Canaan poſſideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantiſs. L. K.

The ſecond voyage to *Guiana.*

They fall with the Canary Iles.

Cape Verde.

MUnday the 26. of January, in the yeere of our Lord 1596. we departed from Portland road, in the Darling of London, hauing in company the Diſcouerer, a ſmall pinneſſe, whom we loſt at ſea, in foule weather, the Thurſday next following. Friday the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Iſlands, where we expected our pinneſſe, according to our appoyntment, ſeuen or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a paſſenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our ſhippe ſterne, ſteering Southſouthweſt for the Iſlands of Cape Verde. Therehence we ſet ſaile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a Weſtſouthweſt courſe. In this paſſage wee found very ſmooth ſeas, faire weather, and ſteddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the Eaſt and Northeaſt poynts. Neere 30. leagues from theſe Iſlands, wee came into a growne ſea, the ſwollen waters making a ſtrange noiſe & hurtling together, as if it might be two ſtrong currents encountring ech other. The 12. of March wee ſounded, and had ſandie ground in 47. fathome. At midnight in twelue fathom wee came to an anker, the ground ſandie oaze. Sunday the 14. towards night, about ſome ſixe leagues from the ſhore, wee deſcried a low land in the bottome of a Bay. From the 9. of March vntill this time, we kept for the moſt part a Southſouthweſt courſe. The water in this place is ſmooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the Weſtermoſt

moſt of the Cape Verde-Iſlands vnto this Bay I doe eſtimate the diſtance to be neere 550. leagues. It ſeemed to moſt of our ſea-men, to be the very banke of a ſhoald vpon a lee-ſhore: the rather becauſe without it, in the cleane greene ſea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by proofe finding that there is no ſudden alteration in any part of the coaſt, and that the ſea is ſmootheſt neere the land, we alwayes at night ſought to anker in three or foure fathome. And doubtleſſe as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: ſo herein his mercifull prouidence is moſt admirable, that vpon a lee-ſhore ſubiect vnto a perpetuall Eaſterly gale, neither much wind can endanger ſhipping, by reaſon that the foule heauie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the ſoft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruiſe them: nor is there any ieopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbayed: for the moſt forcible windes make the greateſt flood-tides, whereby the freſhets when they take their ordinarie courſe of ebbe, doe grow ſtrong and ſwift, ſetting directly off to ſea againſt the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this caſe, as alſo in the riuers, the vſe of a droue ſayle ſeemeth a good and readie helpe. The firſt place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire and great riuer. It ſtandeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell ſo farre to the Southwardes by your lordſhips direction. The barre without hath at the leaſt three fathome, at the ſhoaldeſt place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackiſh. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the ſea coaſt. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countreys doe yeelde, as alſo the ſoundings, tydes, and how the coaſt lyeth &c. thinking it fitteſt to reduce theſe diſioyned and ſcattered remembrances to one place. As wee paſſed we alwayes kept the ſhore within viewe and ſtopped the floods, ſtill ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we ſawe two high mountaines like two Iſlands, but they ioyne with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthweſt neere 60. leagues, there fall into the ſea theſe ſeuerall great riuers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from theſe hilles, and filled all our caske with freſh water by the ſhippe ſide, for in the ſea thirtie miles from the mouth of any riuer it is freſh and good. This ſecond Bay extendeth it ſelfe aboue thirtie leagues to the Weſtward, and containeth within it theſe riuers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curaſſawini. Here leauing the ſhip at anker, I tooke into the boate Iohn Prouoſt, my Indian Interpreter, Iohn Linſey, and eight or nine others, intending to ſearch ſome of theſe riuers, and to ſeeke ſpeech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eaſtermoſt mountaine, where the riuer falleth into the ſea, wee found twentie or thirtie houſes, but not inhabited. Wee ſtayed there but one night. Wanari we ouerpaſſed, becauſe the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caperwacka we ſailed ſome fourtie miles, but could ſee no Indian. At one of their portes vnder the ſide of a hill, wee tooke in ſo much Braſill wood as our boate could carrie. Amongſt other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I do verily beleeue to be the ſame ſort of ſinamon, which is found in the ſtreights of Magellan. From Caperwacka we paſſed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before wee could procure them to come neere vs, for they doubted leaſt wee were Spaniſh. When my interpreter had perſwaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther ſpeech or delay, brought vs to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained vs moſt friendly, and then at large declared vnto vs, that hee was lately chaſed by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour riuers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that hauing burnt his owne houſes, and deſtroyed his fruites and gardens, hee had left his countrey and townes to bee poſſeſſed by the Arwaccas, who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the moſt part ſerue and follow the Spanyards. Hee ſhewed me that he was of the nation of the Iaos, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the ſea coaſt ſo farre as Trinidad, which they likewiſe poſſeſſed. Howbeit, that with a generall conſent, when the Spanyards firſt began to borrow ſome of their wiues, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now liue vnited for the moſt part towards the riuer of Amazones. But the eſpeciall cauſe of his preſent remoue was, becauſe two or three yeeres paſt, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and ſought to take his beſt wife from him: but before they carried her away, hee at time and place of aduantage killed halfe of them: the reſt fledde, moſt of them ſore hurt. Now in this caſe hee thought it beſt to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Deſſekebe, is one of this mans ſubiects: By whom (as it may ſeeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princeſſe and countrey. For hee deſcended more

A notable obſeruation.

They anker in the mouth of Arrowari ſituate in one deg. 40. minutes.

A ſea of freſh water.

The Iaos a mightie nation.

Ferdinando the Indian pilote of ſir Walter Ralegh.

particularly to inquire what forces were come with vs, aſſuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friendes betwixt hope and feare, haue earneſtly expected our returne from England theſe foure or fiue moneths. When I had anſwered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards aliue to annoy them; that we now came only to diſcouer, and trade with them; and that if her Maieſtie ſhould haue ſent a power of men, where no enemie was to reſiſt, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to inuade, then to defend them: He replied, that this courſe very wel ſorted with the report which they had heard of our Princeſſe iuſtice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whoſe power in beeing able to vanquiſh the Spaniards, and ſingular goodneſſe in vndertaking to ſuccour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now ſo generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to ioyne with vs, and by all meanes poſſible to aſſiſt vs in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceiued, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receiue vs, without moleſtation or intruſion vpon the Indians, who wanted not choiſe of dwelling places, if they forſooke one to liue in another: but ſtoode in neede of our preſence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or liuing. He then farther deſired, that he with his people might haue our fauour againſt the Arwaccas, who not being content to enioy their groundes and houſes, had taken from them many of their wiues and children, the beſt of whoſe fortune was, if they liued, to liue in perpetuall ſlauerie vnder the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deſerue ſome part of this friendſhip, commended vnto vs an elderly man to be our Pilote in bringing vs to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any Vrapo, which is the wood, that is vſually carried from theſe parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there ſold to the French for trade: he offered, if we would bring our ſhip neere his port, to put in her lading thereof. But becauſe moſt of our caſke was not yron-bound, and in making ſtowage-way to remoue it, would haue bene the loſſe of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie: thinking it ſufficient at this time, to haue only my boats lading thereof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, before we could get aboord our ſhip, wee were inforced in a darke night to heaue all ouerboord: thinking our ſelues happy, to haue recouered thither at ſeuen dayes ende, with ſafetie of life onely. All which time wee could no where ſet foote on ſhore, but reſted day and night wet and weatherbeaten in our couertleſſe boate, which was ſometimes ready to ſinke vnder vs. For wee had in this place without compariſon more raine, wind, and guſtes, then elſe where at any time. To bee briefe, my men became weake and ſicke, and if wee had ſtayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greateſt part of vs had euer come aboord againe. I afterwards vnderſtood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for moſt part of the yeere vſuall, neere the Iland Oncaiarie, which lyeth North from the riuer Capurwacka ſome ſixe leagues into the ſea: and that they hold opinion how this Iland is kept by ſome euill ſpirit: for they verily beleeue, that to ſleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is preſent death. The only ſeaſon wherein little raine doth fal there, is (as I gathered by their ſpeech, they diuiding al times by their Moones) at our Winter Solſtice. The mother-wind of this coaſt is for the moſt part to the Northward of the Eaſt, except when the Sunne is on this ſide of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but moſt in the night. This our guid is of the Iaos, who doe al marke themſelues, thereby to bee knowen from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a ſmall beaſt like a Rat, they race ſome their faces, ſome their bodies, after diuers formes, as if it were with the ſcratch of a pin, the print of which raſure can neuer bee done away againe during life. When he had ſometime conuerſed with our Indians, that went from England with vs, hee became willing to ſee our countrey. His ſufficiencie, truſtineſſe, and knowledge is ſuch, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you ſhall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to ſteed your Lordſhip in your deſignes and purpoſes. For beſides his preciſe knowledge of all the coaſt, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he ſpeaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a ſworne brother to Putima, who ſlewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manoa, can direct vs to many golde mines, and in nothing will vndertake more, then hee aſſuredly will performe.

Braſil-wood.

Vnſeaſonable weather about the Iſle of Oncaiarie.

How the nation of the Iaos marke themſelues, to be knowen from other people.

To the Weſtward this Bay hath many good roads vnder ſmall Ilands, whereof the greateſt named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and beſides the plenty of foule, fiſh, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be had, where Caiane falles into the ſea, (for it ſtandeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes ſafe and good harbour in foure and fiue fathome for ſhips of great burthen. On all that coaſt we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road vnder Triangle Ilands, which are the Weſtermoſt from

Port Howard otherwiſe called Gowateri.

from the reſt and ſtand in fiue degrees, which haue alſo ſtore of fiſh, foule, deere, and l[illegible] is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, ſhippes though they be many, may all ride ſecurely. The hils and high lands are limits to this bay on ech ſide [illegible] to the Eaſtward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Weſtward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Braſill wood is no farther to bee ſought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, ſilke, and Balſamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapaſſa are here moſt plentifull: I finde them in taſte nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable againſt the fluxe and headach. Theſe riuers, as alſo others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire ouer rocks, as the riuer Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in moſt places within the vtmoſt hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth ſhort graſſe like Arromaiaries countrey.

Next adioyning vnto theſe, are the riuers Cunanamma, Vracco, Mawari, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwari, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Deſſekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coaſt trendeth two hundred leagues next hand Weſtnorthweſt. In this varietie of goodly riuers, Amonna amongſt the reſt powreth himſelfe into the ſea in a large and deepe chanell: his ſwiftneſſe ſuffereth no barre, nor refuſeth any ſhipping of what burthen ſoeuer they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull reſpectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eaſtward, doe neuer paſſe lower then Berbice to trade. Aboue Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eaſtward then Deſſekebe, no Spaniard euer trauelled. In which reſpect, and that no ſea-card that I haue ſeene at any time, doth in any ſort neere a trueth, deſcribe this coaſt: I thought the libertie of impoſing Engliſh names to certaine places of note, of right to belong vnto our labours; the rather becauſe occaſion thereby offereth it ſelfe gratefully to acknowledge the honour due vnto them that haue beene, and I hope will ſtill continue fauourers of this enterprize. The Indians to ſhew the worthineſſe of Deſſekebe (for it is very large and full of Iſlands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the head, they paſſe in twentie dayes: then taking their prouiſion they carrie it on their ſhoulders one dayes iourney: afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewiſe to the ſide of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of ſuch bigneſſe, that they know no difference betweene it & the maine ſea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I ſuppoſe) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa ſtandeth: In this riuer, which we now call Deuoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Waroo and his people, about halfe a yere ſince. Arromaiarie, who wan ſo great credit by ouerthrowing the Tiuitiuas of Amana, and making free the paſſage of that riuer (but now againe liueth in diſgrace, by reaſon that the Charibes of Guanipa haue killed moſt of his followers, and burnt his townes) was preſent with them, and tooke away many of the women of that place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewiſe preſent, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chaſe, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas, with whom * Santiago forſaking his gouernour Berreo, ioyned himſelfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, euery day expecting ſentence of death. The occaſion hereof grew as followeth.

From Cape Cecyl to Raleana 200. leagues.

Deſſekebe called The brother of Orenoque.

The great lake whereon Manoa or El Dorado ſtandeth.

In September.

This Spaniard vnderſtandeth the Guianian language, and is reputed a very ſufficient man.

When Berreo, hauing loſt his men, was left with Faſſhardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and neuer likely to compaſſe his intended conqueſt of Guiana: the gouernours of the Caraccas and Margarita conſulting together, ſent with all ſpeede into Spaine, to aduertiſe their king, that Berreo was vtterly vnable to folow this enterpriſe, that he had giuen it ouer, and did now ſoiorne in his old dayes at Faſſhardo his houſe, minding nothing elſe but his ſolace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an Engliſh gentleman of ſuch reckoning, as they named your lordſhip to be, hauing bene in Guiana, and vnderſtanding ſo much of the ſtate thereof, and the nations thereunto adioyning, as Topiawarie, being both olde and wiſe, could informe you of, who alſo in confirmation of friendſhip, had giuen you his onely ſonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who aduentured ſo farre, and in ſuch ſort as you did, onely to ſee, and knowe a certainty, would leaue nothing vnattempted to poſſeſſe ſo rich a countrey, and without all doubt would returne preſently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire aliue, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his deceaſe, this enterpriſe by patent did belong, and to bee a weake aduerſarie againſt your ſelfe, whom at all times you knew eaſily how to diſtreſſe: and that therefore it might be behoouefull for his maieſtie to reuoke Berreo his grant, and to vſe their ſeruice, who were readie and willing without any delay to vndertake the charge. Theſe newes being at large amplified and deliuered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Camp-maſter, who was ſent into Spaine, fiue moneths before your arriuall at Trinidad, with a ſufficient quantitie of gold gotten out of Guiana, to leuie and furniſh 500. men, hauing gotten knowledge of this practiſe, ſo ſolicited this cauſe in Berreo his behalfe, that preſent order was giuen for the victualling and manning of tenne ſhips to be ſent to Berreo: and farther, this gold bore ſuch waight, that the king commanded other 18. of his ſhips to ſtop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they ſaw that place ſecured from enemies.

Berreo ſuppoſing that theſe gouernours in ſending with ſuch ſpeede into Spaine, meant him no good: to approue his care and conſtancie, and that he neuer would yeelde vnder the burthen of his aduerſe fortune; giuing no time or breath to his aduerſaries nor himſelfe; returned forthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fifteene men, being the ſcattered remnant of thoſe whom you lately diſpoſſeſſed of Trinidad. Theſe gouernours followed him, and aſſuring themſelues of preſent imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murther Berreo, and to diſpatch all his company. They indeed killed two or three, but Berreo fledde towardes Caroli, where hee ſtayed hoping for ſuccour from his ſonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the riuer from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices buſied themſelues, ſome in ſearching the countrey, others in purueying of victuals out of the riuers that doe lie Eaſtward, of which number theſe were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago paſſed vp into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe & George Gifford his man priſoner, who with plentie of gold ranſomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinadad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when vnhappily to their ſmall comfort the eight and twentie ſayles arriued, and tooke Santiago priſoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vaniſhed, and in Canoas recouered Margarita and Cumana againe. Eighteene of the ſaid ſhips leauing all things in good order, departed from Trinadad to follow their others directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming.

Francis Sparrow taken priſoner.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, ſeruant to Berreo, that could ſpeake Spaniſh, whom I tooke in the riuer. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred vp with Berreo. I gaue him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and ſo left him glad, that hee had met with vs.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chaſed from their dwellings, doe ſeeke by all meanes poſſible to accord all the nations in one, ſo to inuade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in ſhewing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perſwaded, that by driuing theſe Arwaccas, who ſerue the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth alſo hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee inforced to ſeeke habitation farther off, or at the leaſt in time conſume and be waſted.

They anker within Raleana, or Orenoque.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the riuer Raleana, hauing ſpent twentie and three dayes in diſcouerie vpon this coaſt. The chanell of this riuer hath ſixe or ſeuen fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at ſea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not aboue fiue foote, except at a ſpring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the firſt night: the next morning twelue Canoas came vnto vs, furniſhed and prouided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. Theſe Caſſiques, when the Spaniards made the laſt inrode in thoſe parts, were in the inland amongſt the Iwarewakeri their neighbours, by which occaſion hauing loſt ſome of their wiues (for notwithſtanding their profeſſion of Chriſtianitie, ſome of theſe Spaniards keepe ten or twelue women, thinking themſelues wel and ſurely bleſſed, howſoeuer they liue, if their towne and houſes be religiouſly croſſed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming, which they had now long expected to recouer this loſſe vpon them and the Arwaccas, who in their abſence had done this wrong. They ſhewed me this their purpoſe, & required to be ioyned in league of frindſhip with vs againſt our enemies. When of them I had learned ſo much of the preſent eſtate of the countrey, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with vs, but onely one ſhip: I anſwered them as before I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing vntil this preſent that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that vpon our returne our whole fleete will haſten to ſet forwardes, and that in the meane time, wee would

Spaniſh Paganiſme.

now viſite our friendes, and helpe them ſo farre as wee could in any thing that wee ſhould finde needefull preſently to bee done. After long diſcourſe (for their chiefe man ſtayed with mee all night) when hee had cauſed mee to ſpit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they vſe in confirming friendſhippe, hee went to the ſhoare, and one of his Canoas hee ſent to bring forwardes the other twentie: one other hee cauſed to goe vp the riuer before vs, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made ſmall fyers, and ſitting in their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one ſorted himſelfe with his companion, recounting amongſt themſelues the worthieſt deedes, and deaths of their Anceſtours, execrating their enemies moſt deſpitefully, and magnifying their friendes with all titles of prayſes and honour, that may bee deuiſed. Thus they ſitte talking, and taking Tabacco ſome two houres, and vntill their pipes bee all ſpent (for by them they meaſure the time of this their ſolemne conference) no man muſt interrupt, or diſturbe them in any ſort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a preciſe faſt one whole day, in honour of the great Princes of the North, their Patroneſſe and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanyed vs, and in their way ſhewed vs, where the ſhoaldes of the riuer doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macureguerai the firſt towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is ſeated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines, that beare Northweſterly from it, that it is but three dayes iourney diſtant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but ſixe dayes farther. That they themſelues doe paſſe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the Riuer Amacur, which though it bee not the directeſt, yet it is the readieſt way to Macureguerai, for that which leadeth to Carapana his dwelling, is in ſome places difficult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Caſſanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the Riuer doeth firſt take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border vpon a Sea of ſalt water, named Parime. That a great Riuer, called Macurwini, paſſeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manoa ſtandeth twentie dayes iourney from the mouth Wiapoco: ſixteene dayes from Barima, thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the beſt way vnto it, is not by Macureguerai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high vp in Orenoque, knowe moſt of the inlande, and of thoſe nations, and they ſpeake no other language, then ſuch as Iohn your Interpreter doeth well vnderſtand. Hee certified mee of the headleſſe men, and that their mouthes in their breaſtes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chipatemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanoinos. What I haue heard of a ſorte of people more monſtrous, I omit to mention, becauſe it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwiſe will appeare fabulous. Laſtly hee tolde mee of an inland Riuer, named Cawroorna, adioyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly acceſſible. That the Amapagotos haue images of gold of incredible bigneſſe, and great ſtore of vnmanned horſes of the Caracas breed: and they dwell fiue dayes iourney vp the Riuer about Caroli. Wee with our fleete of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Port, when our intelligencer returned and informed vs that tenne Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where theſe Indians dwelt, to buy Caſſaui bread; and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the Riuer Amana, to Carapana his Port.

Her Maieſtie.

Muchikeri the name of the Prouince where Macureguerai the firſt towne of Guiana is ſituate.

Parime an Inland ſea of ſalt water.

They haue eminent heads like dogs, and liue all the day time in the ſea, they ſpeake the Charibes language.

Upon this occaſion they tooke counſell, and in the ende deſired to returne to their houſes, leaſt the Spaniardes finding them from home, and imagining that they did purpoſely abſent themſelues, ſhould take away their wiues and ſpoyle their dwellings. They farther reſolued if it were poſſible to cut them off: which afterwardes they did performe. For when they were diſperſed in their houſes ſeeking Caſſaui, ſuddenly at one time, in all places they were aſſaulted, and not one of them eſcaped. Carapana, whoſe hand was in laying this plot, ſent vs this newes, as wee returned downe the Riuer. The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithſtanding that wee kept a league before the ſhippe with our boates, ſawe the ſhippe before wee had ſight of them, and preſently with all ſpeede went to Berreo to aduertiſe him of our comming. Hee foorthwith diſpatched two or three meſſengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoas mette with our ſpie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with vs: they rifled him of his victuals, gaue him kniues, and diſmiſſed him.

A ſudden aſſault of the Spaniards by the Indians.

In eight dayes ſayling ſtill before a winde, wee arriued at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knewe came abourd vs. For the time of our returne promiſed at your Lordſhippes departure from thence being expired; they in diſpaire ſeuered themſelues amongſt

A Rancheria or village planted by the Spaniardes at a Port of Topiawary.

the other nations. Here the Spaniardes haue ſeated their Rancheria of ſome twentie or thirtie houſes. The high rockie Iſland, that lyeth in the middeſt of the River, againſt the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte or refuge, when they miſdoubt ſafetie in their Towne, or hauing notice of any practiſe againſt them: but now leauing both Towne and Iſland, they ioyned themſelues altogether, and retiring to the mouth of the River Caroli, placed there a ſecret ambuſh, to defend the paſſage to thoſe mines, from whence your Oare and white ſtones were taken the laſt yeere: Wee all not without griefe to ſee our ſelues thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witneſſes of this their remooue. As we road at an ancor within muſket ſhot of their Towne, an Indian came vnto vs with leane cheekes, thinne haire, and a ſquint eye, to informe vs that they were very ſtrong, that Berreo his ſonne was with him, that they had but two ſmall Pinniſſes at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come vp the River, and laſtly, to view our ſhippe well, and our prouiſion, but eſpecially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his ſonne were with vs.

Topiawarie his ſonne.

The common lyes of the Spaniardes.

This Informers very countenance gaue him to bee ſuſpected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promiſe of rewarde wee wonne him to confeſſe the truth. Which hee did, aſſuring vs that Berreo had not full fiftie fiue men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Trinidad, twentie from Nueuo Reyno, and the reſt hee brought with him about ſixe moneths ſince, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driuen with his ſmall companie to keepe the aforeſaide Iſland neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increaſed, yet dareth hee not aduenture at any time to leaue the faſt woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That ſome fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his ſonne from Nueuo Reyno, for his Campe-maſter from Trinidad, and for horſes from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead: the Indians of that coaſt all fledde, and diſperſed, excepting the ſonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniardes holde priſoners, for conſenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towardes Guanipa, and is a man of ſpeciall note amongſt the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinſman, hath helde the Countrey to his vſe, by his fathers appointment, euer ſince your being in the River. That there are tenne ſhips, and many Spaniardes at Trinidad. That the Indians our friendes did feare, leaſt you with your company were all ſlaine, and your ſhippes ſunke at Cumanà (for ſo the Spaniardes noyſed it amongſt them,) that ſome of Gualtero his friendes with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had ſent for ſixe peeces of ordinance, which he meant to plant, where they might beſt command the River.

When wee had ſtayed here two dayes, conſidering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootleſſe: I reſolued to ſeeke Putijma in the mountaines: and turning downe the River with the force of the ſtreame ſome twentie miles in ſixe houres: the next morning with ten ſhot I went aſhoare, intending if the Indians ſhould thinke themſelues too weake, with our helpe to diſplant the Spaniardes: to ſet ſome of them on worke, for hatchets and kniues to returne vs golde graines, and white ſtones from ſuch places, as they ſhould be directed vnto. When wee came to the place of their vſuall abode; wee ſawe that they lately had bene there, but could ſpeake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is eaſie of beliefe) perſwaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring vs either to the myne of white ſtones neere Winicapora, or elſe to a gold myne, which Putijma had ſhewed him, being but one dayes iourney ouerland, from the place where we now ſtayed at an ancor. I ſawe farre off the mountaine adioyning to this gold myne, and hauing meaſured their paches neere the ſame place this laſt yeere, could not iudge it to bee fifteene miles from vs I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this ſame mountaine making ſignes to haue me goe with him thither. I vnderſtood his ſignes and marked the place, but miſtooke his meaning, imagining that he would haue ſhewed mee the ouerfall of the River Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian ſhewed me in what ſort without digging they gather the gold in the ſand of a ſmall riuer, named Macawini, that ſpringeth and falleth from the rockes, where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniardes, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in conſultation, to ſhewe this myne vnto them, if ſo they might redeeme their Captaines life: but vpon better aduiſe, ſuppoſing them in this caſe to bee implacable, and that this might prooue a meanes to looſe not onely their king, but their Countrey alſo: they haue to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richeſt, and moſt plentifull. The aged ſort to keepe this from common knowledge, haue deuiſed a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and deuoureth all that come neere it. But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring ſtore of ſtrong wine (which they loue beyond meaſure) with it will vndertake ſo to charme this Dragon, that he ſhall doe vs no harme.

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this iourney had taken much more paines to leue purpoſe, would very gladly from this mountaine haue taken ſo good a proofe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall conſidering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came vnto vs: that Don Iuan the couſin of Gualtero, who liueth here a reuolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in theſe partes, cannot in pollicie, for Gualtero his ſake, whoſe inheritance hee ſought to vſurpe, bee a faſt friend vnto vs: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were tenne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cauſe ſome others of Berreo his men to ioyne with them, in the way to intercept vs: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes, but our ſelues, to make knowne our diſcouerie, if wee returned not; in our miſfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but beſides all this, and the reſpect of ſuch ſpyals, as the Spaniardes kept to obſerue our doings, foreknowing that if the enemie ſhould by our lingring, ſtop our paſſage, which in one or two places of aduantage, fewe of them might eaſilie doe: it would bee a queſtion howe with our ſhippe to get out of the Riuer, except firſt wee could remooue them: I thought it beſt (all other poſſibilities ſet apart) to ſeeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforeſaid euill paſſages.

Whileſt wee were ſearching at the ſhoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in her: the one a ſeruant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchants of Caſſaui. They had a letter ſent from the Gouernour to bee conueied to Trinidad, which I receiued. There was alſo a great hatchet, and twentie kniues, wherewith this Indian ſeruant ſhould buy a Canoa, and hire Indians to cary her vp the Riuer towardes Nueuo Reyno. This Canoa forſooth with foure other were to bee ſent to bring downe Berreo his ſonne with all his forces, which nowe haue bene, I thinke, full three yeeres in preparing. If fiue ſuch boates bee ſufficient to conuoy him, his men and all their prouiſion: it may ſeeme, hee commeth with no great ſtrength.

The ſmall forces of Ximenes.

This ſeruant, as hee was a man of eſpeciall truſt, and neere Berreo: ſo appeared hee to haue ſome inſight is his proceedings. He ſhewed mee that the Indians, who with theſe kniues ſhould be hired, were to paſſe vp ſo high, as where ſome of the Caſſanari doe dwell in ſmall villages. That Berreo his purpoſe was, when they came thither to leaue them there, and make them officers ouer the other Indians: and in their places ſome of the Caſſanari ſhould returne, who likewiſe ſhould be made Iuſtices and Conſtables ouer them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remoue moſt of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpoſe them amongſt the Caſſanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Caſſanari. That the Arwaccas ſhould wholly poſſeſſe Trinidad, and the riuer ſide of Raleana. That they already were prouided of threeſcore Negros, to worke the mynes in theſe places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe theſe ſeuerall nations in mutual enmitie each againſt other, all to ſerue his turne, and neuer to become ſtrong, or likely to ioyne themſelues againſt him. He farther ſhewed me, that Topiawary, ſoone after our departure from the riuer, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leauing a Subſtitute in his Countrey, as aforeſayde: and that the next newes they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the Engliſh boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleeue neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of Iune, when the Riuer ſhall bee impaſſable, the tenne ſhippes ſhall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo euer ſince his comming to Guiana, hath ſpent his time altogether in purueying of victuals, whereof there is ſuch ſcarſitie, by reaſon that the Indians forſaking their houſes, haue not this halfe yeere planted any of their grounds, ſo that the Spaniards are inforced to ſeeke their bread farre off, and content themſelues to liue with litle.

This tranſplanting of Indians is worthy of conſideration.

In ſayling vp the Riuer, wee paſſed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very ſhoalde, the chanell lying cloſe aboord the ſhoare. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine riuer on the South ſide: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee ſent fiue or ſixe ſeuerall Canoas, promiſing this day and the next, that hee would come and ſpeake with vs. Thus wee lingred ſixe or ſeuen dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee ſent one of his aged followers, to certifie vs, that hee was ſicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not eaſie: and that therefore he deſired vs to holde him excuſed for not comming. This olde man dilated vnto vs, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath euer ſince your Lordſhippes being in that Countrey, kept the

The Port of Toparimacko.

The porte of Carapana.

mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they haue taken from him and his people many of their wiues, becauſe they refuſed to furniſh them weekely with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Iuan otherwiſe called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his ſubiects, excepting onely a choiſe guarde of men ſufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, euer to haue ſought by the Spaniardes meanes, to haue inlarged his Countreys and people. For true it is that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinarie power amongſt them, vntill hee had entered into friendſhippe with Berreo: for then the Indians on all ſides left ſome their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his ſubiectes, that they might haue the priuiledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and kniues, which are iewels of great price amongſt them: that hee nowe ſawe no other choiſe, but that the Indians muſt, if they will doe well, without farther diſſembling of their neceſſitie, either entertaine vs their friendes, or elſe giue place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this Countrey, beeing nowe knowen and diſcouered, there is no poſſibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one ſide they coulde feele no greater miſerie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were ſure to finde, if the Spaniardes preuayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, vſing them as their ſlaues, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worſt of all, to bee content, for ſafetie of their liues, to leaue their women, if a Spaniard chance but to ſet his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the otherſide they could hope for, nor deſire no better ſtate and vſage, then her Maieſties gracious gouernment, and Princely vertues doe promiſe, and aſſure vnto them. For, ſayde he, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and meaſured your doings by the Spaniards in like caſe, we made no other account, but that your Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtleſſe haue perſecuted vs to the vttermoſt, as the onely maintainers and ſupporters of your enemies, and would at the leaſt, if hee could not reach vs, take our Townes, and make vs ranſome our wiues and children: wee found it farre otherwiſe, and that none of your well gouerned companie durſt offer any of vs wrong or violence, no not by ſtealth, when vnknowne they might haue done it. We then beleeuing it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princeſſe, tooke this for a good proofe of her royall commandement and wiſedome, that had framed her ſubiectes to ſuch obedience, and of your happineſſe, that inioyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly courſe of our proceedings, doeth humbly craue of her Maieſtie for himſelfe and his people, that with the reſt of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towardes them, hee alſo may inioy her fauourable protection: that hee doeth this, not as a man left vnto himſelfe and forſaken by the Spaniardes, but as one that knoweth their iniuſtice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his beſt choiſe, vtterly to diſclaime their friendſhippe. It may bee pertinent (as ſurely it is a thing worth the noting) to conſider howe this preſident of your moderation and good order, which to vs ſeemeth a matter but of ſmall, and ordinarie reſpect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and ſtirred vp in them true loue and admiration thereof. For as gouernement is the onely bond of common ſocietie: ſo to men lawleſſe, that each one to another are, Omnes hoc iure moleſti, quo fortes: To men, I ſay, that liue in dayly tumultes, feares, doubtes, ſuſpitions, barbarous cruelties, neuer ſleeping ſecure, but alwayes either drunke, or practiſing one anothers death: to ſuch men as theſe bee, who wanting diſcipline, iuſtice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable courſe of liuing, knowing not where to finde it: the ſence and ſweeteneſſe thereof is as the dewe of Hermon: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Inſtrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it ſelfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is auayleable without ſtroke ſtriking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their ſeruice, and promiſe to prouide victuall, and what elſe their countrey yeeldeth, deſiring onely that ſome force of men may remaine with them, to deliuer them from oppreſſion and tyrannie. And nowe by generall conſent (though hatchets and kniues bee the onely things of requeſt and vſefull vnto them) they haue agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Carapana a great Lord bordering vpon Guiana craueth her Maieſties protection.

Farther this old man ſhewed mee, whence moſt of their golde commeth, which is formed in ſo many faſhions: whence their Spleene-ſtones, & others of al ſorts are to be had in plentie: where golde is to bee gathered in the ſandes of their riuers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, & otherwiſe, haue returned much gold. This he vttered with Carapana his conſent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce vs to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of ſecrecie, which in this caſe they doe all generally obſerue, ſharply puniſhing the breakers thereof, as enemies vnto their natiue Countrey: I found this man no whit ſcrupulous, but very free and liberall of ſpeech in all things.

And becauſe we might knowe, that wee ſhould not want handes or helpe, in this or any other our enterpriſes, if perhaps wee ſhould finde cauſe to paſſe vp to the head of this Riuer: hee declared that the Spaniardes haue no Indians to truſt vnto but ſome of the Arwaccas, which ſince they were not many, could bee but of ſmall force. That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawannas amongſt the Tiuitiuas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Caſſipagotos, Purpagotos, Sainipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Caſſamari, with the reſt of the nations farre and neere, were all ready, on what ſide ſoeuer the Spaniards ſhall ſtirre, to fight againſt them: that the Pariagotos, through whoſe countrey they muſt firſt paſſe, are alone ſufficient to encounter them, ſuch is the ſtrength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion, that they are notable ſorcerers, and inuulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white ſtones are found of ſuch hardneſſe, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine that theſe Pariagotos become inuulneralbe, by eating theſe ſtones. The fable omitted, happily they may prooue good Diamonds.

Then he ſhewed howe the Iwarewakeri haue nouriſhed graſſe in all places, where paſſage is, theſe three yeeres, and that it is at this preſent ſo high, as ſome of the trees; which they meane to burne, ſo ſoone as the Spaniard ſhall bee within danger thereof. Laſtly, hee ſhewed mee that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for thoſe partes, hath gathered together many thouſandes of the Epuremei, to keepe the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the South ſide of the mountaines, ſome one dayes iourney or little more from the Spaniard. To be ſhort, hee certified mee, that they all were reſolued not to ſeeke vpon them (for indeede they feare their ſhot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our comming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde any of them ſtraggling or deuided from their ſtrength, by litle and litle to leſſen their number.

Wariarimagoto one of the Emperour of Guiana his chiefe Captaines vp in armes againſt the Spaniardes.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes iourney from Carapana: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to ſtay with two or three of his company aboord the ſhippe, and to cauſe his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee anſwered mee that it were not good ſo to doe, leaſt perhaps ſome Spie might informe the Spaniardes therof, whereby danger would growe to Carapana. For they haue many times vſed many meanes to reconcile him vnto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither profeſſing himſelfe their enemie, nor in ought ſhewing them any friendſhippe. Nowe (ſayde hee) if the Spaniardes ſhall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you haue conferred together, they will take this occaſion to perſecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemie, whom they now neglect, or at the leaſt feare not, as being an harmeleſſe old man. And for this cauſe only hath Carapana forborne to come vnto you.

By this I perceiued, that to ſtay longer for him (though gladly I could haue bene content to ſpend one ſeuenights more to ſpeake with him) would bee purpoſeleſſe. Wherefore hauing aſſured ſo many of the Indians as at any time came vnto vs, of our ſpeedie returne, promiſing them plentie of kniues, beades, and hatchets, if they would reſerue their Caſſaui, and prouide ſtore of their pieces of golde for vs: I deſired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Trinidad might vnderſtand of our being in the Riuer and that wee meant to relieue them ſo ſoone, as conueniently might bee. Hee promiſed in Carapana his behalfe, that this ſhould not bee forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the Riuer Arawawo, neere Trinidad, vndertooke alſo without fayle to aſcertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, becauſe ſo many ſhips being heere, I doubted leaſt they would take order that no Indian ſhould ſpeake with vs. For ſo indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewiſe to ioyne with vs, and had prouided fifteene Canoas for that purpoſe. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniardes one night ſtealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houſes, becauſe they refuſed to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades which they had gotten out of Guiana. I ſent a preſent of Iron to Carapana, and then ſet ſayle.

In turning downe the riuer wee ſpent eight dayes. In many places where the chanell lyeth wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is ſhoalleſt, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthineſſe of this Riuer, becauſe I cannot ſay ynough, I

The chanel of Raleana, or Orenoque very large & good. They meete with their Pinneſſe.

will ſpeake nothing. Wee haue preſumed to call it by the name of Raleana, becauſe your ſelfe was the firſt of our nation that euer entred the ſame, and I thinke it nothing inferiour to Amazones, which is beſt knowen by the name of Orellana, the firſt diſcouerer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to paſſe ſo long away in ſo ſhort a time, againſt the winde, may ſufficiently prooue, that the chanell is very large, good, and likely to ſecond our hopes in all that wee can deſire. Without the mouth of this Riuer, our Pinneſſe, the Diſcouerer, whome wee loſt neere the coaſt of England, came vnto vs. Shee fell with this land ſomewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had ſpent three weekes and odde dayes in ranging alongſt the coaſt, when ſhee mette with vs. William Downe the Maſter informed mee that they entred, and ſearched theſe foure riuers. In Wiapoco they ſayled ſo farre, vntill the rockes ſtopped their paſſage. In Caiane they went vp one dayes iourney. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the laſt Riuer they had beene in. Whence, hauing no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot againſt his will: whom afterwardes I would haue returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

A good caueat.

Our Engliſh that to ſteale the firſt bleſſing of an vntraded place, will perhaps ſecretly haſten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caueat, if they take notice thereof. They may bee aſſured, that this people, as they no way ſought our harme, but vſed our men with all kindneſſe: ſo are they impatient of ſuch a wrong, as to haue any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtleſſe ſeeke reuenge. The example of the like practiſe vpon the coaſt of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Watts his ſhippe hardly eſcaped being taken, may ſerue for our warning in like caſe to looke for no good, before they bee ſatiſfied for this iniury.

The iſle of Tabago.

When wee had taken aboorde vs ſuch victuals as were in the Pinneſſe: wee ſet fire in her, (for her Rudder could ſerue her to no longer vſe) and ſtopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the ſhoare, vntill wee were ſixteene leagues to the Eaſtwarde of the Riuers mouth, and then ſtanding off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres ſayling with Punta de Galera the Northeaſtermoſt part of Trinidad. But hauing Tabaco-iſland in ſight, wee firſt went thither. This Iſland is plentifull of all things, and a very good ſoyle. It is not nowe inhabited, becauſe the Charibes of Dominica are euill neighbours vnto it. They of Trinidad haue a meaning and purpoſe to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are ſeated there, the Spaniard will ſeeke to poſſeſſe it alſo. The Gouernour of Margarita went lately in a Pinneſſe to viewe this Iſland. Gilbert my Pilot who ſometime liued there, noteth it for the beſt and fruitfulleſt ground that hee knoweth.

Most dangerous Canibals.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and ancored in tenne fathome vnder the North ſide of the Iſland ſome fiue or ſixe miles from the ſayde point. The flood-tyde ſetteth alongſt the the coaſt to the Eaſtward very ſtrongly. Wee diſcharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the ſhoore in our boat: but no Indian came vnto vs. I would haue ſent John of Trinidad to procure ſome of them to ſpeake with vs: but he was altogether vnwilling, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that hee knewe no part of that ſide of the Iſland. From this place we ſet ſayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recouered, by turning vnder the lee of the iſland. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being Canibals, promiſing vs ſtore, and delaying vs from day to day, ſought onely oportunitie to betray, take, and eate vs, as lately they had deuoured the whole companie of a French ſhippe. This their treacherie being by one of their ſlaues reuealed, from thenceforth they did all forbeare to come vnto vs. To ſit downe on their lowe ſtooles, when they by offering ſuch eaſe, will ſeeme to ſhewe curteſie, abodeth death to ſtrangers, that ſhall truſt them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Laſtly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But hauing intelligence of a Spaniſh ſhippe, that was taking in of freſh water, at the Northweſt ſide of the Iſland, wee wayed ancor to ſeeke him. Hee deſcrying vs, ſtole away by night. The Indians of this place haue determined to remoue, and ioyne with them of Guanipa, againſt the Spaniardes, who lately diſpeopled one of their Iſlands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified vs, that the tenne Spaniſh ſhippes at Trinidad doe ride, ſome of them at Conquerabia, the reſt at the ſmall Iſlands neere the diſemboging place. Herehence we ſteered North and by Eaſt, taking the directeſt courſe to ſhorten our way homewards.

Thus haue I emptied your purſe, ſpending my time and trauell in following your lordſhips directions for the full diſcouerie of this coaſt, and the riuers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your priuate profite, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I ſought no excuſe, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defect remedileſſe. And for mine owne part, I doe proteſt, that if the conſideration of the publique good that may enſue, had not ouerpoyſed all other hopes and deſires: I would rather haue aduentured by ſuch ſmall and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with ſafetie. Nowe although in a cauſe not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needefull: yet becauſe the weightineſſe thereof, and the expectation of others, ſeemeth of due and right to claime ſomething to bee ſayde by mee, whome your eſpeciall truſt and fauour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beſeech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light alſo; and my ſpeach, which is altogether vnſauorie, ſeaſon it ſelfe with ſome of the leauen of your owne diſcourſe touching this diſcouerie. The particular relation of ſome certaine things I haue reſerued, as properly belonging to your ſelfe, who onely, as knowing moſt, can make beſt vſe thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may ſerue to refreſh the memorie of this worthie enterpriſe in thoſe whome it may concerne, and teſtifie your care and expence in following the ſame: that in a ſecond age, when in time trueth ſhall haue credite, and men wondering at the riches, and ſtrength of this place (which nature it ſelfe hath maruelouſly fortified, as her chiefe treaſurehouſe) ſhall mourne and ſigh to holde idle cicles, whileſt others reape and gather in this harueſt, it bee not ſayde, that Sir Walter Ralegh was of all men liuing in his dayes, moſt induſtrious in ſeeking, moſt fortunate in attaining to the fulneſſe of an ineſtimable publique good: if, knowing that for enuie and priuate reſpectes, his labours were leſſened, his informations miſtruſted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deſerts imparted to others; If (I ſay) ſeeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had perſiſted in ſo good a way in doing his Princeſſe, and countrey ſeruice; and had but perfected his firſt diſcouerie by ſending a ſhippe or two for that purpoſe: for then ſurely all lets and doubts being remooued, and ſo large a kingdome, ſo exceeding rich, ſo plentiful of all things, as this by his diſcourſe appeared to bee, being offered: no deuiſes and vaine ſurmiſes could haue taken place, no illuſions could haue preuailed: it had bene blindneſſe and deafeneſſe in thoſe, that being neere her Maieſtie doe ſpend their dayes in ſeruing the common weale, not to ſee, and knowe in ſo weightie a matter: it had beene malicious obſtinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treaſon to the common wealth, the matter ſtanding onely vpon acceptance, to ſeeke either to foreſlowe ſo fit an occaſion, or forſake ſo generall a bleſſing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a ſingular and incomparable temper, in ouercomming euill with good.

This your ſeconde diſcouerie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreouer yeeldeth choyſe of fourtie ſeuerall great riuers (the leſſer I do not reckon) being for the moſt part with ſmall veſſels nauigable for our marchants & others, that do now finde little profit in ſetting forth for repriſall, to exerciſe trade in. To ſuch as ſhall be willing to aduenture in ſearch of them, I could propoſe ſome hope of gold mines, and certaine aſſurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-ſtones, Kidney-ſtones, and others of better eſtimate. But becauſe our beleefe ſeemeth to bee mated in theſe greater matters, and a certaintie of ſmaller profits is the readieſt inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going ſo farre as mine owne eyes might warrant mee, doe onely promiſe in the aforeſayd riuers Braſilwood, honey, cotton, Balſamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, becauſe without a beginning there can bee no continuance of theſe benefites vnto our countrey to any that ſhall be the firſt vndertakers hereof, I am gladly content to giue ſuch light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I haue attained vnto.

My ſelfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I haue bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts liue onely in that action. The proſecuting whereof is in it ſelfe iuſt, profitable, and neceſſarie. Iuſt, becauſe it is intended for the defence of harmeleſſe people, who fearing thralldome and oppreſſion, deſire to protect themſelues and their countrey vnder her Maieſties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spaniſh letters intercepted, but alſo by the proofes mentioned in the diſcourſe of the firſt diſcouerie, and ſince that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations: and laſtly, by the prouiſion that the Spaniards doe make to acquite vs thereof. Neceſſarie it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the vnbrideled Spaniard; the onely way to enter into his treaſurie of Nueuo Reyno, and Peru; the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians, with our aſſiſtance to ſeeke reuenge for the extreme murthers and cruelties, which they haue endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all thoſe parts of the Inland, whoſe foundations haue beene layd in the blood of their parents and anceſters.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already ſent to Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the paſſage of this riuer, are an euident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the ſequele of this diſcouerie. For can it bee a ſmall matter? Or hath hee ſo waſte imployment for his men and ſhipping, that vpon no ground, hee would ſend eight and twentie ſhippes, to keepe vs onely from Tabacco? For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde vs? No doubtleſſe, if the returne of Berreo his Campe-maſter with tenne of theſe ſhippes bee compared with precedent aduertiſements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged theſe men and ſhipping: and that they are nowe more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they haue already gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Againe, it cannot bee thought that either it was ſenſeleſſe madneſſe in the gouernours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their ſtates and liues in queſtion, by ſeeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana, and kill Berreo with his followers: or elſe the abundance of pearle in Magarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, ſeeming matters of ſmall account: Guiana onely was in their iudgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it ſelfe to redeeme their treſpaſſe and offence, howe great ſoeuer it ſhould bee.

The ſundry attemptes and ouerthrowes of the Spaniardes being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threeſcore and three yeeres and vpwardes, to inlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainely ſhewe, that they long time ſought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the loſſe of their liues witneſſeth their deſires, and the worthineſſe of the thing, where to vs the eaſineſſe of obteining diſcrediteth the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the laſt they doe preuaile, they muſt holde by tyrannie that which they get by the ſword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wiſhed for, nothing expected more earneſtly.

Thoſe obiections, which haue beene made by many ſeeming wiſe, and the impediments likely to ariſe, as they haue ſuppoſed, are beſt anſwered by the vnreproued witneſſe of thoſe mens actions. Some haue termed theſe diſcoueries fables, and fantaſies, as if there had beene no ſuch land or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that ſuch a kingdome or countrey is diſcouered, make concluſion, that if it had beene ſo rich as wee haue ſuppoſed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time haue poſſeſſed it. But if they conſider that the Spaniſh nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with ſo many other kingdoms and prouinces: wee may very well anſwere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifeſt, that this very empire hath beene by all thoſe ſeuerall Spaniardes (the catalogue of whoſe names is by it ſelfe hereunto annexed) at ſundry times vndertaken, and neuer performed. Howbeit, the world hath reaſon to admire their conſtancie, and their great labours, and wee may well bluſh at our owne idle, deſpairefull, and loytering diſpoſitions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and ſterued nation, to poſſeſſe ſo much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments againſt our ſelues, as vnfit and powerleſſe to poſſeſſe one prouince already diſcouered, and of which our nation hath aſſurance of the peoples loue, and that all the Chieftaines and principals haue vowed their obedience to her Maieſtie; the nauigation being withall ſo ſhort, dangerleſſe, and free from infectious ſickeneſſe. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of our men once mooued with ſteadfaſt hope, that golde ſhall bee the reward of their trauels: it may eaſily bee perceiued, that all thoſe lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wreſted ſo much, as but to touch vs, doe deepely and neerely concerne the Spaniſh king, and in a maner violently withold him from that, which hee notwithſtanding carrieth with ſucceſſe, whileſt wee out of ſeaſon do affect the bare ſtile, to be named men ſtayed and circumſpect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie ſeare peece of leather, & then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that ſide, roſe on all parts elſe. By this the wiſe man did ſhewe vnto him a figure and ſimilitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, muſt of neceſſitie in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings reſidence, be alwayes full of ſtirs, tumults and inſurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire conſiſting of ſundry nations, could not keepe it ſelfe from diſſolution. No potentate liuing hath, or can haue ſo faithfull and incorrupt counſellers, as bee the examples and hiſtories of forepaſſed times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke that the Gouernours of the Spaniſh affaires ſhould minde it, that their kings luſtfull deſire, and ambitious thoughts to eſtabliſh ouer all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous vngrounded reſolution: Conſidering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater then hee can make, are ſetled in a long continued eſtate, are entire within themſelues, and hate to heare the voyce of a ſtranger. It is not vnlikely that they in this caſe ſhould lay before their king the fatall deſtinies of many worthies, that haue beene conſtrained for wante of ſufficient numbers of their naturall ſubiects, after many yeeres ſpent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and haue beene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, reſigning all that vnto others, which they haue gotten abroad by hard aduenture, and much effuſion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but diſcerne, that his ſpacious empires and kingdomes being ſo many, and ſo farre diuided one from another, are like the members of a monſtrous bodie, tyed together with cables onely. For take away the traffique of vnneceſſarie commodities tranſported out of Spaine: thoſe huge countreys of the Indies hauing no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themſelues able to maintaine themſelues without forreine commerce, are not ſo ſimple, as not to knowe their owne ſtrength, and to finde, that they doe rather poſſeſſe Spaniardes, then that they are poſſeſſed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it ſelfe is on all ſides enuironed with many puiſſant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reaſon, proud and aduenturous without meanes ſufficient; may happily confederate to chaſtiſe him, as an inſolent intruder, and diſturber of all quietneſſe; and going no further then Spaine it ſelfe, may euen there ſhake the foundation of his long contriued deuiſes, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aſpiring humor, and breake the bandes in ſunder that import ſeruitude, and ſubuerſion to all the dominions of Chriſtendome. Againe, his counſell may well informe him, that to diſpeople and diſable himſelfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey ſtrong of it ſelfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered vnto the English: his contempt towardes vs would ſeeme ſo intollerable and deſpightfull, as might bee ſufficient to prouoke vs, though otherwiſe wee had no ſuch inclination; if hee vnprouided of able helpes to effect it, ſhould reſt himſelfe on a careleſſe preſumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not ſtirre in a matter that promiſeth vs ſo great benefite, and may ſo highly offend him. Hee may bee perſwaded, that to leaue no other ſuccour or ſafetie to his nakedneſſe, but the olde ſtale practiſe of ſpreading rumours, and giuing out falſe intelligences of preparations to inuade England, thereby to keepe vs at home; or els of hyring and ſuborning ſome Machauellian vnder hande by ſecret conueyance, to ſtop the courſe of our proceedings; or laſtly, of procuring ſome wilde outlaw to diſquiet our tranquillitie; is but a poore, weake, and vncertaine ſtay to vpholde his eſtate by. And yet ſetting ſuch like driftes aſide: what can bee imagined likely to hinder vs from preuailing in Guiana, rather then him, whoſe diſaduantage is to bee encombred with the ſelfe ſame, and manifolde more impediments, then can any way bee ſuppoſed, with good cauſe to impeach, or diuorce vs frō ſo profitable an attempt? All this notwithſtanding, if the Spaniſh king not being able to diſſemble his deſire, or beare the loſſe of this one kingdome; putting himſelfe out of his ſtrength at home, and expoſing his people to the hazard of all caſualties abroad, bee reſolued, whatſoeuer ſhall happen, not to relinquiſh Guiana, but to keepe this one yron more in the fire, on no other aſſurance, but a peremptorie diſdaine of preuention: If hee appeare ſo eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongſt themſelues, Viis & modis to thruſt for it, and not to heare, conceiue, or beleeue any thing, that may diſſwade or deterre from the conqueſt thereof: it then appertaineth vnto vs, not to inforce thoſe obiections againſt our ſelues, which hee with leſſe reaſon reiecteth as friuolous; ſince by howe much the more earneſt hee is in following this purpoſe, by ſo much the leſſe cauſe haue wee to bee diuerted from it. To ſuch as ſhall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for breuities ſake, I doe propoſe onely this bare aſſertion: that England and Guiana conioyned, are ſtronger, and more eaſily defended, then if England alone ſhould repoſe her ſelfe on her owne force, and powerfulneſſe. The reaſons that might bee inferred to prooue this neede no rationall diſcourſe: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it ſelfe; which without the Indies is but a purſe without money, or a painted ſheath without a dagger. In ſumme: it ſeemeth vnto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterpriſe hath bene produced for a diſcouragement: it were a dull conceite of ſtrange weakenes in our ſelues, to diſtruſt our own power ſo much, or at leaſt, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spaniſh nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugal hath that maſtering ſpirit and conquering induſtrie, aboue vs; as to bee able to ſeate himſelfe amongſt the many mightie princes of the Eaſt Indies, to frontire China, to holde in ſubiection The Philippinas, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the reſt; the nauigation being ſo tedious and full of perill: to ſuffer our ſelues to bee put backe for worthleſſe cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being nowe alſo by the late conqueſt of Portugall, entituled to the Spaniſh king: to whom the Colonies of thoſe parts doe yet generally refuſe to ſweare fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in gouerning them in the Eaſt, ſo farre off; but alſo of ordering and ſtrengthening of thoſe diſunited, ſcattered, & ill guarded empires and prouinces in the Weſt: It might very well bee alleaged to the ſayde Spaniſh king, that it were more wiſedome for him to aſſure and fortifie ſome part of thoſe already gotten, then to begin the conqueſt of Guiana, ſo farre ſeparate from the reſt of his Indies: in which hee hath had ſo many miſfortunes, and againſt whom the naturall people are ſo impetuouſly bent, and oppoſed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the reſt in abundance of gold, and other riches. The caſe then ſo ſtanding, is it not meere wretchedneſſe in vs, to ſpend our time, breake our ſleepe, and waſte our braines, in contriuing a cauilling falſe title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole ſhires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waſte for want of people, do proſtitute themſelues vnto vs, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of deſired yeeres?

If wee doe but conſider, howe vnhappily Berreo his affaires, with his aſſiſtants, haue of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge ſucceeded: who can ſay, if the hand of the Almighty be not againſt them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in ſtead of Papiſtrie, to make the ſincere light of his Goſpell to ſhine on this people? The effecting whereof ſhall bee a royall crowne of euerlaſting remembrance to all other bleſſings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soueraigne, in an eminent and ſupreme degree of all perfection. If the Caſtilians, pretending a religious care of planting Chriſtianitie in thoſe partes, haue in their doings preached nought els but auarice, rapine, blood, death, and deſtruction to thoſe naked, & ſheeplike creatures of God; erecting ſtatues and trophees of victorie vnto themſelues, in the ſlaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore ſuccourleſſe aſcend vnto the heauens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workemanſhip of his owne hands? Or ſhall not his iudgements in a day of viſitation by the miniſterie of his choſen ſeruant, come on theſe bloodthirſtie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? Aliquando manifeſta, aliquando occulta; ſemper iuſta ſunt Dei iudicia.

Her Maieſtie.

To leaue this digreſſion, It is fit onely for a prince to begin, and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth ſoueraigne power, authoritie and commaundement. The riuer of Raleana giueth open and free paſſage, any prouiſion that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithſtanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the riuer be all drowned) to conuey men, horſe, munition, and victuall for any power of men, that ſhall be ſent thither.

I doe ſpeake it on my ſoules health, as the beſt teſtimonie, that I can in any cauſe yeelde to auerre a trueth, that hauing nowe the ſecond time beene in this countrey, and with the helpes of time and leiſure well aduiſed my ſelfe vpon all circumſtances to bee thought on; I can diſcerne no ſufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Maieſtie may to her and her ſucceſſours enioy this rich and great empire: and hauing once planted there, may for euer (by the fauour of God) holde and keepe it, Contra Iudæos & Gentes. Subiects, I doubt not, may through her Maieſties gracious ſufferance, ioyning their ſtrength together, inuade, ſpoyle, and ouerrunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuitie can followe thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other courſe then ſuch, as tendeth to a priuate and preſent benefite; conſidering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruitie, howe, and whereſoeuer the charge ſhall growe, to bee annexed vnto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any priuate eſtate: no queſtion, they will rather prooue ſufficient to croſſe and couteruaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Chriſtendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the neceſſitie of following this enterpriſe doth nothing vrge vs, becauſe in ſome caſe better a miſchiefe, then an inconuenience: let the conueniencie thereof ſomewat mooue vs, in reſpect both of ſo many Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke eaſefulneſſe; are enforced for maintenance ſake, ſometimes to take ſhamefull and vnlawfull courſes: and in reſpect of ſo many handycraftſmen hauing able bodies, that doe liue in cleanneſſe of teeth and pouertie. To ſacrifice the children of Belial vnto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, becauſe the lawe of God doeth not pro-

bite

hibite it, and the execution of iuſtice requireth it to bee ſo: but yet if the waterboughes, that ſucke and feede on the iuice, and nouriſhment that the fruitefull branches ſhould liue by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and proſperous bee that right hande, that ſhall plant and poſſeſſe a ſoyle, where they may fructifie, increaſe, and growe to good: thriſe honourable and bleſſed bee the memorie of ſo charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordſhip hath payd for the diſcouerie and ſearch, both in your owne perſon, and ſince by mee. You haue framed it, and moulded it readie for her Maieſtie, to ſet on her ſeale. If either enuie or ignorance, or other deuiſe fruſtrate the reſt, the good which ſhall growe to our enemies, and the loſſe which will come to her Maieſtie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeeres ſhewe it full. Wee haue more people, more ſhippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spaniſh king hath had ſo ſweete a taſte of the riches thereof, as notwithſtanding that hee is lorde of ſo many empires and kingdomes already, notwithſtanding his enterpriſes of France and Flanders, notwithſtanding that hee attended this yeere a home inuaſion: yet hee ſent twentie eight ſaile to Trinidad, whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had ſome other ſhippes ready at Cadiz, if the ſame had not beene by my Lordes her Maieſties Generals and your lordſhip ſet on fire.

In one worde; The time ſerueth, the like occaſion ſeldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated conſideracions doe all ioyntly together importune vs, nowe, or neuer to make our ſelues rich, our poſteritie happie, our Prince euery way ſtronger then our enemies, and to eſtabliſh our Countrey in a ſtate flouriſhing and peaceable. O let not then ſuch an indignitie reſt on vs, as to depraue ſo notable an enterpriſe with falſe rumors, and vaine ſuppoſitions, to ſleepe in ſo ſerious a matter, and renouncing the honour, ſtrength, wealth, and ſoueraigntie of ſo famous a conqueſt, to leaue all vnto the Spaniard.

A Table of the names of the Riuers, Nations, Townes, and *Caſiques* or Captaines that in this ſecond voyage were diſcouered.

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
1	*Arowari* great.	Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes.		
2	*Iwaripoco* very great.	Mapurwanas. Iaos.		
3	*Maipari* great.	Arricarri.		
4	*Caipurogh* great.	Arricurri.		
5	*Arcooa* great.	Marowannas, Charibes.		
6	*Wiapoco* great.	Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariſeaco.		
7	*Wanari.*	Charibes.		
8	*Capurwacka* great.	Charibes.		
9	*Cawo* great.	Iaos.	*Icoomana*.	Wareo.
10	*Wia* great.	Maworia, Charib. Wiacc, Ch.	*Parawmona*, great.	Maſhwipo.

1 Theſe are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene ſtones. They ſpeake the Tiuitiuas language: ſo likewiſe doe the nation of the Aricarri, who haue greater ſtore of thoſe moneyes then any others.

2 Here it was as it ſeemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his Emeralds. In one of theſe two riuers certain Frenchmē that ſuffred ſhipwrack ſome 2. or 3. yeres ſince, doe liue.

3. 4. 5. Theſe with the other two ſeeme to bee branches of the great riuer of Amazones. When wee firſt fell with land, wee were, by yͤ Indians report, but 1. dayes iourney from the greateſt riuer

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Captains.
11	*Caiane* g. *Gowateri* a great iland.	Wiaco.Ch. Shebaios.	*Canawi.* g. *Orinikgre.*	Parawatteo.
12	*Macuria.*	Piraos. Ch.		
13	*Cauroora.*	Arawaccos Charib.		
14	*Manamanuri.*	Ipaios.Ch.		
15	*Curooy.*	Shebaios.		
16	*Curaſſawini.*	Shebaios.	*Muſſwara.* great.	Ocapanio.
17	*Cunanama.*	Iaos. Arwaccas.	*Waritappi.* great.	Carinamari. Curipotoore.
18	*Vracco.* *Moruga.*	Arwaccas. Arwaccas.		Matwabo. Eramacoa.
19	*Mawari.*	Winicinas. Arwaccas.	*Iwanama.*	Aranacoa.
20	*Mawarpari.*	Arwaccas.	*Awaricana.*	Mahahonero.
21	*Amonna* very great. *Capeleppo.* g.	Charibes.	*Iaremappo.* very great.	
22	*Marawini.* g.	Paracuttos.		
23	*Oncowi.*			
24	*Wiawiami.*			
25	*Aramatappo.*			
26	*Wiapo.*			
27	*Macuruma.*			
28	*Carapi.*			
29	*Vraca.*			
30	*Chaimawimini* great.	Carepini. Charib.		
31	*Ecrowto.*	Vpotommas.		Caponaiarie
32	*Pawro.*	Arwaccas.	*Maripomma.*	
33	*Shurinama.* g.	Carepini. Chari.		
34	*Shurama* g.	Carepini. Char.	*Capari.*	
35	*Northūbria* or *Cupanama* very g.	Arwaccas.		
36	*Wiamia.*			
37	*Cuſhwini.*	Neckeari.	*Tauroromatte.*	Neperwini.

riuer, that is on that coaſt.

6 The firſt mountaines ỹ appeare within lande, doe lie on the Eaſt ſide of this riuer. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe paſſe with their canoas in 20. dayes to the ſalte lake, where Manoa ſtandeth. The water hath many Cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater diſtance one frō̃ another: where it falles into the ſea, hils do incloſe it on both ſides.

10 The freſhet ſhootes out into the ſea, with great force: the ſea doth here ſometimes rampe high, and breake, as if it were full of rocks: but in proofe it is nothing els but the pride & force of the tydes. In this bay, & round about, ſo far as the mountaines do extend there is great ſtore of Braſill wood, ſome of it bearing farre darker colour then other ſome. Here are alſo many ſortes of other good woods.

14 Theſe ſpeake the language of the Indiās of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them aliue peecemeale. This torment is not cōparable to the deadly paine that commeth of hurts, or woundes, made by thoſe arrowes that are inuenomed wͭ the iuice of ỹ herbe Wapototo. Theſe Indiās becauſe they eate them whome they kill, uſe no poyſon. The ſea coaſt is no where populous, for they haue much waſted themſelues

	Riuers.	Nations.	Townes.	Capt.
38	*Inana*. g.		*Owaripoore*.	
39	*Curitini*. g.	Carepini, Arwaccas, Parawianni	*Mawronama*.	
40	*Whitwari*. g.		*Maipoore* *Carwacka*.	
41	*Barbice*. g.	Arwaccas,	*Aneta*. *Manacobeece*. *Eppera*. *Parawiannos*. *Lupulee*.	Warawaroco.
42	*Wapari*.	Shebaios. Arwaccas.	*Madewini*.	Benmurwagh.
43	*Maicawini*.	Panapi, Arwaccas.	*Itewee*.	Caporaco. [illegible] *Cap.*
44	*Mabowaica*.	Arwaccas.	*Mabureſa*. g.	
45	*Lemerare*. g.	Wacawaios.	*Mabureſa*. g.	
46	**Deuoritia*, or *Deſſekebe* very g.	Arwaccas. Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas.		
	Materooni.	Charibes.		
	Coowini.	Maripai.		
	Chipanama.	Wocowaios.		
	Arawanna,	Parawianni.		
	Itorebece.	Iwarewakeri.	*Colaremappo*.	
47	*Pawrooma*. g.	Iaos.	*Waroopana*. *Maripa*. *Chiparipare*.	Macapowa.
	Aripacoro.	Panipi.	*Towtwi*.	Shuracoiina.
	Ecawini.		*Sarinbugh*.	
	Manurawini.		*Wariwagh*.	
48	*Moruga*. g.	Iaos.	*Cooparoore*. g.	Manarecowa.
	Piara.	Arwaccas.	*Awiapari*. *Tapoa*.	Iarwarema
	Chaimeragoro.			
49	*Waini*. g	Charibes.	*Tocoopoima*. g.	Parananawra.
50	*Barima*. g.	Charibes.	*Pekwa*. g.	
	Caitooma.	Arwaccas.	*Ariwakima*.	Aparwa.
	Arooca.			Arracurri.
51	*Amacur*. g.			
52	*Aratoori*. g.			
	Cawrooma. g.			
	Raleana, or *Orenoque*.			
	Maipar Itacaponea Owarecapater.	Ilands in the mouth of Raleana.		
	Warucawaſſo.			

themſelues, in mutuall warres. But now in all parts ſo farre as Orenoque, they liue in league and peace.

21. Neere the head of this riuer, Capeleppo falleth out of the plaines, and runneth into the Sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians liue in this riuer.

19. This riuer, as alſo moſt of the reſt, is not nauigable aboue ſixe dayes iourney by reaſon of rockes. It is tenne dayes iourney to the head, where the Guianians do dwell: hony, yarne or cotton, ſilke, Balſamum, and Braſil-beds are here to bee had in plentie, and ſo all the coaſt alongſt Eaſtward. Some images of golde, ſpleeneſtones, and others may bee gotten on this coaſt, but they doe ſomewhat extraordinarily eſteeme of them, becauſe euery where they are current money. They get their Moones, & other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde, with three heads, and after that rate for their leſſer Canoas, they receiue pieces of golde of leſſe value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa. They haue euery where diuers ſorts of drugs, gummes, and rootes, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.

Names of poyſoned hearbes.

Ourari. Apareepo,
Caraſſi. Parapara.

Hearbes good againſt poyſon.

Turara. Wapo.
Cutarapama. Macatto.

The 19. day of Iune we arriued in Portland roade, hauing ſpent fiue moneths in going, ſtaying, and returning.

*So called after the name of the right honourable the Earle of Eſſex.

Here follow the names of thoſe worthie Spaniards that haue ſought to diſcouer and conquer *Guiana*: Extracted out of the writings of *Iuan de Caſtellanos clerigo*, who compiled the booke intituled, *Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illuſtres de* Indias.

THe enterpriſe of Guiana was vndertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conqueſt of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the riuer of Amana, by which wee entred, and ſpent fiftie dayes before hee came to the riuer of Orenoque, which we paſt in fifteene. Hee named the riuer by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it ſtill retaineth in the Spaniſh deſcriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad ſome fiue leagues. He tranſported out of Spaine a thouſand ſouldiers. He dyed afterwards at ſea in returning for Spaine.

The riuer of Amana, by which Sir Walter Ralegh firſt entred, called by Diego de Ordas Viapari: and by Barth. de Caſas Iuia-Pari.

2 Iuan Corteſo arriued at the riuer of Amazones or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched vp into the countrey. But neither hee nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 Gaſpar de Sylua, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to aſſiſt Diego de Ordas. They ſought El Dorado by the riuer of Amazones: but ſtaying there a ſhort time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Iuan Gonſales ſet ſaile from Trinidad to diſcouer Guiana. He repoſed himſelfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his ſmall number of men. Hee by triall found the confines of Guiana, ſo farre as hee entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Vpon ſuch proofes as hee brought with him, to make good his report, many others aduentured to follow his ſteps.

5. 6 Philip de Vren, & after him Pedro de Limpias, who both ſucceſſiuely commanded the Almaines, were leaders in this action. Limpias was ſlaine by an Indian Caſique named Porima.

7 Ieronimo de Ortal vndertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great trauell and his ſubſtance all ſpent, he dyed on the ſimmen at S.Domingo.

8. 9 Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Queſida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orſua were both at ſundry times in the ſame conqueſt.

10 Father Iala, a Frier, taking with him onely one companion, and ſome Indian guides paſſed into the prouinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other iewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee aſſayed the ſecond time to paſſe in like maner, but was ſlaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa alſo vndertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his ſonne Don Iuan followed this enterpriſe, and at their firſt ſetting out, were ſlaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres vndertooke this diſcouery from Nueuo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders vpon the ſayd kingdome of Granada. Hee reſted there and peopled that place.

14 It was alſo attempted by Alonço de Herera, at two ſeuerall times. Hee endured great miſerie, but neuer entred one league into the countrey. Hee ſought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at laſt ſlaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was alſo vndertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Auguſtine Delgado ioyned in the conqueſt of Trinidad, againſt Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He paſſed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to diſcouer El Dorado with 500 choſen men. In this iourney hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian priſoners, whom hee manacled in irons; and many of them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fleſhed on thoſe dead carkeiſes, aſſaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themſelues from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the riuer Tinados. Moſt of his people periſhed likewiſe.

16 Auguſtine Delgado ſearched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53 footemen, and three horſemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and thoſe of the mountaines, ſerued well for his purpoſe. By which occaſion he found meanes to paſſe ſo farre, vntill he came to an Indian Caſique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindneſſe, and gaue him for a preſent ſome rich iewels of golde, ſixe ſemely pages, tenne young ſlaues, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three prouinces from whence they were ſent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names were Guan-

ba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. Theſe prouinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and haue an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwardes to requite the manifold curteſies that they receiued in that countrey, tooke and carried away, beſides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay holde on: they conueyed them in irons to Cubagua, and ſould them for ſlaues. Delgado afterwards was ſhot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Loſada ſucceeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende waſted themſelues in mutinies: thoſe that liued returned to Cubagua.

18 Reynoſo vndertooke this iourney: but hauing endured exceeding troubles, in the diſcomfort of his minde, he gaue it ouer, and was buried in Hiſpaniola.

19 Pedro de Orſua, in the yeere 1560. ſought it with 400. Spaniards by the riuer of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Motjones. As they paſſed downe the riuer, they found Synamom trees. His men murthered him, and afterward the ſayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forſooke not her lord in all his trauels vnto death.

20 Frier Francis Monteſino was in the prouince of Maracapana with 100. ſouldiers bound for Guiana, whē Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made inſurrection in all thoſe parts of the Indies. What became of this intended iourney is not expreſſed.

In this diſcouerie of Guiana, you may reade both of Orellana, who diſcouered the riuer of Amazones An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that haue trode this maze, and loſt themſelues in ſeeking to finde this countrey.

An aduertiſement to the Reader.

IN this Breuiarie, the names onely are compriſed of ſuch, as being led with the generall fame of *Guiana*, haue indeuoured to diſcouer and poſſeſſe it. The whole hiſtories are long and cannot ſuddenly be tranſlated or engliſhed at large, as we in theſe Elegies finde them. It may perhaps ſeeme ſtrange and incredible, that ſo many caualleros ſhould all faile in this one attempt, ſince in many parts of the *Indies*, far ſmaller numbers in ſhorter time haue performed as great matters, and ſubdued mighty kingdomes: I haue therefore thought it good here to alleage thoſe reaſons, which by circumſtance may bee gathered to haue beene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended ſearch and conqueſt.

The firſt may bee the remoteneſſe or diſtance of their places of *Rendeuous*, from *El Dorado*: which appeare to be foure, *Nueuo Reyno*, the mouth of *Amazones* or *Orellana*, *Cubagua* or the coaſt of the *Caracas*, and *Trinidad*.

1 From *Moiobamba*, where *Orellana* hath his head-ſpring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. *Raleana* riſeth neere the ſaid mountaines in *Moiobamba*, & tributeth his waters to the ſea, not farre from the other: *Guiana* is enuironed with theſe 2 freſhwater-ſeas, where their diſtance is greateſt from their riſings, and is beſides guarded with impaſſable mountaines which incloſe and defend it on all parts, excepting *Topiawaries* countrey. It is no maruel then, if the vigor, heart, & life of thoſe Spaniards, who ſought it frō *Nueuo Reyno*, were allayed & ſpent, before they came neere to it, in thoſe long, deſolate & vncomfortable wayes.

2 From *Cubagua* to ſeeke it by ſea in veſſels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to ſaile directly from *Spaine*. And to paſſe ouer land is a matter of great difficultie, by reaſon that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coaſt of The *Caracas* and *Guiana*, being wearied and harried with the daily incurſions of the Spaniards, haue now turned their abuſed patience into furie, refuſing to ſuffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards trauelling in thoſe parts, when they found not gold anſwerable to their expectation, ouerlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome: forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in ſome part it ſatiſfied their deſire of preſent profit; yet hath it otherwiſe done them much harme, in hardening and driuing thoſe nations to deſperate reſolutions.

3 From the mouth of *Orellana* to ſeeke entrance with any number of men, & to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any ſeeking it that way, haue at any time boaſted of their gaines or pleaſurable iourneys.

4 From *Trinidad*, as the courſe is ſhorteſt, ſo doeth it promiſe beſt likelyhood of ſucceſſe. Howbeit, impoſſible it is with any veſſell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recouer the riuer of *Raleana*.

The ſecond. The Spaniards haue bene ſo farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadiutors in the *Guiana*-cauſe, that amongſt ſo many attemptes, from the beginning to the laſt, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwiſe likelieſt to preuaile, free from diſcords, mutinies, and cruell murthers amongſt themſelues.

Thirdly. The Spaniardes in this place haue miſt that aduantage, which elſewhere hath ſteeded themſelues in all their conqueſtes: namely, the diſſentions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example *Arauco* in *Chili*. For the Indians of that one prouince conteining in circuit not aboue 20. leagues, haue maintained warres aboue theſe 30. yeeres againſt all the Spaniards, and in deſpight of them haue kept their owne countrey, oftentimes diſcomfiting their enemies in many ſet battels, burning and deſtroying ſome of their ſtrongeſt townes. The chiefe reaſon whereof I take to bee, becauſe no Indian nation was enemie vnto them. And howſoeuer the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exployts in the *Indies*: yet doe their owne writings in effect teſtifie, that without the ayde of the Indians diuided among themſelues, *Mexico, Peru*, and the reſt, had neuer beene Spaniſh.

Laſty. I can impute it to no cauſe ſo rightly, as immediatly to the diuine prouidence: for by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will looke to bee warned by miracle from heauen) wee neede no further aſſurances, then wee already haue to perſwade our ſelues, that it hath pleaſed God of his infinite goodneſſe, in his will and purpoſe to appoint and reſerue this empire for vs.

The third voyage ſet forth by ſir *VValter Ralegh* to *Guiana*, with a pinneſſe called The *Watte*, in the yeere 1596. Written by M. *Thomas Maſham* a gentleman of the companie.

VPon Thurſday the 14. of October 1596. we ſet ſaile from Limehouſe vpon the riuer of Thames, and through much contrarietie of winds and other accidents, we made it the 27. of December, before we could get out of Waimouth. The 25. of Januarie in the morning we came to the North ſide of the Iſland of Grand Canaria, where we hoped to haue gotten a boate to ſerue vs vpon the coaſt of Guiana, but the winde was ſo great, that we could not lanch our ſhalope: ſo we paſt along by the roade and the towne, and at length ſaw a boate lying on ſhoare, which being too bigge for vs, wee ripped vp, and wooded our ſelues with her. That day wee deſcryed a ſaile, which at length wee found to be a flieboate of Dartmouth, of 200. tunnes, bound to the Iſland of Mayo for ſalte. Wee fell in conſort with her, and that night ſtoode for the Southermoſt part of the Iſland there to water, where wee ſtayed all the next day, and watered at the Southſouthweſt part thereof. That night wee weyed and ſtoode away together Southſoutheaſt, and South and by Eaſt, purpoſing by their perſwaſion to goe for the riuer Doro. The 28. of Januarie wee made the furthermoſt part of Barbarie; and this morning we met with M. Beniamin Wood with his fleete of 3 ſailes bound for the ſtraights of Magellan & China, to wit, The Beare, The Whelpe, and The Beniamin: who told vs that there was no good to be done in the riuer Doro. Whereupon we ſtood along with them for Cape Blanco, vnto which we came vpon Sunday night next following. And vpon Munday morning the firſt of Februarie, we ſaw two ſhips in a ſandie bay: ſo wee ſtirred in with them, which were Frenchmen bound for the Weſt indies, and put all into the bay, where wee refreſhed our ſelues with fiſh, in which there was infinite ſtore, and ſtayed there vntill Thurſday the 5. at which time wee ſtood vp with the Cape againe, where rode the Frenchman and his pinneſſe, who put foorth right afore vs, and another Frenchman and his carauel well manned: So all we 5. Engliſh came to an anker by them, where after kinde greeting with many ſhots out of euery ſhip both Engliſh and French, all our captaines were inuited to a feaſt aboord the French admirall: where after great cheere and kinde entertainment, it was concluded on all handes to take the Iſle of Fogo, if God would giue vs leaue.

M. Beniamin Wood bound for The South ſea. Cape Blanco.

The Iſland of Sal.

The ſame day we all weyed and ſtoode along for the Iſle of Sal, vnto which we came the 8. of Februarie, and ankered altogether at a bay in the Weſt part thereof: in which Iſland wee had good ſtore of goates and freſh fiſh. There is no man dwelling vpon the Iſland that we could ſee. Wee could finde no freſh water vpon it, but one ſtanding puddle of bad water: it hath foure great mountaines vpon the 4. corners of it. Here the Frenchmen (as it ſeemeth being ouercome with drinke, hauing bene aboord our Generall at a feaſt) being on ſhoare, one of the gentlemen of their companie was ſlaine, and their chiefe captaine ſorely wounded: by reaſon whereof, and of the ſetting together of a pinneſſe which they were about, the French admiral and the carauel ſtayed behind. So wee in the Watte, and the other 6. ſhips weyed the 10. of Februarie, and ſtood away for the iſle of

Mayo. This night the other two French ſhippes that came from Sal with vs (as it ſeemeth of purpoſe, becauſe their conſorts were not with them) loſt vs. The next morning wee ſawe Maio. So wee and the flieboate of Dartmouth compaſſed the Northermoſt part of the Iſland, and maſter Beniamin Wood in the China-fleete, the Southermoſt, and came all to an anker together at the Southweſt part thereof: where rode ſixe ſayles of Flemmings lading ſalte; who had brought their horſes and cartes, and wheele-barrowes, and plankes for their barrowes to runne vpon. Here is abundance of ſalte in this Iſland made by Gods hande without mans labour. Theſe tolde vs that there were thirtie ſayles more, which fell to leeward of Fogo, who, as I heard ſince, beat it vp with much adoe, & came thither alſo for ſalte. This trade may bee very beneficiall to England, conſidering the dearneſſe of ſalte. Of goates on this Iſland there is ſuch ſtore, as is incredible, but to thoſe that haue ſeene them: and it is a wonder howe they liue one by the other, the ground being ſtonie and barren. It is thought that there are dwelling in it ſome twentie Mountainiers, which got one of the Flemmings men ſtragling, and God knoweth what they did with him: for they ſawe him no more. This Iſland is ſomewhat lowe and round, hauing no great mountaines vpon it.

36 ſailes of Flemmings at Maio for ſalt.

Here ended our determination concerning the inuading of Fogo. And here wee left the flieboat of Dartmouth lading ſalte, and the China-fleete to refreſh themſelues with goates, who as I haue heard ſince had at the village (from whence the Mountainiers were fledde into the furtheſt partes of the Iſland and rocks) great ſtore of dryed goates which they carried along with them: which were like to bee a great helpe vnto them in their long voyage. So vpon Saturday the 12 of Februarie at night wee ſet ſaile and ſtood for the coaſt of Wiana, which wee were bound for.

Upon Sunday the twentieth of Februarie wee came into the maine current that ſetteth from the Cape of Buena Eſperança along the coaſt of Braſil, and ſo toward the Weſt Indies, for the moſt part ſetting away Northweſt.

The Tueſday night following, whereas before our courſe was Weſtſouthweſt, wee ſtoode away Weſt and by South: by reaſon whereof, and of the current that ſet vs to the Northward, wee were the next day by noone twentie minutes further to the Northward then the day before. So that then wee lay away Southweſt, becauſe wee were loath to fall to the Northward of our place intended: which if wee ſhould bee put to leeward of, there was ſmall hope left to recouer it.

By Thurſday wee were within one degree ½ of the Equinoctiall line: therefore this day wee halled away Weſt and by South, and Weſt among. This night wee ſounded, but had no ground at 90 fathoms.

The next day in the morning the colour of the water began to change, and to bee more white, ſo wee made another ſound and had ground at thirtie fathoms, but ſaw no lande, and in the afternoone wee halled away Weſtnorthweſt, Northweſt, and Northnorthweſt. In the night wee ſounded diuers times, and had twelue, ten, and nine fathoms water.

All Saturday wee had a thick red water, and had ſeuen and eight fathoms both day and night, and vpon Sunday morning by day being the ſeuen and twentieth of Februarie, wee made the lande which appeared lowe, and trended neereſt as wee fell with it, South and by Eaſt, North and by Weſt about two degrees ½ toward the North. Right on head of vs was a Cape or headland, ſo that had wee beene ſhot a little further into the bay, the winde being more Northerly, wee ſhould hardly haue doubled it off. For with much adoe making many boords, and ſtopping euery tyde, it was the Tueſday following before wee cleered our ſelues of the bay, and recouered the Cape. Nowe the lande trended Northweſt and by North, and Southeaſt and by South. And ſtill wee were faine to anker euery tyde ſometimes in foure fathoms, and ſometimes in three, as farre as wee could ſee land. So about night wee ſawe Cape Cecill: and after ſome two houres came to an anker. Betweene theſe two Capes the lande lyeth lowe and euen.

Cape Cecil in 3 degrees and a halfe.

Upon Wedneſday morning, hauing the winde large at Eaſtnortheaſt, wee layd it away vpon aboard into the bay of Wiapoucou and came to an anker in the riuers mouth in two fathoms: ouer the barre there is little water, as 6 and 7 foote, and leſſe in many places. And this riuer of Wiapoucou ſtandeth almoſt in 4 degrees to the Northward of the line.

The riuer of Wiapoucou almoſt in 4 degrees North-

The next morning wee weyed, and ſtanding in with our pinneſſe by night, wee got ſome eight leagues vp the riuer. This day ſometimes wee had but 5 foote water and drew 7 foot, but being ſoft oaze we went cleere: and a little before wee came to anker, wee were on ground vpon a rocke, but with ſome trouble and labour wee got off and had no hurt.

Upon Friday the 4 of March towards night wee came to the falles. The next day M. Leonard Berrie our captaine, the Maſter, my ſelfe and ſome 5 more, went through the woods, and ſpent all the day in ſearching the head of the falles, but could not finde it: for though wee paſſed by many, yet were there more ſtill one aboue the other. So that finding no Indians in this riuer to buy victuals of, neither any kind of thing that might intice vs to come to ſo ſhort allowance, as we muſt haue done, if wee had ſpent any long time here, finding it ouer hard to paſſe the falles, wee fell downe the riuer againe, and by Friday the 11 of March wee cleered our ſelues of the riuer and bay. This riuer from the mouth to the falles is ſome 16 leagues, in many places a mile ouer, but for the moſt part halfe a mile. There are many Ilands in it: as are alſo in moſt of the riuers vpon the coaſt. This night wee ankered againſt Cawo in two fathoms; whereinto wee thought to haue put with our pinneſſe: but found the water ſo ſhoald, and the ſea ſo growen, that neither with our ſhippe nor ſhallope wee durſt goe in.

Cawo.

The 7 Ilands.

On Saturday by noone wee came to anker vnder one of the 7 Ilands: vpon which going on ſhoare wee found neither man nor beaſt, but great ſtore of yellow plumbes which are good to eate.

Aramatto a great towne.

The Caribes of Wias tractable people.

Chiana a riuer and bay.

Upon Sunday after dinner our Maſter William Dowle and 6 more went off with our boat to a towne called Aramatto; where they found many inhabitants, and brought victuals and ſome Tabacco with them, and one Indian named Caprima, who lying aboord all night, the next day being Munday the 14 of March went with our Captaine into Wias, and there traded with the Caribes for ſuch things as they had. And afterward they of Aramatto came off with their canoas to vs, and wee went on ſhoare to them: and from thence our Captaine ſent a canoa with ſeuen men, which had euery one of them a knife to goe backe to the riuer of Cawo, and to tell Ritimo captaine of that place, that becauſe wee coulde not come to him, wee would ſtay at Chiana for him, whither wee intreated him to come to vs. So vpon Thurſday the 17 wee ſtoode in for Chiana, and came to an anker without in the bay in 3 fathoms that night: and had the Caribes comming continually to vs with their canoas, which brought vs great ſtore of victuals and ſome Tabacco, ſhewing themſelues very kinde and louing, and came all from their townes, and dwelt on ſhoare by vs vntill Ritimo came: at whoſe comming they returned all vp to their townes againe, which was vpon the Sunday following. All this day we feaſted him and his traine, and the next day we traffiqued with them for ſuch things as they brought, which was principally tabacco.

The Careres.

Maware.

After that they had made knowen their mindes of the deſire that they had to haue the Engliſh come and kill the Spaniards, and to dwell in Orenoque and in the countrey, they departed with their 3 canoas the next day. And wee with the helpe of the Caribes of Chiana, hauing by their meanes from the ſhoare watered, becauſe the riuers mouth was ſalte, departed out of the bay the Thurſday following, & paſſing by Macerea, Couroura, and Manamanora, by reaſon of ſhoalds, rockes, and great windes, being a lee ſhoare; and for want of a good ſhalope, wee came to an anker the next day being good Friday in fiue fathoms neere The Triangle Ilands called The Careres. And vpon Saturday ſtanding to the Weſtward, wee ſtopped againſt the towne of Maware, which is a little to the Weſtward of the towne Comanamo: from whence and from the other townes in that bay, which are ſome 6 or 7, wee had canoas come off to vs as before with ſuch things as they had themſelues in vſe, with parrots, monkeys, and cotton-wooll, and ſuch. From whence wee departed vpon Munday following the 28 of March 1597.

Marawinne a riuer.

Marrac a towne.

Quiparia a towne of the Caribes.

And paſſing by the riuers of Euracco and Amano, which openeth but a ſmall riuer, and is ſhoald off, wee came to Marawinne the next day: And finding a chanell of three, foure, and fiue fathoms, wee ſtood into the riuer: and the ſame day came to an anker ſome 2 leagues in againſt the mouth of Cooſhepwinne, which riuer goeth into Amano. Into which, (vnderſtanding that there were Arwaccawes dwelling) this night we ſent our boat and came to a towne called Marrac one league in: And finding the people ſomething pleaſant, hauing drunke much that day, being as it ſeemed a feſtiuall day with them, yet were they very fearefull and ready to run away at the firſt ſight of vs, hauing ſeldome ſeene any Chriſtian before. But aſſoone as Henry our Indian interpreter had tolde them what wee were, and our intent, they came to vs and vſed vs kindely, and brought vs victuals and other things. And the next day their captaine Mawewiron came out into Marawinne, with diuers canoas, & traded with vs, and wee went in againe to them on ſhore, who made very much of vs, and carried vs from houſe to houſe, and made vs eate and drinke in euery houſe which wee came in. And the next day following being the laſt of March, hauing the captaine of Marrack with vs, wee weyed and ſtoode into the riuer, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone came to an anker ſome eight leagues within the riuer, a little ſhort of a towne called Quiparia, the people whereof are Caribes: who, when they ſawe vs come toward their towne with our boate, began all to runne into the woods, vntill the captaine of Marrac which was with vs in the boate, leaped ouerboord and ſwamme on ſhoare vnto them, and told them that wee were Engliſhmen, and came in friendſhip to trade with them.

Upon whoſe report they came before night ſixe or ſeuen canoas aboord vs, yet very fearefull, becauſe there was neuer either ſhippe or Chriſtian ſeene in that riuer before. The firſt of Aprill, wee weighed againe, and ſtood in to the next towne called Macirria: where comming to anker, there came a canoa from Amano to vs, with great ſtore of victuals, which canoa wee bought: and becauſe wee mette with ſome ſholes, we were loath to goe any farther with our Pinneſſe: ſo there wee mored her, and the next day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, eleuen of vs (Maſter Monex hauing the gouernment of the action, by the Captaines appointment) with Mawerirou, Henry, and William of Cawo, in the canoa which we bought, went into the riuer farther to ſearch it ſo farre as wee could, and that night gatte ſome fiue leagues from our ſhippe. And betweene two villages, Awodwaier and Maperibuco, we tooke vp our lodging in the woods. The third of Aprill, betimes in the morning, we tooke our courſe ſtill vnto the riuer, and in the afternoone came to one houſe where wee found many Indians, where wee hired another canoa and foure Indians, into the which I went, and one more of our men, and this night gat twelue leagues farther, and as before, lodged among the wilde beaſtes.

Macirria a towne.

On Munday the fourth of Aprill, wee came to the falles of this riuer about two in the afternoone; and hauing ſhotte vp ſome of the rockes, wee went on ſhore vpon an iſland, and there conferred of our farther proceeding. And inquiring of the Indians that wee hired for our Pilots of the laſt houſe, whether the falles were paſſable or not: their firſt anſwere was, that they had nothing to eate: but wee being loath to looſe ſo much labour, and the ſight of that vpper rich countrey, which wee deſired, told them that they ſhould haue victuals of vs (though God knoweth wee had none for our ſelues) who ſeeing vs ſo importunate, ſayde farther, that the rockes would kill the canaos: which they ſayde becauſe indeed they had no victuals: which by ſome was taken for ſufficent to proceede no farther, and ſo wee left off, and onely ſtayed ſome two houres vpon the iſland, and with the ſwiftneſſe of the current, fell that night downe 10 leagues againe. Though I for mine owne part offered in that ſmall canoa that I was in, being ſo leake, that my ſelfe did nothing but lade out the water, to lead them the way, and if they ſawe any danger to mee, they might chuſe whether they would come into it or not themſelues.

A rich countrey.

For ſeeing the countrey aboue was rich as wee were informed, that their bowes were handled with golde, (being men of an extraordinarie ſtature for talnes) wee ſhould haue taken the more paines, and haue fared the harder, vntill wee had gotten vp in the countrey which wee ſawe with our eyes: for though wee had not victuals in any ſort to cary vs vp, yet the woods doe yeld fruites and the palmito trees affoorde meate, whereby wee might haue made ſhift to liue, vntill wee had come to the inhabitants, by whome we might both bee refreſhed with victuals, and alſo haue reaped that, which might haue done vs good as long as wee had liued.

Bowes handled with golde.

But to returne to the reſt of our voyage: the day after wee went from the falles wee came to our ſhippe, which was the fifth of Aprill 1597. On Wedneſday wee fell with our Pinneſſe to Quiparia againe: where we brought her on ground right before the town, and trimmed her with the pitch of the countrey: and vntill wee had done, kept a corps du guard, night and day on ſhore, which was vpon Saturday following the ninth of Aprill. All the while we were there we had an houſe of the Caribes, and were kindely vſed of them, and had victuals, and euery thing we needed of them.

Pitch to trim ſhippes.

And ſo taking our leaue on Tueſday being the twelfth of Aprill, wee came to the mouth of Cuſſe-winne, where the Arwaccas of Marrac and of the riuer had prouided and brought to vs ſuch infinite ſtore of potatoes, and Guiney-wheate, that the ſtewarde ſayd wee had no ſtowage for them; and ſo they were turned backe, and wee by that meanes came to ſhorter allowance homeward bound, then (if there had bene any good care) wee needed to haue done.

The riuer of Cuſſe-winne.

On Fryday the fifteenth of Aprill, wee put foorth of Marawinne, which is ſome foure leagues ouer, and within one league and an halfe for the moſt part broad; full of iſlands, and diuers ſmall riuers running into it: and it is betweene forty and fifty leagues, from the mouth to the falles, and lyeth for the moſt part South Southweſt vp, altering ſome 3 poynts, being almoſt ſtreight. And ſtanding along to the Weſtward, this night we tryed with our mayne coarſe and bonnet. On Saturday night we came to an anker, in three fathomes againſt Sewramo. On Sunday morning we thought to haue gone into Cuppanamo: but ſending off our boat & finding vncertaine ſounding, ſometime 3 fathomes and preſently 9 foote, we ſtood along to Coritine and came into it vpon the Munday being the 18 of Aprill: and the next night wee came to anker againſt Warrawalle in 10 fathoms. On Wedneſday the Indians of the towne hauing hunted a Doe, ſhee tooke ſoyle & came neer our ſhip, and putting off with our boat we tooke her, being like vnto our deere in England, not altogether ſo fat, but very good fleſh and great boned. In this riuer we met a Barke

Marawinne.

Sewramo.

Coritine riuer.

called the Iohn of London captaine Leigh being in her. And being both fallen downe within ſome fiue leagues of the mouth of the riuer, vpon intelligence that one Marracon, (whom wee brought along with vs) gaue vs, namely that the riuer Deſekebe, in which he dwelt (and wherein there were ſome three hundred Spaniards, which for the moſt part now are deſtroyed and dead) doeth lead ſo farre into the countrey, that it commeth within a dayes iourney of the lake called Perima, whereupon Manoa is ſuppoſed to ſtand; and that this riuer of Coritine doeth meete with Deſekebe vp in the land: by meanes whereof wee make account to goe vp into the countrey, and to haue diſcouered a paſſage vnto that rich citie. So hauing concluded both ſhippes, we ſtood vp into the riuer againe, and comming to Warawalle the 24 of April there our ſhippes roade vntill we went vp to Mawranamo to ſpeake with Marracon, to know the trueth of theſe things: whom when we had found, he verified al that before he had ſpoken: Maſter Monax being the man that of Leonard of Cawe tooke all the intelligence: who being brought vp with Antonie Berreo could ſome Spaniſh and Marracons language alſo. And beſides wee our ſelues by ſignes, and drawing the two riuers on the ground, and the meeting of them aloft, did perceiue as much. Now comming downe with our boates the fiue and twentieth of April we went vp with our ſhips to Mawranamo, where wee moored them, and taking ſome twentie out of both, vpon Thurſday the eight and twentieth in the afternoone with two ſhallops and two Canaos, in one of which Henry the Indian was and ſome twentie Indians more, wee went vp the riuer; and by night getting ſome three leagues farther wee lodged in the woods, and the next morning wee with our boate and the two Canoas went into a ſmall riuer called Tapuere, to a towne called called Macharibi, thinking to haue had Caſaui and other victuals, which they were altogether vnprouided of, by reaſon that they make no more ready then ſerueth themſelues from hand to mouth, liuing in this towne for the moſt part by fiſh. By meanes of going into this riuer, though wee rowed very hard, it was noone before wee ouertooke the bigger ſhallop, wherein both the Captaines were. This night we came to a towne called Vaperon, where wee ſtayed all Saturday and the night following, for Caſaui: whereof they baked good ſtore for vs being but a fewe left in the towne. For not a moneth before wee came thither, the Waccawaes that dwell aboue the falles came downe to the towne, and ſlewe ſome tenne of them, and many of the reſt fled away, ſo that wee found moſt of the houſes emptie. Vpon Sunday morning being May day, wee went from this place, and by night gotte ſome twelue leagues beyond, and being paſt all townes wee lodged as before in the woods, and the next day came to the falles of the riuer; vp ſome of which falles we ſhotte with our boates, and going vpon a rocke there came ſome nine canoas vp the riuer to vs, and would haue gone vp with vs to kill the Waccawayans, becauſe they had killed ſome of them, as before is ſaid. Whereupon the Captaines and Maſter Monax tooke aduiſe: and becauſe nowe they had learned, as they ſayde, that fiue dayes iourney farther there was a fall not paſſable, and that by this meanes they ſhould make the Wacchawayans their enemies, which would turne to our great hurt, when Sir Walter Ralegh ſhould come thither, hauing occaſion to vſe this riuer, where wee were informed was good ſtore of golde, they reſolued to returne, though I yeeled diuers reaſons to the contrary. So vpon Tueſday night, we came backe to Vaperon, where we lodged.

The great lake Perima.

They bring their ſhippes vp to the Mawranamo.

And vpon Wedneſday the fourth of May, wee came to our ſhippes: where it was reported that the Spaniardes were gonne out of Deſekebe, which was not ſo: but as it ſeemed in policie by them giuen out to make our men that wee left in our ſhippes more careleſſe, that they might the eaſier haue ſurpriſed them in our abſence. The next night wee had newes brought vs to Mawranamo, where we yet roade, that there were tenne canoas of Spaniardes in the mouth of Coritine; and fearing leſt they had intended to come to vs in the night, we fitted all our gunnes and muſkets, and kept good watch to preuent them of their purpoſe; who, as it was afterwarde tolde vs, went along the coaſt to buy bread and other victuals for them in Orenoque, Marowgo and Deſekebe. Vpon Fryday the ſixth of May we weighed and made downe the riuer, and vpon Sunday the eighth we gat cleare of it.

This riuer is much like vnto Marawynne in bredth, and about fiftie leagues from the mouth to the firſt falles, full of Iſlandes as the other: in which three riuers, Mano, Tapuere, and Tabuebbi, otherwiſe Tapuellibi: with ſixe Townes, Warrawalle, Mawranamo, Maspuere, Maccharibi, Yohóron, and Vapéron. And ſo clering our ſelues of this coaſt, wee tooke our courſe to the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies.

Now I thinke it not amiſſe to ſpeak ſomething of this countrey. And firſt touching the climate; though it ſtand within the Tropick, and ſomething neere to the Equinoctial, ſo that the Sunne is twiſe a yeere ouer their heads & neuer far from them, yet is it temperate ynough in thoſe partes.

For beſides that wee loſt not a man vpon the coaſt, one that was ſicke before hee came there, was nothing ſicker for being there, but came home ſafe, thanks be to God. And for mine owne part, I was neuer better in body in all my life, and in like ſort fared it with the reſt of the company: for indeed it is not ſo extreame hote as many imagine. The people in all the lower parts of the countrey goe naked, both men and women, being of ſeuerall languages, very tractable, and ingenious, and very louing and kinde to Engliſhmen generally; as by experience we found, and vpon our owne knowledge doe report. In the vpper countreys they goe apparelled, being, as it ſeemeth, of a more ciuill diſpoſition, hauing great ſtore of golde, as we are certeinely informed by the lower Indians, of whom we had ſome golde, which they brought and bought in the high countrey of Wiana, being able to buy no more, becauſe they wanted the things which now wee haue left among them. They keepe no order of marriage: but haue as many wiues as they can buy, or win by force of their enemies, which principally is the cauſe of all their warres. For bread there is infinite ſtore of caſaui, which is as good bread as a man need to eate, and better then we can carry thither. We ſpent not a bit of our owne all the while we were vpon the coaſt. It is made of a root ſo called; which they take and ſcrape, and cruſh all the iuyce out, being poiſon; and when it is drie it is as fine floure as our white meale maketh: which dry as it is, without any moiſture, they ſtrew vpon a round ſtone, hauing a ſtill fire vnder it, and ſo it congealeth to a cake; and when it commeth new off, it eateth like to our new white bread. Beſides there is great ſtore of Guiny-Wheat (whereof they make paſſing good drinke) which after it is once ſowed, if you cut off the eare, on the ſame ſtalke groweth another.

Great ſtore of golde in Wiana.

Paſſing good drinke made of maiz.

For victuals, wee either did not, or at leaſt needed not to haue ſpent any of our owne: for there is great ſtore of as good fiſh in the riuers, as any is in the world. Great ſtore of fowle, of diuers ſorts. Tortoiſe-fleſh plentifull, and Tortoiſes egges innumerable. Deere, ſwine, conies, hares, cockes and hennes, with potatoes more then wee could ſpend. Beſides, all kinde of fruits, at all times of the yeere: and the rareſt fruits of the world, the pine, the plantan, with infinite other variable and pleaſant, growing to their handes, without planting or dreſſing. For commodities, though wee had but ſmall time to ſearch, becauſe wee ſpent ſo much time in ſearching the riuers: yet wee haue brought examples of ſome, which the countrey yeeldeth in great plenty: as a kinde of long hempe like vnto ſteele hempe, fine cotton wooll, which the trees yeeld great ſtore of; and wherewith the women make a fine threed, which will make excellent good fuſtians or ſtockings. Great ſtore of pitch, diuers ſorts of ſweet gummes, & Weſt Indian pepper, balſamum, parrots and monkies. Beſides diuers other commodities, which in good time may be found out to the benefit of our countrey, and profit of the aduenturers, who as yet hauing ventured much, haue gained litle.

The commodities of Wiana.

Now leauing the riuer of Coritine, paſſing by Saint Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Matalina, we came to Dominica vpon the Friday following, being the the thirteenth of May, hauing loſt the barke that came out with vs the Wedneſday before. Vpon Sunday morning, the fifteenth of May, we came to Guadalupe, where wee watered at the Souther part of the Iſland, and hauing done by night, we ſet ſaile, and ſtood away to the Northward, but were becalmed all night, and vntill tenne of the clocke on Munday night: at which time hauing a faire gale at Eaſt, and after at Southeaſt, wee paſſed along in the ſight of Monſerate, Antigua, and Barbuda. Vpon the ninth of Iune, being Thurſday, we made the Iſlands of Flores and Coruo: and the eight and twentieth of Iune we made the Liſart, and that night came all ſafe to Plymmouth, bleſſed be God.

They loſt captaine Leigh in ẏ Iohn of London.

Betweene the Iſle of Barbuda in the Weſt Indies and England we had three mighty ſtormes, many calmes, and ſome contrary windes. And vpon the foureteenth of Iune 1597, there being diuers whales playing about our pinneſſe, one of them croſſed our ſterne, and going vnder, rubbed her backe againſt our keele: but by none of all theſe we ſuſteined any loſſe. Thanks be to him that gouerneth all things.

Written by Maſter
Thomas Maſham.

CERTAINE

CERTAINE BRIEFE TESTIMONIES CONCERNING the mightie Riuer of *Amazones* or *Orellana*, and of the moſt wonderfull downefall or cataract of waters at the head thereof, named by the *Spaniards El Pongo*: together with ſome mention of the rich and ſtately Empire of *Dorado*, called by Sir *Walter Ralegh* and the natural Inhabitants *Guiana*, and of the golden countrey of *Paytity* neere adioyning, with other memorable matters: Taken out of *Ioſephus de Acoſta* his naturall and morall Hiſtorie of the *Weſt Indies*.

The firſt Teſtimonie out of *Ioſephus de Acoſta, lib.2. cap 6.*

But when we intreat of Riuers, that which ſome men call the riuer of Amazones, others Marannon, others the riuer of Orellana, doeth iuſtly put to ſilence all the reſt, whereunto our Spaniards haue gone and ſayled. And I ſtand in doubt, whether I may cal it a riuer or a ſea. This riuer runneth from the mountaines of Piru, from which it gathereth infinite ſtore of waters, of raine, and riuers, which runneth along, gathering it ſelfe together, and paſſing through the great fieldes and plaines of Paytiti, of Dorado, and of the Amazones, and falleth at length into the Ocean ſea, and entreth into it almoſt ouer againſt the Iſles of Margarita and Trinidad. But it groweth ſo broad, eſpecially towardes the mouth, that it maketh in the middeſt many and great Iſles: and that which ſeemeth incredible, ſayling in the middle chanel of the riuer, men can ſee nothing but the ſkie and the riuer, although men ſay that there are hilles neere the bankes thereof, which can not be kenned, through the greatneſſe of the Riuer. Wee vnderſtood by very good meanes the wonderfull bredth and largeneſſe of this Riuer, which iuſtly may bee called the Emperour of Riuers, to wit by a brother of our companie, which being a boy was there, & ſayled it wholy through, being perſonally preſent in all the ſucceſſes of that ſtrange enterance, which Pedro de Orſua made, and in the mutinies and perilous conſpiracies of that wicked Diego de Aguirre, out of all which troubles and dangers the Lord deliuered him, to make him one of our ſocietie.

The ſecond Teſtimonie out of *Ioſephus de Acoſta, lib.3. cap. 20.*

Among all the riuers not onely of the Weſt Indies but alſo of the whole world, the chief is the Riuer of Marannon or of the Amazones, whereof I haue ſpoken in the ſecond booke. The Spaniards haue diuers times ſayled along this riuer, with determination to diſcouer countries, which, according to report, are of great riches, eſpecially that which they call Dorado, and Paytiti. The Adelantado or admirall Iuan de Salinas made a very notable entrance, although to ſmall profite. It hath a ſalt or fall of water which they call El Pongo, which is one of the moſt dangerous places in the world: for being reſtrained betweene two exceeding hie deuided mountaines, it maketh a fall of terrible depth, where the water with the great deſcent maketh ſuch whirlepooles that it ſeemeth impoſſible but that it ſhould ſinke it ſelf there into the ground. For all this the boldnes of men hath attempted to paſſe the ſaid El Pongo for the greedines to come to that ſo famous renowned Dorado. They ſuffered themſelues to bee caryed from aloft, being throwne downe headlong with the furie of the riuer, and ſitting faſt in their Canoas or boats in which they ſayled, although they were ouerturned in the fal, and they and their Canoas ſuncke downe to the bottome, yet they roſe vp againe aboue the water, and at length with their hands and force gat out of the whirlepooles. The whole army in a maner eſcaped, ſauing a very fewe which were drowned: and which I moſt maruel at, they handled the matter ſo well, that they loſt not their victuals and powder which they caryed with them. In their returne (for after great trauels and dangers they returned that way againe) they clymed vp ouer one of thoſe aforeſaide exceeding high mountaines, creeping vp vpon their handes and feete.

El Pongo.

Captaine Pedro de Orſua made another enterance by the ſelfe ſame riuer, and after hee was ſlaine by a mutinie of his people, other captaines followed the diſcouerie, by the arme that falleth into the North Sea. One of our companie told me (who while he was a ſecular man was in al that ~~expedition, that they entred vp the Riuer almoſt an hundred leagues with the tydes,~~ and that when the freſh water & the ſalt meeteth, which is either almoſt vnder or very neere the Equinoctial line, the riuer is 70 leagues broad, a thing incredible, and which exceedeth the bredth of the Mediterran ſea. Howbeit other in their deſcriptions make it not paſt 25 or 30 leagues broad at the mouth.

The third Teſtimonie out of *Ioſephus de Acoſta, lib. 3. cap 25.*

IN that part of America, whereof the coaſts be throughly knowen, the greater part of the Inland is not knowen, which is that which falleth betweene Piru and Braſil, and there are diuers opinions of ſome, which ſay, that it is all ſunken land full of lakes and bogges, and of others, which affirme that there are great and floriſhing kingdomes there, and there they place the Countrey of Paytity, and Dorado, and great Emperours, and ſay, that there are wonderfull things there. I heard of one of our companie my ſelfe, a man of credite, that hee had ſeene great townes, and high wayes as broad and as much beaten, as the wayes betweene Salamanca and Validolid: and this was when the great entrance or diſcouerie was made by the great riuer of the Amazones or Marannon by Pedro de Orſua, and afterwardes by others that ſucceded him: and they ſuppoſing that Dorado which they ſought, was farther vp in the countrey, did not inhabite there, and afterward returned without diſcouering Dorado (which they neuer found) and without that great prouince which they left.

A ſhort deſcription of the riuer of *Marannon* or *Amazones*, and the Countries thereabout, as alſo of the ſea of *Freſh-water*, taken out of an ancient Diſcourſe of all the Portes, Creekes, and Hauens of the *Weſt Indies*, Written by *Martin Fernandez de Enciſa*, and dedicated to *Charles* the Emperour, *Anno 1518.*

MArannon lyeth in ſeuen degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctial, it is a great riuer, and hath more then fifteene leagues in bredth eight leagues within the land. It hath many iſlands, and in this riuer within the land fortie leagues there is neere to the ſayde riuer a mountaine, whereupon growe trees of Incenſe, the trees be of a good height, & the boughs thereof be like to Plum-trees, and the Incenſe doeth hang at them, as the yce doeth at the tiles of a houſe in the winter ſeaſon when it doeth freeze. In this riuer were taken foure Indians in a ſmal boat, called in the Indian language a Canoa, that came downe by the riuer, and there were taken from them two ſtones of Emeralds, the one of them being as great as a mans hand. They ſaye that ſo many dayes iourney going vpward by the riuer, they found a rocke of that ſtone. Likewiſe there were taken from them two loaues made of floure, which were like to cakes of Sope, and it ſeemed that they were kneaded with the licour of Balſamum. All this coaſt from the Cape of S. Auſtine vnto Marannon is a cleare coaſt & deep, but neer to the riuer are certaine ſholds towardes the Eaſt part. And by the Weſt part the riuer is deepe, and it hath a good entrie. From this riuer Marannon, vnto the riuer which is called The ſea of freſh water, are 25 leagues: this riuer hath 40 leagues of bredth at the mouth, and carieth ſuch abundance of water that it entreth more then 20 leagues into the Sea, and mingleth not it ſelfe with the ſalt water: this bredth goeth 25 leagues within the land, and after it is deuided into partes, the one going towards the Southeaſt, and the other towards the Southweſt. That which goeth towards the Southeaſt is very deepe and of much water, and hath a chanel halfe a league of bredth, that a Carack may goe vp through it: & the tydes be ſo ſwift, that the ſhips haue need of good cables. The riuer of this port is very good, and there haue bene ſome that haue entred 50 leagues within it, & haue ſeene no mountaines. The Indians of this countrey haue their lips made full of ſmall holes in 4 parts, & through thoſe holes be put ſmall rings, and likewiſe at their eares: & if any man aſke of thē where they had their gold, they anſwere, that going vp by the riuer ſo many dayes iourney, they found certaine mountaines that had much of it, and from thoſe mountaines they brought it when they would haue it, but they made no great account of it, for they neither buy nor ſell, and amongſt them is nothing but change. In this countrey they eate bread of rootes, and Maiz, and they eate certaine rootes which they call Aies and Batatas, but the Batatas bee better then the other rootes, and being rawe they haue a ſmell of Cheſtnuts: they are to be eaten roſted. Theſe Indians doe make wine of the fruit of Date-trees, which fruit is yellow in colour, and is as great as a little Doues egge, and being in ſeaſon is good to be eaten, and of it proceedeth good wine, and is preſerued for a long time. Theſe kinde of people do make their houſes with vpper roomes, and they ſleepe in them, as alſo al their habitation is in the vpper roomes, and that which is belowe, they leaue open: and alſo they vſe certaine mantels of cotten wooll, and theſe they tie at the endes with ropes, and the one ende of the rope they make faſt to one part of the houſe, and the other ende to the other part of the houſe: and in theſe they lye, which bee their beddes, and theſe kinde of beds bee vſed in all India, and there is not in any part of India any chambers that the people do vſe to lodge in aloft from the ground, nor they make any hie roomes, but only in this part of India: & in al other places they make their houſes without any loftes or chambers, and they couer their houſes with the leaues of both trees, and of graſſe. And from this freſh water ſea vnto Paria, the coaſt lyeth Weſt Northweſt, and is ſo ful of ſholds that the ſhips cannot come neer to the land. There are frō this riuer to Paria 250 leagues. In this freſh water ſea, the tydes do ebbe & flow as much as they do in Britayne, and it ſtandeth in 6 degrees and a halfe. Paria ſtandeth on the other ſide of the Equinoctial toward the North, in ſeuen degrees: In Paria the ſea floweth but little, and from Paria towards the Weſt, the ſea doth not flow. From the entry of the gulfe of Paria vnto the Cape that lyeth towards the Weſt, are 35 leagues, and frō thence the coaſt turneth towardes the Northeaſt other 35 leagues, & from thence the coaſt turneth toward the Weſt. Before this gulfe ſtandeth the Iſland of Trinidad, and towards the Weſt doeth appeare the gulfe of Paria like to halfe a round circle, after the faſhion of a Diameter, and at the end of this circle is the entery in of Paria, & at this entery there is betweene the land and the Iſland 8 leagues, and on the other ſide there is but litle ſpace betweene the Iſland and the land, but it is deepe, and hath a good entry; this Iland of Trinidad hath in length 25 leagues, and as many in bredth, and ſtandeth in eight degrees, and is inhabited of many people, and as yet not vnder ſubiection. Here the Indians do vſe to ſhoote with bowes, and arrowes which are of a fathome in length, made of reeds, which grow in that Countrey, and at the ende of them is artificially ioyned a piece of wood very ſtrong, vnto the which piece of wood at the end of it, they put a bone of a fiſh, in place of an arrow head: theſe kinde of bones bee harder then Diamonds, and euery one of them be three or foure fingers long, & they are taken out of a fiſh that hath three of theſe bones, one vpon the backe, another vnder euery wing: but that which groweth vpon the backe is the ſtrongeſt and the greateſt. In this Iſland the people ſaith that there groweth golde: and in this Iſland and in Paria growe reedes ſo great, that they make ſtaues of them and cary of them into Spaine. Likewiſe there bee Popiniayes very great and gentle, and ſome of them haue their foreheads yellow, and this ſort do quickly learne to ſpeak, and ſpeak much. There be likewiſe in the gulfe of Paria pearles, although not many, but very good and great.

CERTAINE VOYAGES NAVIGATIONS AND Traffiques both ancient and of late, to diuers places vpon the coaſt of *Braſil*: together with a Ruttier for all that coaſt, and two intercepted letters which reueale many ſecrets of the ſtate of that Countery: the reſt of our Voyages to *Braſil* which haue bene either intended or performed to the Riuer of *Plate*, the ſtreight of *Magellan*, the South ſea, or farther that way, being reſerued for the generall heades next inſuing.

A briefe relatiō of two ſundry voyages made by the worſhipful M. *William Haukins* of *Plimmouth*, father to Sir *Iohn Haukins* knight, late Treaſurer of her Maieſties Nauie, in the yeere 1530 and 1532.

OLde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wiſedome, valure, experience, and skill in ſea cauſes much eſteemed, and beloued of K. Henry the 8, and being one of the principall Sea-captaines in the Weſt parts of England in his time, not contented with the ſhort voyages commonly then made onely to the knowne coaſts of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly ſhippe of his owne of the burthen of 250 tunnes, called the Paule of Plimmouth, wherwith he made three long and famous voyages vnto the coaſt of Braſil, a thing in thoſe dayes very rare, eſpecially to our Nation. In the courſe of which voyages he touched at the riuer of Seſtos vpon the coaſt of Guinea, where hee trafiqued with the Negros, and tooke of them Elephants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and ſo arriuing on the coaſt of Braſil, he vſed there ſuch diſcretion, and behaued himſelf ſo wiſely with thoſe ſauage people, that he grew into great familiarity and friendſhip with them. Inſomuch that in his ſecond voyage, one of the ſauage kings of the countrey of Braſil, was contented to take ſhip with him, and to be tranſported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the Countrey as a pledge for his ſafetie and returne againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Braſilian king being arriued, was brought vp to London and preſented to K. Henry the 8. lying as then at White-hall: at the ſight of whom the King and all the Nobilitie did not a litle maruaile, and not without cauſe: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their ſauage maner, and therein ſmall bones were planted, ſtanding an inch out from the ſaid holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had alſo another hole in his nether lip, wherin was ſet a precious ſtone about the bignes of a peaſe: All his apparel, behauiour, and geſture, were very ſtrange to the beholders.

The ſecond voyage of M. William Haukins to Braſil.
A king of Braſil brought into England.

Hauing remained here the ſpace almoſt of a whole yeere, and the king with his ſight fully ſatiſfied, M. Hawkins according to his promiſe and appointment, purpoſed to conuey him againe into his countrey: but it fell out in the way, that by change of aire and alteration of diet, the ſaid Sauage king died at ſea, which was feared would turne to the loſſe of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Neuertheleſſe, the Sauages being fully perſwaded of the honeſt dealing of our men with their prince, reſtored againe the ſaid pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the company: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England, with their ſhip fraighted, and furniſhed with the commodities of the countrey. Which Martin Cockeram, by the witneſſe of Sir Iohn Hawkins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was liuing within theſe fewe yeeres.

An ancient voyage of *M. Robert Reniger* and *M. Thomas Borey* to *Braſil* in the yeere of our Lord 1540.

I Haue bene certainly informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient and worſhipfull marchant of the citie of London, that this commodious and gainefull voyage to Braſil was ordinarily and vſually frequented by M. Robert Reniger, M. Thomas Borey, and diuers other ſubſtantial and wealthie marchants of Southampton, about 60. yeeres paſt, that is to ſay in the yeere 1540.

A voyage of one *Pudſey* to *Baya* in *Braſil* anno 1542.

ALſo the worſhipfull M. Edward Cotton of Southhampton Eſquire gaue mee more particularly to vnderſtand, how that one Pudſey of Southampton, a man of good ſkill and reſolution in marine cauſes, made a voyage in like maner 62. yeeres agoe to Baya de todos los Santos the principall towne of all Braſil, and the ſeate of the Portugal vice-roy and of the biſhop, and that he built a fort not farre diſtant from that place, in the foreſaid yeere 1542.

A fort built in Braſil by the Engliſh.

A letter written to *M. Richard Staper* by *Iohn VVhithal* from *Santos* in *Braſil*, the 26. of Iune 1578.

WOrſhipfull ſir, and welbeloued friend M. Staper, I haue me moſt heartily commended vnto you, wiſhing your health euen as mine owne.

Theſe few words may bee to let you vnderſtand, that whereas I wrote vnto you not many dayes paſt by the way of Lisbon, howe that I determined to bee with you very ſhortly, it is in this countrey offered mee to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: ſo that I am about three dayes agoe conſorted with an Italian gentleman to marry with his daughter within theſe foure dayes. This my friend and father in law Signor Ioſſo Dore is borne in the citie of Genua in Italy: his kindred is well knowen amongſt the Italians in London: alſo hee hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which hee hath thought better beſtowed vpon mee then on any Portugal in all the countrey, and doeth giue with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doeth make euery yeere a thouſand roues of ſugar. This my mariage will be worth to me two thouſand duckets, little more or leſſe. Alſo Signor Ioſſo Dore my father in lawe doeth intende to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with ſixtie or ſeuentie ſlaues, and thereof to make me factor for vs both. I giue my liuing Lord thankes for placing me in ſuch honour and plentifulneſſe of all things.

Alſo certaine dayes paſt I talked with the Prouedor and the Captaine, and they haue certified me, that they haue diſcouered certaine Mines of ſiluer and gold, and looke euery day for Maſters to come to open the ſaid Mines: which when they be opened will inrich this countrey very much. This place is called S. Vincent, and is diſtant from you two thouſand leagues, and in 24. degrees of latitude on the South ſide of the Equinoctial line, & almoſt vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without ſickneſſe.

Mines of gold and ſiluer newly diſcouered at S. Vincent.

Moreouer, I haue talked with the Captaine and Prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to haue a ſhip with goods to come from London hither, which haue promiſed mee to giue mee licence, ſaying that nowe I am free denizen of this countrey. To cauſe a ſhip to come hither with ſuch commodities as would ſerue this countrey, would come to great gaines, God ſending in ſafety the profite and gaines. In ſuch wares and commodities as you may ſhip hither from London is for euery one commoditie deliuered here three for one, and then after the proceed may be imployed in white ſugar at foure hundred reis the roue.

The voyage to S. Vincent worth three for one outward only.

I meane alſo to haue a friend in London to ſende mee a ſhip of 60. or 70. tunnes, little more or leſſe, with ſuch commodities as I ſhall giue aduiſe for. This voyage is as good as any Peru-voyage. If you and Maſter Osborne will deale here, I will deale with you before any other, becauſe of our old friendly friendſhip in time paſt. If you haue any ſtomacke thereto, in the Name of God do you eſpie out a fine barke of ſeuentie or eightie tunnes, and ſend her hither with a Portugal Pilot to this port of S. Vincent in Braſil, bordering vpon the borders of Peru.

Alſo I herewith write vnto you in what forme and maner you ſhall furniſh this voyage both in commodities and otherwiſe.

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a ſhip of 70. or 80. tunnes is to made.

Firſt you muſt lade in the ſaid ſhip certaine Hampſhire and Deuonſhire karſies: for the which you muſt let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make ſale of the ſaide karſies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and ſixe dozen of Cordouan ſkinnes of theſe colours, to wit, orenge tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine black. I thinke you ſhall not finde ſuch colours there. Therefore you muſt cauſe them that ſhall go vpon this voyage, to take ſaffron with them, to cauſe the ſame ſkinnes to bee put into the ſaide colours. Alſo I thinke you ſhall finde oyles there. Three hogſheads of ſweete oyle for this voyage are very neceſſary, or a hundred & fiftie iarres of oyle. Alſo in London you may lade in the ſaid ſhip theſe parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

In primis, Foure peeces of hollands of middle ſort.
Item, One peece of fine holland.
Foure hundred elles of oſenbriges very fine.
Foure dozen of ſizzors of all ſorts.
Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.
Twentie dozen of great kniues which be made in fardles, of a low price.
Foure dozen of a ſmall ſort.
Sixe peeces of bayes of the loweſt ſort.
One very fine peece of bayes.
Foure hundred elles of Mancheſter-cottons, moſt blacke, greene, ſome yellow.
Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffata, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypreſſe.
Sixe dozen of courſe ſhirts.
Three dozen of doublets of canuas.
Three dozen of doublets of ſtitched canuas.
One peece of fine Millan-fuſtian barred.
Sixe dozen of locks for doores and cheſts.
Sixe thouſand of all maner of fiſh hooks.
Foure dozen reames of paper.
Two dozen of glaſſes of diuers ſorts.
Two dozen of Venice glaſſes, the one halfe great, the other middle ſort.
Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the loweſt price that can be.
Three dozen of frize gownes.
Foure hundred pound of tinne of the vſe of Portugall, moſt ſmal diſhes and trenchers.
Foure pound of ſilke of all colours.
Twentie pound of ſpices, cloues, cinamom, pepper, and ſaffron.
Two kintals of white ſope.
Three pound of threed, white, blacke, and blew.
Three pound of fine white threed.
Item, halfe a dozen of Northerne karſies of diuers colours.
Foure ſorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and green,
Sixe Northerne dozens of diuers colours.
One fine blew cloth of eight pound.
One fine ſtamell of tenne or twelue pound.
One fine ſheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.
One fine blacke karſie. } { One fine ſtamell karſie.
Sixe yards of blacke veluet.
Three barrels of nailes for cheſts.
Two barrels of nailes for ſhips and barks.
Sixe kintals of Occom.
Two dozen of veluet girdles without hangers.

Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with ſome greene.
Two dozen of leather girdles.
Sixe dozen of axes, hatchets, and ſmall billes to cut wood.
Foure maſes of gitterne ſtrings.
Foure hundred or fiue hundred elles of ſome linnen cloth that is of a low price to make ſhirts and ſheets.
Foure tunne of yron.

Theſe be ſuch ſort of wares as I would you ſhould ſend. If you meane to deale, or ſend any ſhip hither, haue you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I ſhall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in lawe with the Captaine and Proued or doe rule this countrey.

My father in law & I ſhal (God willing) make a good quantitie of ſugar euery yeere, which ſugar we intend to ſhip for London from henceforth, if we can get ſuch a truſtie & good friend as you to deale with vs in this matter. I pray you preſently after the receit of this my letter to write mee anſwere thereof, & ſend your letter to M. Holder to Lisbone, & he wil conuey it to me out of hand.

Beſides the premiſes ſend ſixe yards of ſkarlet, parchment lace of diuers colours.
Sixe yards of crimoſin veluet.
Sixe yards of crimoſin ſatten.
Twelue yards of fine puke blacke.

Here in this countrey in ſtead of Iohn Whithall they haue called me Iohn Leitoan: ſo that they haue vſed this name ſo long time, that at this preſent there is no remedie but it muſt remaine ſo. When you write vnto me, let the ſuperſcription be vnto Iohn Leitoan. Iohn Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the holy Ghoſt for euer.

If you ſend this ſhip, I would haue you giue order that ſhe touch in no part of the coaſt of Guinie nor any other coaſt, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be diſpatched in my name, to wit, Iohn Leitoan.

Alſo a dozen of ſhirts for my wearing let be ſent, if you ſend the ſhip.
Item, ſixe or eight peeces of ſayes for mantles for women, which is the moſt neceſſary thing that can be ſent.

By your aſſured friend *Iohn Whithall.*

A copie of the letters of the Aduenturers for *Braſill* ſent to *Iohn Whithall* dwelling in *Santos*, by the *Minion* of *London.* Anno 1580. the 24. of October in *London.*

MAſter Whithall, as vnacquainted wee commend vs vnto you, &c. vnderſtanding by your friends, M. Iohn Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, and your brother Iames Whithall of certaine letters that they haue receiued of yours frõ Santos, which wee haue ſeene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and deſire them to ſend a good ſhip to Santos, with ſuch wares and commodities as you did write for, whereby you did not onely promiſe that they ſhould haue good intertainment, but alſo ſhould ſell the ſaide commodities to make three of one outward at the leaſt in euery thing, and that for to relade their ſhip backe, they ſhould haue of the beſt, fineſt, & whiteſt drie ſugars 32. pound of our weight for a ducket at the moſt. The premiſes conſidered, with the great credit that they and we doe giue to your writing & promiſe, haue cauſed vs, whoſe names be hereunder written, to ioyne our ſelues in company together, & to be at great charges purpoſely to ſend this good ſhip the Minion of London, not onely with ſuch marchandizes as you wrote for, but alſo with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleaſure you, or profit the country. And we craue of you, that we and our factors may haue ſo much credite of you, as we haue in you and of your letters, which is to beleeue vs that we haue taken this voyage vpon vs, with no other minde or purpoſe, then to deale faithfully and truely in the trade by ſea and land, ſo as you ſhall not onely haue cauſe to reioyce, and deſerue thanks for our comming, but alſo you wil procure the magiſtrates there to be bound, as they vſe in Galicia, that we may be preſerued and defended from all repriſals and imbargments of princes or ſubiects for any cauſes or matters whatſoeuer, whereby wee may bee incouraged by them, giuing vs this ſecuritie of good intertainment, to continue the trade yeerely henceforth: and for our parts we promiſe vpon our credits and fidelities, to commit no outrage at the ſea nor land, nor ſuffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather to defend and protect all other ſuch peaceable marchants as we are, with their ſhips and goods.

And to the ende that you and others ſhall know that wee meane as we ſay, we haue giuen order to our factours to giue you good hoſtages for your aſſurance of our good fidelities: and further we haue ſent a teſtimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing vnder the ſeales of this honourable Citie of London, which we will not diſcredite by our behauiours for all the treaſure that you haue: and ſo we haue written to your magiſtrates of your port, and others in Spaniſh, the copy whereof we ſend you herewith encloſed in Engliſh. And if the time ſhould fal out ſo contrary to our expectations, that there ſhould not be fine white ſugar ſufficient to lade our ſaid ſhip in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may goe with the ſhippe in ſafetie to ſupply their want, and helpe them to a good ſure Pilot for that purpoſe, and write your letters to your friends where the beſt ſugar is made in their fauors, and helpe our factours to haue a teſtimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and ſo departed in good and perfect amitie, and ſhew them that the iuſt cauſe of our comming is to trade as marchants peaceably, and not as Pirats to commit any offence to one or other.

Alſo we pray you, if there be any ſtore of ware, or ſalt-peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld vs as much profit as the white ſugars at a ducket the roue, or any other commoditie of like profite, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of lawe, be it oare of golde or ſiluer or whatſoeuer elſe.

Wee haue ſent you copper cauldrons for your Ingenios, with iron and all other neceſſaries for your purpoſe, and artificers to ſet the ſame: and as wee haue at your requeſt bene at great charges in ſending theſe men, ſo we pray you let vs haue lawful fauour in like courteſie to further all our cauſes. And if any of our Mariners or paſſengers in any reſpect of diſpleaſure againſt their company, or in hope of preferment of mariage or otherwiſe would procure to tary and dwell there, and leaue his charge and office, that then you will bee a meane to the Iuſtice that ſuch fugitiues ſhould bee ſent abord the ſhip as priſoners: for as you know, without our men wee cannot bring home our ſhip.

Wee haue giuen order to our factours to vſe your counſell and helpe in their affaires, and to gratifie you for the ſame as to your courteſie and faithfull friendſhip ſhall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes towards you, we haue ſent you a field-bed of walnut tree, with the canopy, valens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commoditie elſe that may pleaſure you or your friends, wee haue giuen order that they ſhall haue the refuſing of it before any other, giuing for it as it is worth.

And thus to conclude, promiſing to performe all the foreſaide things on our parts in euery condition, we commit you to God, who euer preſerue you with all his bleſſings.

Your louing friends
Chriſtopher Hodſdon.
Anthonie Garrard.
Thomas Bramlie.
Iohn Bird. } { William Elkin,

M. Stephen Hare was Captaine in this voyage.

Certaine notes of the voyage to *Braſill* with the *Minion* of *London*, aforeſaid, in the yere 1580. written by *Thomas Grigs* Purſer of the ſaid ſhip.

The thirde day of Nouember in the yeere aboueſaid we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing worth the knowledge or regard of others happened vntil the 22. of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning & vſe wee obſerued the ſetting of the Sunne, which was Weſt ſouthweſt, we then being vnder the line Equinoctiall, where we found the aire very temperate, and the winde for the most part Southeaſt and Eaſt ſoutheaſt. The ſame day we alſo obſerued the riſing of the moone, being one day after the full, which roſe at Eaſt northeaſt.

The yle of S. Sebaſtian.

The firſt land that wee fell with vpon the coaſt of Braſill was the yland of S, Sebaſtian, where we arriued the 14. day of Ianuary in the yeere 1581.

The 16. day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinneſſe, went a ſhoare to Guaybea, where they met with Iohn Whithall his father and mother in lawe, who hauing receiued letters from thence to be deliuered at Santos, came abord, and then we weyed and ſet ſaile, and the 28. day wee arriued at the yland of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos.

The yle of S. Catelina.

Our courſe from S. Sebaſtian was Southweſt and by Weſt, and betwixt the Southweſt and by Weſt, and Weſt ſouthweſt.

This yland of Santa Catelina ſeemeth at the firſt to be a part of the yland of Girybia. Wee ankered at nine fathome blacke oſe ground.

Upon the yland there grow many Palmito-trees, but no freſh water is there to be found.

The third day of February we arriued before the towne of Santos, and were there well receiued and intertained of the Captaine, the kings officers, and all the people.

They arriue at Santos.

The fourth day we tooke into our ſhip a beefe aliue, which ſerued for the victualling of the ſhip, and the refreſhing of our men, and to make vs the merrier at Shrouetide.

The eight day we deliuered to M. Iohn Whithall a bedſtead with the appurtenances, which were ſent to him from our marchants of London.

The 18. day the captaine of Santos came abord our ſhip, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French ſhips of warre, that had bene at the riuer of Ienero, which there tooke three Canoas, but were driuen from thence by their caſtles & forts, and were looked for here at Santos. Whereupon the Captaine requeſted vs to lend them ſome armour and artillery, and we lent them twentie caliuers, and two barrels of powder.

The 19. day our ſkiffe which we had ſent to Alcatrarzas, and had bene away ſixe dayes, came againe, and brought good ſtore of great and good fiſh, and tolde vs that there was good ſtore of fiſh to be taken there by the hooke, and as much wood as we would haue of the Palmito-tree.

The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes.

The 20. day at night Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell ouer our ſhippes ſide, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our ſhip rode at anker.

The 22. day two of the Canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the riuer of Ienero, returned to Santos, and reported that the foure French ſhips were paſt to the ſouthwards, as they thought, for the Straights of Magellan, and ſo into the South ſea.

The 23. day the aforeſaide Nicholas Gale, who fell ouerbord two dayes before, was found againe, and taken vp three miles from our ſhip, and our company went to his buriall in the Church at Santos.

This day the Captaine and Iuſtices of Santos wiſhed vs to tary in their road till the laſt of April, for they had ſent a barke of Santos to Baya at the kings charges, to know whether we ſhould haue trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arriued at Fernambuck a ſhippe from Portugall, which brought newes that the Iſlands, Indies, and Portugall it ſelfe was moleſted and troubled by the Spaniards, and that the Portugales had both Engliſh and Frenchmen to Lisbone to defend them againſt Spaine.

The 25. day wee ſent two of our men, namely Thomas Michael and Simon Thorne to Baya in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The two and twentie day of April our Maſter and Thomas Babington hauing ſome talke and conference with the Padres of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the Riuer of Ienero) tolde them, that they were ſorry for our baniſhment from the Church, and that the Miniſtrador had written from Rio de Ienero, that foraſmuch as theſe twentie yeres or more the Engliſh nation had denied the Church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Miniſtrador commanded that none of vs ſhould come to their Church: the Padres willed vs herein to haue patience, and to take it in good part, and promiſed to ſtand our friends in their word and writing, both to the Miniſtrador and to the biſhop at Baya, and further requeſted all our Engliſh company to haue no ill opinion of them.

The 28. of April we laded ſugars into our ſhip.

Their lading of ſugars.

The 21. of May we tooke in freſh victuals from Santos.

The 10. day of Iune wee gratified one Ioſto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with ſome of our Engliſh victuals, and intertained him in good ſort in our ſhip, and this day wee were promiſed to haue a Pilot at Santos to cary vs to Baya.

The 11. day we went to fiſh, to make prouiſion for our ſhip and men, and from that time till the eighteenth day wee fet water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our ſhip of the harmes and leakes which the wormes had made in her while wee rode at the yland of S. Sebaſtian, and in the meane time we departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Maſter ſent his ſkiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to haue brought Thomas Babington and William Euet with the Pilot, which wee had tarried for three dayes: and as the ſkiffe was going, William Euet being by the Riuers ſide, called to our pinneſſe, and ſent a letter to our * Maſter, which Thomas Babington had written, wherein were no newes, but that the Miniſtrador was arriued at Santos from the Riuer of Ienero, and would ſpeake with our Maſter, but he willed that whatſoeuer Thomas Babington did write, no credit ſhould be giuen to it. And further he wiſhed vs preſently to depart for Sant Sebaſtian, and there to diſpatch our buſineſſe, and then to ſende backe for Babington and himſelfe

Leaks in the Minion made by wormes.

* Whoſe name was Stephan Hare.

himſelfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would giue his attendance to come abord.

Their departure from Santos.

As we rid two leagues a ſea-bord the barre of Santos, wee broke a cable in the open ſea, which happened the 15. day of this moneth.

We arriued at S. Sebaſtian the 15. day, and there ſhifted our balaſt, and had in ſtones, and hal- led our ſhip a ground to ſtop our leakes, & caried our caſke a ſhoare to be hooped for water, which indeed might better haue bene done in Santos, before the Miniſtrador came thither: yet we finiſhed all things pertaining to our ſhip, by the 22. of this moneth, at S. Sebaſtian.

The firſt day of Iuly Thomas Babington came abord with William Euet, in our pinneſſe, and the reſt of our men that went for them: but there was no Pilot brought according to promiſe to cary vs to Baya.

The things that we obſerued and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were theſe.

All ſuch wares and marchandizes as owe no cuſtome in Braſill, their vſe is, to ſet a price vpon the ſame, how they ſhalbe ſold: which is done by the magiſtrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their king.

But for all ſuch marchandizes as do owe cuſtome there, the marchants are to ſell them according as they may, to the greateſt profit and aduantage that they can.

Some part of Peru but 12. dayes iourney from Santos.

Concerning the prouince of Peru, wee learned that one part of it by land & water is but twelue dayes iourney from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or fiue dayes iourney by water to the maine riuer of Plate.

From the head of the riuer of Plate, and from their chiefe townes there, they doe trade and traffique by land into Peru by waggons, and horſes or mules.

The ſaide riuer of Plate is ſo full of ſands and dangers, and the freſh ſo fierce ſometimes, that no ſhipping dares to deale with it, ſmall barks to their knowledge may go vp it, and not els.

The Portugales forbidden to vſe their mines.

The Portugales here cannot bee ſuffered to vſe their Mines of treaſure in theſe parts, vpon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king and the Vice-roy, who is as their king in place of authoritie.

About twentie leagues from Santos there is a certaine kinde of wilde Sauages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendſhip with the Portugales, and they haue continuall warres with certaine other Sauages that dwell towards the borders of Peru, which is diſtant from Santos about 400. or 500. leagues. Thoſe Sauages of Peru haue ſtore of gold and ſiluer, but they know not the vſe of it.

Looke what Sauages of their enemies they take, they ſell them to the Portugales for kniues, combes, axes or hatchets, and other trifles: they will ſell one for a pennie-knife to a Portugal, and after two yeeres they are worth twentie or thirtie duckets to the Portugal.

This people haue alſo continuall warres with the Spaniards: and this was tolde vs by one of thoſe Sauages, which hath dwelt among the Portugales theſe ſeuen yeeres, with his maſter called Senior Manoel Veloſo. And this fellowe would willingly haue come with vs for England.

The yle of Alcatrarzas or Pelicanes, dangerous for rockes.

There are certaine rockes that lie off betweene the yle of Alcatrarzas and S. Sebaſtian, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in faire weather ſhewe like the ſailes of ſhips.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Catelina alſo fiue leagues to the Eaſt and by South into the ſea off the yland.

At our comming vp to Santos we found foure fadom and a halfe water in the ſhalloweſt place, and the like we found within a league after we were departed from S. Catelina, litle more or leſſe, but after you haue runne in the depth of foure fadome and a halfe, about a mile or leſſe, then you ſhall haue it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight and tenne fadome water.

A letter of *Francis Suares* to his brother *Diego Suares* dwelling in *Lisbon*, written from the riuer of *Ienero* in *Braſill* in Iune 1596. concerning the exceeding rich trade newly begunne betweene that place and *Peru*, by the way of the riuer of *Plate*, with ſmall barks of 30. and 40. tunnes.

Sir, we ſet ſaile from Lisbon the fourth of April 1596. and arriued here in this riuer of Ienero the twentie ſeuenth of Iune next enſuing. And the ſame day the Viſitadores did viſite our ſhip with great ioy, thinking that thoſe commodities which wee brought with vs, had bene for the marchants of this countrey: but it prooued to the contrary.

The pilot brought with him in the ſayd ſhippe two pipes of wine which were taken from him, and ſolde by the Iuſtice for foure and twenty reals euery gallon. But I ſolde mine for two and thirty and ſixe and thirty reals the gallon. If I had brought any great ſtore of wine, I ſhould haue made a great gaine of it: for I ſhould haue gotten eight reals for one.

Wine ſolde at an excellent rate.

The next day in the morning wee went all on ſhore, and gaue God thanks for our proſperous voyage, and good ſucceſſe which he had ſent vs. And becauſe the gouernour of this countrey was gone from this Towne to another houſe of his, three leagues vp into the riuer beyond the place where we rode at anker, I deſired the captaine of our ſhippe after dinner, that we might take the ſhippe boat, and goe to the place where the gouernour did lie. And ſo going vp the riuer, we met with a canoa which was comming downe the riuer, and going aboord our ſhippe; which canoa was laden with freſh victuals, and in the ſame was one Portugall, which met vs, and tolde vs that the gouernour of that captaineſhippe had ſent vs a preſent, which we receiued very thankefully, and ſent it aboord. And we went vp the riuer, to the place where the gouernour did dwell; and comming to the place where we landed, hard by the the riuers ſide, the gouernour came thither and receiued vs very courteouſly. So we remained at his houſe two dayes, talking of many matters of Portugall: then we departed from him, and came downe the riuer.

Three dayes after, I hired a ware-houſe by my ſelfe, and landed my commodities. And now I am ſelling them as faſt as I can; and ſell them very well, and to great profit: for I haue ſolde all our hats. I would I had brought forty or fifty dozen, by reaſon of the great vtterance of them vp into Peru, and into the new kingdome of Granada, by the way of the riuer of Plate. For here is paſſage euery three or foure moneths with barks of thirty and forty tunnes a piece, which are laden with ſugars, rice, taffataes, hats, and other kindes of commodities of this countrey, which are caried vp the ſayd riuer of Plate in the ſayd barks, and thence are conueyed vp into Peru. And theſe barks are but tenne or twelue dayes going vp the ſayd riuer to Peru. And within foure and fiue moneths after, the ſayd barkes come downe this riuer againe laden with reals of plate, and bring downe from thoſe places no other commodities but treaſure. It is a woonderfull thing to beholde the great gaine and profit which is gotten in this riuer and in this countrey. I am aſhamed to write it, fearing that I ſhall not be beleeued. For the imployment of one hundred ducats in Spaine, being brought hither, will yeeld twelue hundred and fifteene hundred ducats profit. This trade hath beene vſed but within this yeere. For wee can goe vp to the mines of Potoſi, which are the beſt and the richeſt mines in all Peru. If the merchants of Spaine and Portugall did know this trade, they would not ſend nor venture ſo much merchandiſe to Cartagena as they doe. For vp this riuer is a great deale the neerer way, and the eaſier to go to Peru. For the Peruleros or merchants of Peru, which dwell there, come downe to this harbour and riuer of Ienero, and bring with them fifteene thouſand and twentie thouſand ducats in reals of plate and gold, and imploy it heere in this riuer in commodities: and when heere are no commodities to be had for money in this place, then theſe merchants of Peru are conſtrained to go to Baia and Fernambuc, and there to imploy their money. I would I had brought good ſtore of ſilks, and not theſe kinde of commodities which I did bring. For heere is more profit to be had a great deale then in the voyage of Angola. For heere with fiue hundred ducats in fiue moneths ſpace a man may get ſixe thouſand ducats. And this is no fable, but moſt true, and a great deale more then I can expreſſe. For a rapier which doeth coſt in Spaine foure and twenty and ſixe and twenty reals, is ſolde heere for forty and fifty ducats: a bridle for a horſe is ſolde for fifteene ducats: a locke of a doore and the key is ſolde for ten ducats: a pound of beniamin is ſolde for fifteene ducats: a yard of veluet is ſolde for twenty and fiue and twenty ducats: taffataes are ſolde for ſixe and ſeuen ducats the vare: an ownce of muſke is ſolde for forty ducats: and all kinde of commodities after this rate. So one thouſand ducats of Spaniſh commodities will gaine tenne thouſand ducats. Thus I hope in God to make more profit and gaine this voyage, then in two voyages to Angola: for I haue ſolde moſt of my hats for two duckets and a halfe and for three ducats. The reſt I will cary to Angola, to helpe to ſell the reſt of my commodities, which I cannot ſell in this riuer. And I haue ſolde an hundred cubits of broad cloth for fiue hundred and fiue hundred and fifty and ſixe hundred reys the cubit. If I would haue ſolde all my cloth for ready money tolde downe for foure hundred and fifty and fiue hundred reyes the merchants would haue bought it all of me: but I would ſell no more, becauſe I meant to exchange it in Angola for Negros. Howbeit with ready money in hand in Angola a man ſhall buy better Negros, and better cheape. The captaine of our ſhip ſolde all his cloth for ready money for foure hundred & fifty reys the cubit, and thought that he had made a good market: but he hath deceiued himſelfe. I ſolde ſix broad clothes for fiue hundred and fifty reys the cubit: and I was offered thirty thouſand reys for a cloth. Vineger is ſolde

A rich trade from the riuer of Ienero vp the riuer of Plate into Peru, &c.

The ſhortneſſe of the returne of the voyage to Peru.

This rich trade was begunne in the yeere 1595.

The voyage of Angola in Africa.

Gaine of ten thouſand ducats for the laying out of one thouſand.

A trade of buying Negros in Angola.

Broad cloth excellently well ſolde.

Vineger.

Oliues.
Taffataes.
Veluets.

ſolde for two and thirty, and ſixe and thirty, and forty reals a iarre, by reaſon there is great ſtore of limmons and orenges in the countrey: but in Angola it is more worth. Oliues are ſolde for halfe a reall a piece: wherefore I hope to ſell the hogſhead for twenty thouſand reys. In taffataes and veluets there will be gotten two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one hundred. If I had brought great ſtore, I could haue ſolde it all at this rate. I haue already gotten good ſtore of reals of plate: for it is tolde mee that money is a good commoditie in Angola. But I muſt imploy ſome in meale, which is in the grinding. All the reſt of my money I will ſend you by billes of exchange, and ſome part I will imploy in ſugars: for I haue ſent order to Baia for that purpoſe. For from this place there is no ſhipping that doth go that way. So theſe letters I do ſend by the way of Fernambuc, and haue directed them to my couſin: for I do determine to ſettle my ſelfe here in this countrey. There is come downe from Peru, by this riuer of Plate, a merchant called Alonſo Ramires, and he hath brought downe with him ten or twelue thouſand ducats in reals of plate, and is come downe to this place to build him a ſhip to returne into Spaine: and there is come in his company a biſhop. And thus Ieſus Chriſt ſend you long health.

Your louing brother *Francis Suares.*

The well gouerned and proſperous voyage of M. *Iames Lancaſter*, begun with three ſhips and a galley-frigat from *London* in October 1594,

and intended for *Fernambuck*, the port-towne of *Olinda* in *Braſil.* In which voyage (beſides the taking of nine and twenty ſhips and frigats) he ſurprized the ſayd port-towne, being ſtrongly fortified and manned; and held poſſeſſion thereof thirty dayes together (notwithſtanding many bolde aſſaults of the enemy both by land and water) and alſo prouidently defeated their dangerous and almoſt ineuitable fire-works. Heere he found the *cargazon* or freight of a rich Eaſt Indian carack; which together with great abundance of ſugars, Braſil-wood, and cotton he brought from thence; lading therewith fifteene ſailes of tall ſhips and barks.

IN September 1594 the worſhipfull M. Iohn Wats, alderman, M. Paul Banning, alderman, & others of worſhip in the city of London, victualled three good ſhips; to wit, The Conſent, of the burthen of 240 tunnes or thereabout, The Salomon, of 170 tunnes, and The Virgin, of 60 tunnes: and appointed for commanders in this voyage, M. Iames Lancaſter of London, gentleman, admirall of the fleet, M. Edmund Barker of London, viceadmirall, and M. Iohn Audely of Poplar neere London, rereadmirall, hauing in their ſayd ſhips to the number of 275 men and boyes.

Being fully furniſhed with all needfull prouiſion, wee departed from Blackwall in October following, keeping our owne coaſt, vntill we came into the Weſt countrey, where we met with ſuch guſts and ſtormes, that the Salomon ſpending her maſt at the Range of Dartmouth, put into harbour; but by the earneſt care and induſtry of the generall and others hauing charge, ſhe was ſhortly againe prouided. Which done, hauing a pleaſant gale for our purpoſe, we put forth from Dartmouth the laſt of Nouember following. But contrary to our expectation, not fifty leagues from our owne coaſt, we loſt the Salomon and the Virgin, by a ſtorme of contrary winde that fell vpon vs: yet being alone, in hope to meet them about the Canaries or Cape Blank, we kept on our courſe to the Canaries, but could heare no tidings of our conſorts; which greatly grieued vs.

A ſhippe with 80 tunnes of wine taken.

Another prize with 40 tunnes of wine taken.

Thence we went, bearing for the iſle of Tenerif, where in the morning early we had ſight of a ſaile, which being becalmed vnder the ſhore, was towing with their boat ahead, hauing one other at her ſterne. For this ſaile we manned our boat, appointing our men wel for fight, if neet ſhould require. The Spaniards ſeeing our boat come, entred theirs, and leauing the ſhip, ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight: but our men purſued them ſo faſt, that they boorded them, and brought them with their ſhippe to our Generall. This ſhip was laden with 80 tunnes of Canary-wine, which came not vnto vs before it was welcome. We kept and manned it, plying that day, and the next night thereabout. The very next morning we had ſight of one other; to whome in like maner wee ſent our boat: but their gunner made a ſhot at her, and ſtrooke off a proper young mans arme; yet we inforced her to yeeld, and found 40 tunnes of wine in her. The Spaniards hauing their free paſſage, and an acquitance for the deliuery of their wines, were all ſet on ſhore vpon Tenerif, making a quicke returne of their long voyage intended into the Weſt Indies.

Hence we departed toward Cape Blank; and before wee came thither, we met againe with the Virgin our rereadmirall, whoſe men tolde vs for very truth, that the Salomon was returned for England, inforced ſo to doe, by ſpending her maſt the ſecond time. Which when our men vnderſtood, they were all in a maze, not knowing what to doe, and ſaying among themſelues that their force was but ſmall when all our ſtrength were together, and now we had loſt the one halfe of our ſtrength, we were not able to performe the voyage: and therefore ſome of them came to the captain, aſking him what he would now do, ſeeing the Salomon was loſt, the one halfe of our ſtrength, giuing him counſell to beare vp for the Weſt Indies, and proue there to make his voyage, becauſe his firſt plat for want of ſtrength was cleane ouerthrown. The captaine hearing this new nouelty, as not vnacquainted with the variable pretenſes of mariners, made them this anſwere: Sirs, I made knowen to you all at my comming out of England what I pretended, and that I meant to go for Fernambuck, and although at the preſent we want one of our ſhips, yet (God willing) I meane to go forward, not doubting but to meet her at the appointed places, which are either at Cape Blank or the iſlands of Cape Verde: for I am aſſured that M. Barker the captaine is ſo reſolute to performe this voyage, that his maſt being repaired, he will not faile to meet vs, & it were no wiſdome for vs to diuert our courſe, till we haue ſought him at thoſe places where our appointed meeting is: for the diuerting of courſes is the ouerthrow of moſt of our actions. And I hope you will be all contented herewith: for to go any other courſe then I haue determined, (by Gods helpe) I will not be drawen vnto. With theſe reaſons and many others ſhewed, they reſted all ſatiſfied: and at our comming to Cape Blank (God be praiſed) we met with the Salomon with no ſmall ioy to vs all; and there ſhe had taken of Spaniards and Portugals 24 ſaile of ſhips and carauels, fiſher-men, and had taken out of them ſuch neceſſaries as ſhe had need of. Of theſe ſhips our captaine tooke foure along with him, with another that he had taken himſelfe, meaning to imploy them as occaſion ſhould ſerue. At this place he vnderſtood of one of the pilots of thoſe ſhips, that one of the caracks that came out of the Eaſt Indies, was caſt away in the rode of Fernambuc, and that all her goods were layd vpon the Arraçiſe which is the lower towne. Of theſe newes we were all glad, and reioyced much; for our hopes were very good, ſeeing ſuch a booty before vs.

Foure & twenty ſailes of ſhips & of carauels taken by the Salomon.

Of this good company and happy ſucceſſe we were all ioyful, and had great hope of the bleſſing of God in performance of our intended voyage, and ſo after ſome parle & making frolike for ioy of our meeting one with the other (praiſing God for all) we plied for Maio: where comming to anker, our generall & the reſt of the captaines went aſhore to view the place where we might in beſt ſafety ſet our gally-frigat together; which frame wee brought from England of purpoſe to land men in the country of Braſil. Here we diſcharged our great prize of wine, and ſet her on fire: but before our comming thither, you ſhall vnderſtand we had ſight of foure ſailes, which was captaine Venner in his ſhip the Peregrine, and a proper Biſkaine which he tooke at Cape Blank, the Welcome of Plymmouth & her pinneſſe: all which ſtood with vs. But they ſeeing our flags, not expecting ſuch good fellowes as we, did beare from vs all they might; which our people tooke very vnkindly, that being all friends, they would neither enquire, nor tell vs any newes of our friends, but without making any ſhew of kindnes would ſo depart. As before I haue ſaid, the choice being made for the place to build the gally-frigat, aſhore it was brought, where the carpenters applied their worke, ſtill cheered vnto it by the generals good gifts beſtowed among them, and kind vſage of the reſt of the commanders, not without great care of the captaine for the ſafety of them all, by keeping good watch: yet one negligent fellow, which had no knowledge of the country, ſtraying from his company, was by the Portugals taken, & very kindly vſed, and brought againe vnto vs: for which good the generall rewarded them well with gifts very acceptable, which they tooke as kindly. While wee were thus buſily imployed about the foreſayd galley, we deſcried at ſea foure ſailes, which we had good hope would haue prooued Indies men, or ſome to haue brought vs what wee looked for: but they proued captaine Venner with his fleet, as aforeſayd, who, ſeeing vs at anker, ankered alſo; where ſpending ſome time, and being acquainted with our generals determination for landing, conſorted with vs, & their bils, according to the maner of the ſea, were made and ſigned on either part, we to haue three parts, & he the fourth, of all that ſhould be taken, whereby our ſtrength was increaſed, to all our comforts. Three weeks or thereabouts we ſtayd in this place before the gally was finiſhed; which done, putting men into her, and fitting her with oares, hauing foureteene banks on a ſide, a maſt and ſaile, the commandement of her was committed vnto M. Wats, an honeſt ſkilfull mariner.

Maio.

A gally-frigat caried out of England in pieces.

The gally-frigat ſet vp.

From thence we put againe to ſea, and went for the Ile Braua, where we watered: which done, we made no long ſtay after, but bent our courſe as directly as we could for the place, making our firſt fall with the land to the Southward of Cape S. Auguſtine; from whence wee plied ſtill to our deſired port of Fernambuck, and did ſo much, that about midnight we came before the harbour; where ſome plied vp and downe, holding that the beſt policy, to forbeare the entring till day might giue them light, the harborow being hard, and therefore the more perillous. Our ſhips

Cape S. Auguſtine.

Fernambuck.

The 29 of March.

being in ſafety well arriued, God was praiſed: and the generall in his boat went from ſhip to ſhip, willing them to make ready ſuch men as they could ſpere, with muſkets, pikes, billes, bowes arrowes, and what weapons they had to follow him. Himſelfe, with 80 men from his owne ſhip, imbarked himſelfe in the gally, which caried in her prow a good ſacar, and two murdering pieces.

Our admiral ſpent all the night in giuing directions to euery ſhip to haue their men ready ſhipped in their boats, for he intended to enter the harborow at the breake of day, & to leaue his ſhips without, till he had gotten the fort and the towne: for he would not aduenture the ſhips in, till the harborow was gotten. Alſo he prouided fiue ſhips, which he brought from Cape Blank, and put men in them as many as could conueniently ſaile them, and no more, giuing them charge to enter the harborow with his boats: for at the entrance of the harborow rode three great Holland ſhips, which our admirall doubted would impeach his going in; and therefore he gaue order to the men of theſe fiue ſmall ſhips, which were not aboue 60 tunnes a piece, if the Hollanders did offer any reſiſtance, to run aboord of them, & to ſet their owne ſhips on fire, and ſcape in their boats, which they had for the ſame purpoſe, that by this meanes they might not impeach our entrance. But when the morning was come, we were fallen aboue halfe a mile downe to the Northward, below the harborow, which was a great inconuenience vnto vs: ſo that before wee could get vp againe, the ebbe was come vpon vs, and thereby we were forced to houer before the harborow till two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the ſight of all the towne. In this meane time, our ſhips rode before the fort without the harborow, about a demy-culuering ſhot off: in the which time paſſed many ſhot betweene the fort and the ſhips, and eſpecially betweene the admirals ſhip and them: but no great harme was done on either part. All this while our admirall kept the men ready houering in the gally & the boats. The Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow, ſeeing our reſolution, layd out hauſers, and wound themſelues out of the way of vs. Our admiral was very ioyfull, & gaue great incouragement to all his men: for, to paſſe theſe three great Hollanders, he held it the greateſt danger of all. About 12 of the clocke the gouernor of the towne ſent a Portugall aboord the admirals ſhip, to know what he would haue, and wherefore he came. He returned him this anſwere: That he wanted the caracks goods; and for them he came, and them he would haue, and that he ſhould ſhortly ſee. In this proceſſe of time, the townes-men and inhabitants which ſaw ſo much ſhipping, & perceiued vs to be enemies, gathered themſelues together, three or foure enſignes of men, eſteemed to the number of ſome ſix hundred at the leaſt. Theſe came to the fort or plat-forme lying ouer againſt the entry of the harborow, and there attended our landing: but before our admiral ſet forward with his boats, he gaue expreſſe order to all that had charge of gouerning the boats or galley, to run them with ſuch violence againſt the ſhore, that they ſhould be all caſt away without recouery, and not one man to ſtay in them, whereby our men might haue no maner of retreat to truſt vnto, but onely to God and their weapons.

Now was the time come of the flood, being about two of the clocke in the afternoone, when our admirall ſet forward, and entered the harborow with the ſmall galley, and all the reſt of the boats following him, the Hollanders that rode in the mouth of the harborow nothing impeached him: but now the fort began to play with their ordinance vpon the galley and the boats; and one of their ſhot tooke away a great piece of our enſigne out of the galley. But our ſaile being ſet, it was no time for vs to make any ſtay, but with all the force we could we ranne the galley vpon the ſhore right vnder the fort, within a coits caſt of it, with ſuch violence, that we brake her backe; and ſhe ſuncke preſently: for there where we landed, went a breach of the ſea, which preſently caſt her away. The boats comming after did the like. At our arriuall, thoſe in the fort had laden all their ordinance, being ſeuen pieces of braſſe, to diſcharge them vpon vs at our landing; which indeed they did: for our admirall leaping into the water, all the reſt following him, off came theſe pieces of ordinance: but almighty God be praiſed, they in the fort, with feare to ſee vs land in their faces, had piked their ordinance ſo ſteepe downewards with their mouthes, that they ſhot all their ſhot in the ſand, although, as I ſayd before, it was not aboue a coits caſt at the moſt betweene the place wee landed and the face of the fort: ſo that they onely ſhot off one of our mens armes, without doing any more hurt; which was to vs a great bleſſing of God: for if thoſe ordinances had bene well leuelled, a great number of vs had loſt our liues at that inſtant. Our admirall ſeeing this, cried out, incouraging his men, Vpon them, vpon them; all (by Gods helpe) is ours: and they therewith ran to the fort with all violence. Theſe foure enſignes of men that were ſet to defend our landing, ſeeing this reſolution, began to go backe, and retire into certeine buſhes that were by the ſame fort; and being followed, fledde thorow a certeine oaze which was dry, being then but the beginning of the tide: and ſo abandoned the fort, and left it with their ordinance to vs. This day of our arriuall was their Good-friday, when by cuſtome they vſually whippe them-

The fort of Fernambuck taken.

ſelues: but God ſent vs now for a generall ſcourge to them all, whereby that labour among them might be well ſpared. The fort being taken with all their ordinance, the admirall waued to the ſhips, willing them to wey and come in; which they did with all ſpeed, himſelfe taking order in leauing certeine men in keeping the ſayd fort, and placed the ordinance toward the high towne, from whence hee ſuſpected the greateſt danger; and putting his men in order, marched toward the low towne, which was about ſome foureteene ſcore from the fort: in which towne lay all their merchandize and other goods. Approching to the towne, he entered the ſame, the people imbarking themſelues in carauels & boats, with all the expedition they could. The baſe towne, of aboue an hundred houſes, being thus taken, we found in it great ſtore of merchandizes of all ſorts: as Braſil-wood, ſugars, Calico-cloth, pepper, cynamon, cloues, maſe, nutmegs, with diuers other good things, to the great comfort of vs all. The admirall went vp and downe the towne, and placed at the South end of the ſame captaine Venner and his company, himſelfe and his company in the midſt of the towne, and captaine Barker and captaine Addy at the other end of the towne, giuing great charge, that no man vpon paine of great puniſhment and loſſe of his ſhares, ſhould breake vp or enter into any ware-houſe, without order and direction from the admirall. And this commandement was as well kept as euer any was kept, where ſo great ſpoile and booty was found: for it was not knowen in all the time of our being there, that any diſorder was committed, or any lodge or ware-houſe broken open, or any ſpoile was made, or pillaging of any thing; which is a note much to be obſerued in ſuch an action: for common mariners and ſouldiers are much giuen to pillaging and ſpoiling, making greater account of the ſame then of their ſhares.

Order being put in all things, we kept a very ſure watch this firſt night, and the morning being come, our admirall and captaine Venner, with the reſt of the captaines, went about the towne, and gaue order for the fortifying of it with all expedition: ſo that within two dayes it was ſurrounded with poſts & planks, all that part of the towne next the maine land, at leaſt nine foot high; for (God be thanked) we found prouiſion in the towne, ſufficient ſtore for it. Now it is to be vnderſtood, that this towne is enuironed on the one part by the ſea, and on the backſide by a riuer that runneth behinde it; ſo that to come to it by land, you muſt enter it by a ſmall narrow paſſage not aboue forty paces ouer at an high water. At this paſſage we built a fort, and planted in it fiue pieces of ordinance, which we tooke out of the firſt fort we wan at our comming in to the harborow. Now we hauing the towne in poſſeſſion, our admirall ſent for the Hollanders by his chyrurgian, which had bene brought vp in that countrey, a man knowing their conditions, and ſober and diſcreet of his owne cariage. At his firſt comming aboord of them, they ſeemed to ſtand vpon their owne guard and defence, for they were three great and ſtrong ſhips: but he vſed himſelfe ſo, that they at the laſt willed him to come into the greateſt of their ſhips, which was aboue 450 tunnes. Then he declared to them our intent of comming thither, and that they ſhould be there as ſure from any ſhew of violence or iniury offered them, as if they were in their owne houſes, and if they ſhould thinke ſo good, his admirall would fraight thē for England, if they would be content with fraight reaſonable, and as they ſhould agree, and it ſhould be at their owne choiſe whether to go or not, he would not force them, vnleſſe it were to their benefit and good liking. Although this people were ſomewhat ſtubburne at the firſt, as that nation is in theſe cauſes, yet being ſatiſfied with good words and good dealing they came aland, & after conference had with the admirall, they were ſo ſatiſfied, that they went thorow with a fraight; and then we ioyned with them, & they with vs, and they ſerued vs as truely & as faithfully as our owne people did, both at watch and ward, by ſea and all other ſeruices. Within two dayes after our comming in, about midnight, a great number of Portugals and Indians with them, came downe vpon vs with a very great cry and noiſe; but God be thanked, we were ready for them: for our admirall ſuppoſing ſome ſuch aſſault, had prouided all our muskets with haile-ſhot, which did ſo gaule both the Indians and the Portugals, that they made them preſently retreat. And this is to be noted, that there was both the horſe and his rider ſlaine both with one of theſe ſhot. Our men followed them ſome fiue or ſixe ſcore, but no further. We loſt in this conflict but onely one man, but had diuers hurt. What was loſt of their part, we could not tell, for they had before day, after our retreat, caried away all their dead. Within three or foure dayes after our comming in appeared before the harborow 3 ſhips & 2 pinneſſes, the pinneſſes being ſomewhat nere, diſcried our flags, and one of them came in, which was a French pinneſſe, declaring all the reſt to be French bottoms; which our admirall willed ſhould come in: and ſo they did. Theſe were Frenchmen of war, and came thither for purchaſe. The captaines came aland, and were welcomed; amongſt whom was one captaine Iohn Noyer of Diepe, that the yere before had taken in our admirall at the iland of Mona in the Weſt Indies, where his ſhip was caſt away, comming out of the Eaſt Indies. To this man our admirall offered great kindnes, and performed

formed

Abraham Cocke going for the riuer of Plate, met withall.

formed it, & was not vngratefull for his former benefit ſhewed vnto him. This captaine deſired of our admirall to beſtow vpon him his ſhips lading of Fernambuc-wood, which he granted him, and alſo his pinneſſe, and more, gaue him a carauel of about 50 tuns, & bid him lade her with wood alſo; which with other benefits he gratefully receiued. To the other two captaines he granted their ladings of wood, the one captaine being of Diepe, the other of Rochel. The captain of Diepe confeſſed that he met Abraham Cocke certein moneths before, & being diſtreſſed for want of water, gaue him ſome, & went with him to a watering place where he had water enough, and ſo departed frō him, ſaying that his men were very weake. The comming in of theſe ſhips did much ſtrengthen vs; for our admiral appointed both theſe French and the Flemings to keepe watch vpon the riuer by night with their boats, euery boat hauing in her 12 men at the leaſt, and the boats well prouided. This was for feare of fired ſhips or barks to come downe, which our admirall had great care vnto, and cauſed our ſhips to ride by cables and haulſers, at all aduantages to ſhun them, if by that meanes they ſhould attempt to put vs out of the harborow; giuing commandement to vs that watched in the towne, that what fires ſoeuer we ſhould eſpy or ſee, not one man to ſtirre from his watch or quarter, vnleſſe we were by himſelfe commanded to the contrary. Now this order put in all things, and hauing viewed all the goods in the towne, and thinking our ſelues ſufficiently fortified, we began to vnlade our ſhips, which came as full laden in as they went foorth, but not with ſo good merchandize. And this order was taken about the vnlading of them, and alſo the lading of goods out of the towne: our men were diuided into halues, and the one halfe wrought one day, and the other halfe the other day; alwayes thoſe that wrought not kept the watch with their furniture in their hands and about them, and none ſtept far off or wandred from his colours, and thoſe that wrought had all their weapons in good order ſet & placed by them, ſo that at an inſtant euery one knew where to go to his furniture: and this was very carefully looked vnto.

The third day after our comming in, came down from the higher towne, which might be about foure miles off vpon a hill, three or foure of the principall gentlemen of the countrey, and ſayd that from the biſhop, themſelues, & the reſt, they would haue ſome conference with our admirall. This newes being brought to the admirall, he hung downe his head for a ſmall ſeaſon: and when he had muzed a while, he anſwered, I muſt go aboord of the Flemings vpon buſines that importeth me, and therefore let them ſtay if they will: and ſo he went & ſate there with the Flemings from nine of the clocke till two at the afternoone. In this ſpace diuers meſſengers went to the admirall, to come away; for theſe gentlemen ſtayed. To whom he gaue this anſwere: Are they not gone yet? And about two of the clocke he came aland, and then they tolde him they were departed. Many of the better ſort of our men marueiled, and thought much, becauſe he would not vouchſafe to come and haue conference with ſuch men of account as they ſeemed to be. But the admiral made them this anſwere, Sirs, I haue bene brought vp among this people, I haue liued among them as a gentleman, ſerued with them as a ſouldier, and liued among them as a merchant, ſo that I ſhould haue ſome vnderſtanding of their demeanors and nature; and I know when they cannot preuaile with the ſword by force, then they deale with their deceiueable tongues; for faith and trueth they haue none, neither will vſe any, vnleſſe it be to their owne aduantage. And this I giue you warning, that if you giue them parle, they will betray vs; and for my part, of all nations in the world, it would grieue me moſt to be ouertaken by this nation & the Spaniards: and I am glad it was my fortune to pay them with one of their owne fetches, for I warrant you they vnderſtand me better then you thinke they do. And with this I pray you be ſatiſfied; I hope it is for all our goods: for what ſhall we gaine by parle, when (by the helpe of God) we haue gotten already that we came for, ſhould we venture that we haue gottē with our ſwords, to ſee if they can take it from vs by words and policy? there were no wiſedome in ſo doing. You know what it hath coſt vs, and how many men lie wounded that be not yet hole of this other nights hurts: and therefore from henceforth I giue this commiſſion, that if any be taken, he be ſent away with this order, although he come as a friend, that if either he or any other approch vs from henceforth, he ſhalbe hanged out of hand: and other courſe then this I will not take with them. Which courſe was followed; for within 3 or 4 dayes after it was performed by two taken in the night: and after that we were neuer troubled with ſpies: and although diuers ſlaues came running from their men to vs, by which we vnderſtood much of their working & pretences, yet the admirall would entertaine few of them.

In this meane time that we began to worke, the Portugals with the country people were not idle, for ſeeing vs ſo buſie, about ſixe nights after our comming in, they priuily in the night caſt vp a trench in the ſands about a ſacar ſhot from our ſhips, minding there to plant ordinance, which would haue offended our ſhips greatly; & they would not haue bene able to haue roome [illegible] to take in their lading, which now began to go aboord of them. The admirall hearing this, [illegible] of the clocke in the after noone marſhalled our men, and he and all the reſt of the captaines marched toward them. The Portugals & Indians perceiuing our comming, began to withdraw themſelues within the trench, meaning (as it ſhould appeare) to fight it out there: but we made no ſtand, neither did it behoue vs, but preſently approched the trenches with our muſkets & pikes, afore their trenches were thorowly finiſhed: ſo that by Gods helpe we entered thẽ. And the Portugals & Indians left the place, & left vnto vs 4 good peeces of braſſe ordinance, with powder and ſhot & diuers other neceſſaries, and among the reſt 5 ſmal carts of that countrey, which to vs were more worth then al the reſt we tooke, for the lading of our goods from the towne to the waters ſide: for without them we could not haue told what to haue done, much of our goods being ſo heauie, that without carts we were not able to weyld them: all theſe things we brought away & deſtroyed al thoſe platforms that they had made, and then we had reſt with them for certaine dayes, in which we went forward, deuiding our marchandize with captaine Venner according to our conſort, and went daily lading them abord, euery ſhips company according as their turnes fell out, but only the three dutch ſhips: for the goods being put into their boats their owne companies laded themſelues. And this farther good chance or bleſſing of God we had to helpe vs, that aſſoone as we had taken our cartes, the next morning came in a ſhip with ſome 60 Negros, 10 Portugall women, and 40 Portugals: the women and the Negros we turned out of the towne, but the Portugals our Admirall kept to draw the carts when they were laden, which to vs was a very great eaſe. For the countrey is very hote and ill for our nation to take any great trauell in.

In this towne there is no freſh water to be had, and therefore we were euery 5 or 6 dayes compelled to paſſe ouer the riuer into the maine land to get freſh water, which after the firſt or ſecond time the Portugals kept and would haue defended our watering, ſo that we were driuen to water of force, and at ſeuerall times ſome of our men were hurt, and onely two or three ſlaine, and with this danger we were forced to get our water.

And as they moleſted vs in our watering, ſo they ſlept not in other deuiſes, but put in practiſe to burne our ſhips or remoue them out of the harbour. For within ſome 20 dayes after our comming in, they had prepared 5 Carauels and filled them with ſuch things as would beſt take fire and burne: theſe they brought within a mile or little more of our ſhips, and there ſet them on fire, for neerer they could not well come becauſe of our watch of boates, for, as is aboue ſaid, the Admirall had alwaies 6 boates that kept watch aboue halfe a mile from the ſhips for feare of ſuch exploytes as theſe, which was the cauſe they could not fire them ſo neere the ſhips as they would haue done. But theſe fired Carauels had the tide with them, and alſo the little winde that blew was in their fauour; which cauſed them to come downe the ſtreame the faſter: which our boats perceiuing made to them with as much expedition as conueniently they could, but the tide and wind both ſeruing them, they approched toward the ſhips with great expedition. Our men in the towne began to be in ſome feare of them, yet no man mooued or ſtarted frõ his quarter more then if there had bene nothing to doe. Alſo the maſters and ſuch as were aboord, were ſomewhat amaſed to ſee 5 ſo great fires to be comming downe among their ſhips, but they prepared for to cleere them of it, as well as they could, being prouided afore hande & iudging that ſome ſuch ſtratagems would be there vſed, the riuer being very fit therefore. But (God be thanked) who was alwaies with vs & our beſt defence in this voyage; by whoſe aſſiſtance we performed this ſo great an attempt with ſo ſmall forces. Our companie in the boats ſo played the men when they ſaw the fires come neere our ſhips, that caſting grapnels with yron chaines on them, as euery boat had one for that purpoſe, ſome they towed aground, and ſome they brought to a bitter or anker, where they rode till all their force was burned out, & ſo we were deliuered by Gods helpe from this fearefull danger. Within ſome 6 nights after this, which might be about the 26 day after our comming in & aboue there, about 11 of the clocke at night, came driuing downe other 3 great raftes burning with the hugeſt fires that I haue ſeene. Theſe were exceeding dangerous, for when our men approched thẽ, thinking to clap their grapnels vpon them, as they had done vpon the Carauels the night before, they were preuented: for there ſtooke out of the rafts many poles which kept them from the body of the rafts, that they could not come to throw their grapnels into thẽ: & yet they had this inconuenience worſe then al the reſt which moſt troubled vs. There ſtooke out among the poles certaine hollow trunks filled with ſuch prouiſion of fire-workes that they ceaſed not ſtill (as the fire came downe to thoſe trunks to ſet thẽ on fire) to ſpout out ſuch ſparkles, that our boats hauing powder in them for our mens vſe, durſt not for feare of fyring thẽſelues with their owne powder come neere thoſe ſparkles of the raftes, but ſeeing them to driue neerer & neerer our ſhips, they wet certain clothes and laid vpon their flaſkes and bandelers and ſo ventured vpon them, & with their grapnels tooke holde of them, and ſo towed them on ground, where they ſtooke faſt & were not burnt out the next day in the morning. Diuerſe logs and timbers came driuing along by our ſhips, and burning, but with our boats we eaſily defended them. And thus (God be prayſed) we eſcaped the ſecond fires. A third firing was prepared, as a Negro gaue vs to vnderſtand, but this we preuented by our departure. For this third firing were very great preparations; and we were credibly informed of certaintie, that this firing ſhould be ſuch as we ſhould neuer be able to preuent, and aſſuredly theſe fires be dangerous things and not to be preuented vpon the ſudden, vnleſſe it be afore prepared for and foreſeene. For when it commeth vpon the ſudden and vnlooked for, and vnprouided for, it bringeth men into a great amazement and at their wits ende. And therefore let all men riding in riuers in their enemies countrey be ſure to looke to be prouided before hand, for againſt fire there is no reſiſtance without preparation.

Alſo it is a practiſe in theſe hot countreys, where there be ſuch expert ſwimmers, to cut the cables of ſhips: and one night it was practiſed to cut the Admirals cable, and yet the boate rode by the cable with two men in her to watch all the night, and the bwoy onely was cut, but not the cable: but after that night, ſeeing then our good watch, they neuer after attempted it.

While all theſe things paſſed, our ſhips (God be thanked) thorow the induſtry of our gouernours, and diligent labour of our men, began to be wholly laden, and all the beſt marchandize conueyed aboord our ſhips, ſo that our Admirall ment to depart that night, which was the 31 day after our entrance, or elſe on the next day at the fartheſt, and ſo warning was giuen to all men to make themſelues readie. Our Admiral being aboord his ſhip yͤ ſame morning, eſpyed in the ſands right againſt the place where the ſhips rode, that there was a ſmall banke of ſand newly caſt vp, vnder which he perceiued now and then ſome people to be: preſently he tooke his boat and went to the towne and called all the Captaines together, declaring that the enemies were about ſome pretence right againſt the ſhips, conſulting whether it were beſt to ſally out & ſee what they were doing, or depart that euening according to the former determination. The Admirall was of opinion to depart that night, ſaying it was but folly to ſeeke warres ſince we had no neede to doe it: other affirmed, it were good to ſee what they did, leaſt the winde might be contrarie and the ſhips not get out, and ſo our enemies may build vpon vs to our great diſaduantage. Well, ſaid the Admiral, the matter is not great, for there can be no danger in this ſally, for where they worke it is within Falkon-ſhot of the ſhips, and if any power ſhould come againſt you, the ſhips may play vpon them with 40 peeces of ordinance at the leaſt, ſo that a bird cannot paſſe there but ſhe muſt be ſlaine. I am ſomewhat vnwilling you ſhould go, for I haue not bene well theſe two dayes, and I am not ſtrong to march vpon thoſe heauie ſands: they anſwered all at once, you ſhall not neede to trouble your ſelfe for this ſeruice, for you ſee it is nothing and of no danger, being ſo neere the ſhips, doubt you not we will accompliſh this ſeruice well ynough, and returne againe within this houre. The Admirall anſwered: the danger cannot be great, but yet you ſhall goe out ſtrong for feare of the worſt. And ſo the Admirall marſhalled them 275 men French and Engliſh, which were vnder the conduct of Edmund Barker, captaine Barker of Plimmouth, Uiceadmirall to captaine Venner, captaine Addy, and the three French captaines all going out together, and they were to march vpon a narrow peece of ground to the place whether they were ſent vnto: in the brodeſt place betwixt the ſea and the water on the other ſide, it is not aboue a ſtones caſt, for it is a bank of ſand lying betweene the riuer & the ſea, ſo they needed not to feare any comming on their backs or on their ſides, and before them could no man come, but he muſt paſſe by all the ſhips which no company of men were able to do without preſent death. The Admirall commanded them at their departure to go no further then the place he ſent them to, and ſo he himſelfe went aboord the ſhips and made readie all the ordinance for feare of the worſt, not knowing what might inſue, although he ſaw no danger might follow. Thus we marched quietly till we came to the place we were ſent vnto, being right ouer againſt the ſhips: out of which place came ſome dozen ſhot, which ſeeing vs come, diſcharged and ran their wayes with ſuch as were working within the ſaid platforme. So that we came into it and perceiued they had begunne to lay plankes to plant ordinance vpon. Our Admiral commanded, if there were any ſuch thing, to burne the plankes & returne in againe, which we might haue done without hurting of any mans finger: but our leaders were not content to haue performed the ſeruice committed them in charge, but would needes expreſly & againſt their order march on further to fight with certaine Enſignes almoſt a mile off, cleane out of the reach of the ordinance of all our ſhips, & where lay the ſtrength of the whole countrey. When our men began to draw neere thoſe Enſigns of men, the Enſignes ſeemed to retire with great ſpeed, which our men followed with ſuch great haſt that ſome outrunning other ſome, our order was broken, and thoſe enſignes retyred thẽſelues into the force of the whole countrey, ſo that our formoſt men were in the midſt of their enemies yer they were aware, which were ſlaine yer the reſt could come to ſuccour them. The enemies incouraged by this, came alſo vpon the reſt, which preſently began to retire, & the enemies followed them til they came within the reach of the ordinance of our ſhips, where they were beaten off and left their purſuit. In this conflict were ſlaine captain Barker captaine of the Salomon, captaine Cotton ẏ Admirals Lieutenant, captaine Iohn Noyer a french captaine of Diepe, and another french captaine of Rochel, with M. Iohn Barker & other to the number of 35: for theſe were the formoſt and hotteſt in the purſuit of the Enſignes aforeſaid, and by their forwardnes came all to periſh. At our returne into the towne the Admiral came to vs much bewayling the death of ſo many good men as were loſt, wondering what we ment to paſſe the expreſſe order that was giuen vs. With this loſſe our men were much danted, but our Admirall began againe to encourage them, declaring that the fortune of the warres was ſometimes to win and ſometimes to looſe. And therewithall he wiſhed euery man to prepare & make himſelfe readie: for that night (God willing) he would depart. For all our ſhips were readie and laden, and he would not ſtay any further fortune. The euening being come, the ſhips began to wey & go forth of the harbour, and God be thanked of his goodneſſe toward vs who ſent vs a faire wind to go foorth withall, ſo that by 11 of the clocke in the night we were all forth in ſafety. The enemies perceiuing our departing, planted a peece or two of ordinance, and ſhot at vs in the night, but did vs no harme. We were at our comming foorth 15 ſailes, that is, 3 ſailes of Hollanders, the one of 450 tunnes, the other of 350 tunnes, and the third of 300 tunnes, foure ſailes of french & one ſhip which the Admiral gaue the french Captain, 3 ſailes of Captain Venners fleet of Plimmouth, and 4 ſailes of our Admirals fleete, all theſe were laden with marchandizes, and that of good worth. We ſtayed in this harbour to paſſe all this buſineſſe but onely 31 dayes, and in this time we were occupied with ſkirmiſhes and attempts of the enemie 11. times; in all which ſkirmiſhes we had the better, onely this laſt excepted. To God be the honour and praiſe of all, &c. The whole fleete being out in ſafety, the next day in the morning the Admirall gaue order to the whole fleete to ſaile toward Peraniew a harbour lying ſome 40 leagues to the Northward of Fernambucke, and there to take in freſh water and to refreſh themſelues, and to make prouiſion for refreſhing. Our Admirall had ſent thither ſome 6 daies before two French men in a ſmal pinneſſe, which Frenchmen he had prouided from Diepe before his comming out of England for that purpoſe. For both theſe two ſpake the Indians language very perfectly, for at this port of Peraniew and an other called Potaju ſome 6 leagues to the Northward the Frenchmen haue had trade for braſil-wood, and haue laden from thence by the Indians meanes, who haue fet it for them ſome 20 leagues into the country vpon their backs, 3 or 4 ſhips euery yere. Thus we all ſailed toward Peraniew, at which place we arriued in the night, ſo that we were forced to lie off & on with a ſtiffe gale of wine, in which we loſt the moſt part of our fleete, & they not knowing this coaſt put off to the ſea, and ſo went directly for England. Our Admirall and ſome 4 ſaile more with him put into the harborow of Peraniew, and there watered and refreſhed himſelfe very well, with hens, conies, hares and potatos, with other things, which the two Frenchmen had partly prouided before his comming: this is a very good harborow where ſhips may riue and refreſh very well. But, as I am giuen to vnderſtand ſince our comming from thence, the Portugals haue attempted the place and doe inhabite it, and haue put the french from their accuſtomed trade. Here hauing watered and refreſhed our ſelues, we put to the ſea, plying after the reſt of our fleete which were gone before, which we neuer heard of till our arriuall in England at the downes in the moneth of Iuly, where we vnderſtood the reſt of our conſorts to be paſſed vp for London, Captaine Venner & his fleete to be at Plimmouth, and the French ſhips to be ſafe arriued at Diepe, which to vs was very great comfort. At our ſetting ſayle from the downes, according as the cuſtome is, finding the Queenes ſhips there, we ſaluted them with certaine ordinance. The Gunner being careleſſe, as they are many times of their powder, in diſcharging certain pieces in ẏ gunner roome, ſet a barrel of powder on fire, which tooke fire in ẏ gunner roome, blew vp the Admirals caben, ſlew the gunner with 2 others outright, & hurt 20 more, of which 4 or 5 died. This powder made ſuch a ſmoke in the ſhip with the fire that burnt in the gunner roome among all the fire workes, that no man at the firſt wiſt what to doe: but recalling backe their feare, they began to caſt water into the gunner roome in ſuch abundance (for the Queenes ſhips now & alſo the other ſhips that were in our company came preſently to our helpe) that (God be praiſed) we put out the fire & ſaued all, & no great harme was done to the goods. By this may be ſeene that there is no ſure ſafety of things in this world. For now we made account to be out of all danger, where behold a greater came vpon vs, then we ſuffered all the whole voyage. But the almightie be prayſed for euer, which deliuered vs out of this and many other in this voyage. Our fire being well put out, and we taking in freſh men (God be prayſed) we came to Blacke-wall in ſafety.

Peraniew 40. leagues northward of Fernambuck.

Peraniew a very good harbour.

A ſpeciall letter written from *Feliciano Cieça de Carualſho* the Gouernour of *Paraiua* in the moſt Northerne part of *Braſil*, 1597. to *Philip* the ſecond king of *Spaine*, anſwering his deſire touching the conqueſt of *Rio Grande*, with the relation of the beſieging of the caſtle of *Cabodelo* by the Frenchmen, and of the diſcouerie of a rich ſiluer mine and diuerſe other important matters.

The king of Spaines reſolution to proceed in the diſcouerie & conqueſt of Rio Grande.

I Receiued your Maieſties letter bearing date the ninth of Nouember 1596. whereby I vnderſtand that your Maieſtie doth determine to proceede in the diſcouerie and conqueſt of Rio Grande, according to the relation which was ſent your Maieſtie by Don Franciſco de Souſa, Gouernour generall of this Realme of Braſilia: together with a copie of a letter, which your Maieſtie ſent vnto vs, bearing date the two and twentieth of March 1596. Moreouer I receiued another letter from your Maieſtie bearing date the 15 of March 1597. Both which letters were to one effect. It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to vnderſtand that there are diuerſe Gentlemen in theſe countreys of as good abilitie as my ſelfe, which ſeeke to liue at home onely for their eaſe and profite, who are not wont to hazard nor venture their bodies, liues, and goods ſo often times in your Maieſties ſeruice as I haue done and commonly doe; and can keepe their goods and riches, and not ſpend nor waſt them as I haue done, and dayly doe ſo wilfully: yet neuertheleſſe being ſpent in your Maieſties ſeruice, I am very glad thereof. For I and they are alwayes readie at your Maieſties commandement.

The Captaineſhip of Paraiua ſtandeth at fiue degr. 45 min. of Southerly latitude.

And as concerning your Maieſties commandement in commanding me that I ſhould put to my helping hand in the conqueſt of Rio Grande: although this Captaineſhip of Paraiua and countrey where I doe gouerne doth want abilitie for that purpoſe, yet neuertheleſſe your Maieſtie ſhall alwayes finde me readie to doe your Maieſtie the beſt ſeruice I can: for it is very well knowen how forward I haue bene alwayes and am in this conqueſt, and ſtill doe put to my helping hand, as partly your Maieſtie doth vnderſtand by a letter which I wrote to your Maieſty by my ſonne, bearing date the 19 of March 1596 wherein your Maieſtie may vnderſtand what good ſeruice I haue alreadie done therein, and alwayes will be readie to my power to doe the like in furthering of the ſaid enterpriſe.

The caſtle of Cabodelo beſieged by the French.

It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to vnderſtand that the third of Iuly there was brought vnto me a Frenchman a priſoner, who preſented himſelfe vnto me. And I examining of him, he tolde me that he came running away from certaine French ſhips men of warre, which came vpon this coaſt: and he tolde me that he had ſerued your Maieſtie in the warres of France. Likewiſe he told me that he left me ſeuen great ſhips Frenchmen of warre riding at an anker in Rio Grande, and that there were 13 french ſhips of warre more, which had giuen battery to the Caſtle of Cabodelo, and landed 350 ſoldiers all in white armour, and the battery continued from Friday vntill the Munday following both by ſea and land, and great ſtore of Frenchmen were ſlaine, and two Captaines of the French. On our ſide the Captaine of the caſtle was ſlaine, and other two Portugals hurt: other harme they had none. There were but twentie Portugals in the caſtle, and fiue pieces of ordinance. They ment to haue kept the caſtle, and to haue traded with the Indian people. So ſeeing they could not take the caſtle, they hoyſed ſayles, and went from thence to Rio Grande: and being altogether they are in number 20 ſaile at an anker in Rio Grande. And ſome of them determine after they be new trimmed and dreſt, and haue taken in freſh victuals, and ſtayed there vntill Eaſter, then to depart from thence to the Honduras, and ſo to burne and ſpoyle ſome townes thereabout.

The gariſon of Fernambuck.

I certified Manuel Maſcarenhas of theſe informations by my letters, requeſting him to ſend me with all expedition thoſe ſouldiers which were in gariſon in Fernambuck to ayde me, and to defende this Captaineſhip from the enemie. But the Friers of The Couent would not conſent thereunto, nor ſuffer them to be ſent vnto me. So I was forced to make ſhift with thoſe ſouldiers only which I had in my gouernment and tooke them with me, and marched to the place where the enemies were entrenched, and vpon Whitſunday in the euening about three of the clocke, hauing in my company a Negro of the countrey of Petiguar, which was our guide, he brought vs where the enemies campe was; and preſently I did aſſault them, and ſlew great ſtore of them, burning the villages and countrey of thoſe rebels, which did ioine with the Frenchmen, and tooke many of them priſoners. So they told me that there were ten great french ſhips of warre which were at an anker in Rio Grande.

The countrey of Petiguar rebelleth againſt the Portugals.

A rich ſiluer mine found at Copaoba within ſixe dayes iourney of Paraiua.

Likewiſe I was informed, that there is a frenchman called D[illegible]migas, which hath diſcouered and found great ſtore of ſiluer in a place called Copaoba. The ſiluer hath bene tried and melted, it is very good and fine ſiluer, and there is great quantitie. The man which told me of it hath

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beene in the mine, and hath ſeene it tried and melted. And I haue bene my ſelfe once in the place: it is but 6 dayes iourney from this Captaineſhip.

Furthermore this Frenchman told me that one Monſieur Miſa a french Captaine, and a kinſman of the gouernour and Viceadmirall of Diepe in Normandie, had one of his armes ſtrooken off at the ſiege of the caſtle of Cabodelo; who is departed from Rio Grande, with determination to come backe hither againe the next yeere in the moneth of Ianuarie following, and to inhabite in this countrey of Paraiba, which is 20 leagues from Fernambuck, becauſe of the great ſtore of ſiluer, which they haue alreadie found here.

Moreouer I am enformed that a noble man of France called the earle of Villa Dorca doth intend to come vpon this coaſt with a great fleete from Rochel. It were good that your Maieſtie would ſend into France to knowe the certaintie thereof.

The Frenchman likewiſe told me that all the Canibals of Petiguar haue ioyned themſelues in company with certaine Frenchmen, which were caſt away in two ſhips vpon this coaſt. The one of theſe ſhips which were caſt away was one Riſoles, and the other ſhip was this mans. And thoſe Frenchmen which came vpon this coaſt did ioyne themſelues with thoſe Canibals which did rebell, and did diuide themſelues into two ſquadrons. So I ſent preſently to Manuel Maſcarenhas that he ſhould ſend me aide and munition. But he ſent me word againe, that he had none to ſpare, and that he did purpoſe with all ſpeede to goe himſelfe to Rio Grande; and that he was not able to furniſh himſelfe ſo well as he could wiſh, nor to bring his ſouldiers into the field, for lacke of ſhot, powder, and other munition, which he did want.

All the Canibals of Petiguar ioyne with the Frenchmen againſt the Portugals.

Hereupon once more the 29 of Iuly I with my ſouldiers marched to the enemies campe, and there ioyning battell with the Indian rebels, which were ioyned with the Frenchmen that were their leaders, I did ſet vpon them, and ſlew great ſtore of them, and tooke fourteene of them priſoners. They doe report the very ſame newes, which the other Frenchmen did tell me as touching the ſhips which were in the harbour of Rio Grande; and how their pretence was to haue come and haue taken vs, and ſpoyled the countrey.

But now being put to flight and hauing receiued the ouerthrow, they can get no victuals to victuall their ſhippes: which hath bene the cauſe that they are mightily hindered in their intent, and dare not come any more to attempt vs. And the Indians are ſo diſmayed, that in haſte they will haue no more helpe nor aide of the Frenchmen. So by theſe meanes of neceſſitie the Indians muſt ſubmit themſelues vnto vs, conſidering they are quite ſpoyled and ouerthrowen for a long time. Likewiſe they haue enformed me touching the ſiluer mines which are found, that it is moſt true. For thoſe french ſhippes which were in Rio Grande haue laden great ſtore of the oare. Wherefore I certified Manuel de Maſcarenhas of the Frenchmens newes, and howe euery thing did ſtand; wiſhing him to make readie foure ſhips and three hundred ſouldiers, and ſo to take the harbour of Rio Grande, being now cleered and voyde of the enemie: and to ſearch out the ſituation of the place, and where were beſt to fortifie and to build ſome fortes for the defence of this place, where neede ſhall require. Hereunto Maſcarenhas ſent me word, that when he went himſelfe, and found it true which hath beene reported touching the ſiluer mines, that then he would ſend both men and ſhips. Therefore your Maieſtie muſt giue order, that the reſt of the Gouernours ſhall ayde and aſſiſt me in theſe warres: otherwiſe of my ſelfe I am not able to doe more then I haue alreadie done in defending of this countrey againſt our enemies which are many.

French ſhips laden with great ſtore of ſiluer oare.

It may pleaſe your Maieſtie to be aduertiſed, that from time to time I haue written vnto Don Franciſco de Souſa Gouernor generall of this realme, who is in Baia, as concerning theſe Frenchmen of warre: but he will not anſwere me to any purpoſe, becauſe I do write vnto him for ſuch things as I doe want, which are ſhot, powder, men, and munition requiſite for your Maieſties ſeruice & ſafegard of this captaineſhip. For here are neither ſhot, powder, nor any thing els to defend vs from our enemies; nor any that wil put to their helping hands for the defence of this countrey, & the ſeruice of your Maieſtie. And therfore it were needfull that your Maieſty ſhould commit the charge and gouernment into the hands of Diego Sierua, with expreſſe charge that all the captaines & commanders vpon paine of death obey him and be readie at all times to aide and aſſiſt him in your ſeruice. Otherwiſe this countrey cannot be kept and maintained, hauing ſo great warres continually as we haue, and are troubled withall. For this Diego Sierua is a very good ſouldier, and hath good experience: and is fit to gouerne this countrey. Your Highneſſe is alſo to ſend him Commiſſion with expreſſe cõmandement to follow theſe wars; otherwiſe this countrey cannot be kept, but daily they will rebell. For here are none that will ſerue your Maieſtie ſo iuſtly as he will do: who wil haue a great care in any thing which ſhal cõcerne your Maieſtes ſeruice

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touching the eſtate of this countrey. For the Gouernour Souſa doth ſpend your Maieſties treaſure in building his owne Ingenios or ſugar-milles.

The conqueſt of Rio Grande.

Two Forts to be builded at Cabodelo.

The countrey of Paraiua in danger dayly to be loſt.

The warres of Periguar.

A new captaine appointed in Cabodelo.

And thoſe Captaines which your Maieſtie intendeth to ſend hither muſt bring with them ſhot, powder, and all kind of weapons, furniture, and munition for the defence and ſafegarde of this countrey, and for the conqueſt of Rio Grande. For there is no kind of munition in al this countrey to be had, if occaſion ſhould ſerue. It were alſo good that your Maieſtie ſhould ſend order for the building of a couple of Forts or Caſtles at Cabodelo, for they be very needefull for the defence of the enemie, which dayly doth warre againſt this Captaineſhip. For that man which ſhall gouerne this countrey, if he be no more fortunate then I haue bene hitherto, ſhall not miſſe one time or another, but he ſhall looſe all the countrey. If Don Franciſco de Souſa had ſent mee thoſe two hundred and fiftie ſouldiers which I did ſend for, which were in gariſon in the caſtle of Arrecife, which doe nothing but ſpend your Maieſties victuals and treaſure, and had not ſent them to Baiha, where there was no neede, theſe warres of Periguar had bene ended long agone, and had ſaued your Maieſty a great deale of charges which you had ſpent in folowing of this conqueſt of Rio Grande. I haue choſen one Captaine Iohn de Matas Cardoſo to be Gouernour of Cabodelo, who is a very ſufficient man.

A great controuerſie touching the gouernment of the Indian townes.

The townes of S. Auguſtine.

Furthermore, it may pleaſe your Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that the chiefeſt Friers of this Monaſterie of S. Antonie haue complained on me to the lord Gouernour generall, and haue cauſed great ſtriſe and debate betweene him and me touching the gouernment and rule of theſe Indian townes. For the Friers would command and gouerne both the Indians and their townes as well in Eccleſiaſticall as Temporall cauſes, as touching the puniſhment of the bodies of ſuch as are offenders. But I haue reſiſted them in your Maieſties name, and haue alleaged, that none but your Maieſtie muſt rule and gouerne them and their countrey, and that the townes appertaine to your Maieſtie, and not vnto the Friers. But the Gouernour hath written a letter vnto me, ſignifying that he hath pronounced a ſentence againſt me in the Friers behalfe, which is this. The King our maſter hath ſent a decree and certaine ſtatutes touching the good gouernment and orders to be executed and kept in thoſe Indian townes: and that vpon ſight hereof I ſhall preſently baniſh all the *Mamalukes* and white men which dwell in any of thoſe Indian townes with all ſpeede, and that none of them from hence forward ſhall enter into the ſaid villages, without commandement and conſent of the ſaid Friers. So this ſentence was preſented vnto me by the Reuerend father Cuſtodio, Prior of Sant Anton of Braſil, with a further poſtſcript of the Gouernour importing theſe words: I doe likewiſe charge and command you the Gouernour of Paraiua, that preſently vpon ſight hereof you ſhall reſtore thoſe villages and houſes which you haue burned and deſtroyed in the laſt warres, and likewiſe the towne of S. Auguſtine, and that you ſhall build them againe at your owne proper coſt and charges: for the Friers alleage that theſe townes were giuen them, by a decree ſent them from Pope Pius Quintus, that the ſaid Friers ſhould gouerne and rule them.

On the other ſide I haue pronounced another ſentence againſt the ſaid Friers in your Maieſties name, and for your Maieſtie, alleaging that thoſe townes, villages, and ſubiects appertaine and belong vnto your Maieſtie, and that in temporall cauſes I am to puniſh thoſe offenders, which ſhall rebell againſt your Maieſtie: and as touching eccleſiaſtical cauſes that the Vicar of this Cathedrall church ſhall rule, gouerne and inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion. So we both haue appealed vnto your Maieſtie herein, and your Maieſtie may peruſe all our writings, and then determine that which ſhall be beſt and moſt profitable for your Maieſties ſeruice and enlargement of your crowne. For through theſe broyles the inhabitants of this Pariaua forſake their houſes & dwelling places, and ſo doe ſome of the Friers, becauſe they cannot be ſuffered to rule & gouerne.

Alſo the Indians haue complayned againſt me, becauſe I haue burned their villages in this laſt rebellion. Wherefore if your Maieſtie doe not ſend ſome order for this countrey and ſee into theſe caſes, it will breed great diſſention and rebellion among vs, and we ſhall be readie to cut one anothers throat before it be long.

Thus I thought good, according to my humble bounden dutie, and for the ſeruice of your Maieſtie and quietneſſe of this realme, to certifie your Maieſtie the truth of the whole matter; hoping in ſhort time that your Maieſtie will ſend ſome good order to qualifie theſe broyles: for there is great hatred and malice among vs. Ieſus Chriſt preſerue and keepe the royall perſon of your Maieſtie with long health, as it pleaſeth him. From the Captaineſhip of Paraiua this preſent 20 of Auguſt, 1597.

Feliciano Cieça de Caualſho.

A ſpe-

A ſpecial note concerning the currents of the ſea betweene the Cape of *Buena Eſperança* and the coaſt of *Braſilia*, giuen by a French Pilot to Sir *Iohn Yorke* knight, before *Sebaſtian Cabote*; which pilot had frequented the coaſts of *Braſilia* eighteene voyages.

MEmorandum, that from Cabo de buena Eſperança vnto Braſilia the Sunne hath the like dominion ouer the tides there, as the Moone hath ouer our tides here.

And that whenſoeuer the Sunne is in any of theſe ſignes he gouerneth the tides as followeth.

The Sunne being in	Taurus Gemini Cancer	the tide hath his courſe Northweſt.
The Sunne being in	Leo Virgo Libra	no current.
The Sunne being in	Scorpio Sagittarius Capricorne	the tide hath his courſe Southeaſt.
The Sunne being in	Aquarius Piſces Aries	no current.

A ruttier or courſe to be kept for him that will ſayle from *Cabo Verde* to the coaſt of *Braſil*, and all along the coaſt of *Braſil* vnto the riuer of *Plate*: and namely firſt from *Cabo Verde* to *Fernambuck*.

THe ſhip that goeth from Cabo Verde to Braſil, muſt goe Southſoutheaſt: and when ſhe is within 5 or 6 degrees of the Equinoctial ſhe muſt go Southeaſt and by South. And if ſhe haue the ternados, that is thundrings and lightnings, then thou muſt go altogether South, or that way and by that boord that doth profit thee moſt. And take this for aduiſe, that hauing the general winds, if the wind be at South or Southeaſt, then go Southweſt, or weſtſouthweſt. And if the winde be South, then goe Southweſt, and by this way but little, for it is not a way for thy profit, becauſe the more thou goeſt this way, the more will be thy trouble, becauſe thou mayeſt not come neerer the coaſte of Guinea then 60 or 70 leagues vnto the ſholde called Os baixos de Santa Anna. And being this diſtance from the ſame, thou ſhalt caſt about the other way towards Braſil, and the wind will be large.

He that will ſayle to Braſil, muſt not come within 60 or 70 leagues of the coaſt of Guinea.

Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that the ſhip that keepeth this courſe to Fernambuck, and goeth in October or after, and chanceth to goe to windward of the Iſle of Fernando de Loronha, when thou commeſt to 8 degrees, or 8 and ½,* then thou ſhalt go Weſt and beare with the land. Thou muſt take this for a warning, that if going Weſt in 8 degrees thou ſee land, then looke to the Northward, and thou ſhalt ſee certaine white cliffes. Then I aduiſe thee that thou goe well to the Southward. And this is to bee vnderſtoode from October forward, for then the time is moſt ſubiect to Northeaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt winds. And if thou find thy ſelfe in the ſayd height aboue mentioned, and ſeeſt cliffes, and ſeeſt a Cape to the Southward, and ſeeſt no more land to the South, then make accompt that thou art at Capiguoari: and from thence to Fernambuck thou haſt fiue leagues, and haſt a good port.

*Of Southerly latitude.

Thou ſhalt take this for a warning, that if in 8 degrees and a halfe thou ſee land lying all flat, thou mayeſt goe neerer it, and be bold till thou come in tenne or twelue fadomes: And then thou ſhalt ſee a great groſſe land along the ſea-coaſt which is called Capitagua: And being Eaſt and Weſt with this land, and, as I haue ſayd, in tenne or twelue fadomes water; and the time being from October to Februarie, then thou needeſt not to feare any thing: but looke to the South and thou ſhalt ſee the cape of S. Auguſtine: and looke to the North and thou ſhalt ſee a point, and to the Southeaſt a point called Punta de Olinda, where Aponiquay ſtandeth. And the land from the cape to the poynt called Punta de Olinda lieth North and South.

I aduiſe thee that if thou be Eaſt and Weſt with the cape of Saint Auguſtine, thou ſhalt ſee within the land an high hill, hauing as it were a ſaddle vpon it like to a camel: And thou ſhalt ſee to the Southwards three hilles along the ſea, and then preſently thou ſhalt ſee the coaſte to lie Northeaſt and Southweſt.

The height of ſ cape of S. Auguſtine, of Olinda, & Fernambuck.

Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that from this cape of Saint Auguſtine, to the towne of Olinda, thou haſt nine leagues to the North. And this cape ſtandeth in eight degrees and two third parts, and Olinda ſtandeth in eight degrees and a quarter, and Fernambuck ſtandeth in eight degrees. And this courſe is to be vnderſtood to be obſerued and kept, if thou depart from Lisbon in October or Nouember.

In what height they ſhall ſeeke land that depart frō Lisbon in February or March.

Take this aduiſe, that if thou depart in *February* or March from Lisbone, then thou ſhalt goe to beare with the land in nine degrees, becauſe that from March forwards raigne moſt commonly Southeaſt and Southweſt windes. And if by this height and courſe thou bring thy ſelfe nigh to the ſhore, feare not to bring thy ſhip into 18 or 20 fadomes, for all the coaſt is cleane: and there are no more dangers, but ſuch as the ſea doth breake vpon.

How to know the cape of S. Auguſtine.

Ilha de Santo Alexio.

And if after thy fall with the land thou haue occaſion to goe to the Northward, and ſo going ſeeſt certaine ſholdes, doubt not to come for the North, and thou ſhalt ſee the cape of Saint Auguſtine, which lyeth as it were ſloaping to the ſeaward, and hath as it were a Whales head, and hath vpon it a round hill, with many hilles round about it. And if thou come along the ſea coaſt much about the depth aboue mentioned, thou ſhalt ſee a little Iſland called Saint Alexio: And from this Iſland to the cape of Saint Auguſtine are foure leagues, and it ſtandeth in eight degrees and three quarters.

The courſe that a man muſt keepe to the bay called *A Bahia de Todos os Santos*, that is to ſay, The bay of all Saints, which lieth on the foreſayd coaſt of *Braſil.*

The height of Bahia de Todos os Santos in 13 degrees and one third part.

If thou goe for Bahia de Todos os Santos, thou muſt keepe the courſe which I haue already ſet downe, and ſhalt obſerue the time from March forwards, as alſo from October forwards. Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that the Bahia de Todos os Santos ſtandeth in 13 degrees and ⅓: and if thou goe in October or after October, then goe to fall with the land in 12 degrees or 12 and a halfe.

And take this for a warning, that when thou ſeeſt a white land, and long bankes of white ſand, which ſhew much like linnen cloth when it is in whiting, then thou muſt go along from the North to the South vntill this white land doe end: and thou needeſt not to feare to goe along the coaſt, for there are no ſholds. Before thou be cleane paſt the white land or white ſands, thou ſhalt haue ſight of an Iland that ſtandeth along the bay, I ſay on the Northſide of the bay, which is called Tapaon: and here the land lieth Weſt and by South.

The ſituation of the Ile of Tapaon.

When thou art ſo farre ſhot as Tapaon, thou ſhalt ſee a certaine great tree which is round, and ſtandeth neere the ſea vpon the very point of the entrance into Bahia on the Northſide.

When a man may beare in with Bahia.

And marke well that if thou looke to the Southward, and ſeeſt no white grounds ſuch as I wrote of before, but that they be all behind thee to the Northward: then when thou ſeeſt none to the Southward, thou mayeſt bee bold to beare in with Bahia. And if when thou goeſt into Bahia to the Northweſt, and ſeeſt the ſea to breake, feare nothing: for it is the breach of a certaine banke, whereon thou ſhalt haue alwayes 5 or 6 fadomes water: and this be ſure of.

The diſtance of O morro de San Paulo frō Bahia.

Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that if thou come for this place from March to the end of April, I would wiſh thee not to fall to the Southward of 13 degrees and a halfe. And falling with the land, and not ſeeing the white ſands, thou ſhalt ſtriue to goe to the Northward. And ſeeing the land in 13 degrees and a halfe, thou ſhalt haue ſight of an hill along the ſea: And if thou be nigh the land, and cannot make it certaine what land it is: thou ſhalt marke if it bee a round high hill along the ſea, that it is O morro de San Paulo, or, The hill of Saint Paul: and it lieth blacke and bare on the top. And from thence to Bahia is tenne leagues.

Rio de Tinſare a very good riuer.

A dangerous bay in 13 degrees and a halfe.

And here along this hill on the Northweſt ſide there is a great riuer called Tinſare: and it is a very good riuer. And in the entrance of Bahia there are ſixe or ſeuen fadomes water in the chanell. And I aduiſe thee that being in the height of 13 degrees and a halfe, thou come not neere the land, for it hath a bay very dangerous.

And if thou goe from Bahia to Fernambuck, then I aduiſe thee that thou take good heede of the coaſt on the Northeaſt and Southweſt, and thou ſhalt goe Eaſt, if the windes will ſuffer thee to goe Eaſt: and ſo goe thirtie or fortie leagues off to the ſea.

If

I aduiſe thee that thou beare not in with the land of Fernambuck, but in the height of 9 or 10 degrees, becauſe that in 11 degrees thou ſhalt fall with the bay called A Enſeada de Vazabaris. Alſo if thou come from Portugal and falleſt with the land in eleuen degrees, beare not in with it, neither come neere it, for thou mayeſt hurt thy ſelfe in ſo doing: but thou ſhalt ſhunne it, and goe to the Southward. For if thou lie to the North thou ſhalt bring thy ſelfe into ſome trouble.

The height of the bay called A Enſeada de Vazabaris.

This Bay of All Saints ſtandeth in thirteene degrees. And from thence to Fernambuck thou haſt a hundreth leagues: and the coaſt lyeth Northeaſt and Southweſt. And from thence to Rio das Ilhas, that is, the riuer of the Iſlands the coaſt runneth Northeaſt and Southweſt, I meane taking a quarter of the North and South.

Baia de todos Santos in 13 degrees.

The courſe for *Baia das Ilhas*, that is, The bay of the Iſlands, which lie on the ſayd coaſt of *Braſil*, & the marks for the finding of them.

If thou goe for Baia das Ilhas thou muſt looke for it in fifteene degrees lacking a quarter.

Baia das Ilhas lieth in 15 degrees lacking a quarter.

If thou be minded as I ſayd to goe for theſe Iſles, if it bee from March forward, thou ſhalt fall with the land in 15 degrees and a halfe, and though it be in 15 degrees and ⅓, it is all the better.

And if thou haue ſight of certaine high hilles, that ſeeme to reach to the skie, theſe hilles are called As Serras Raimores. Then hauing ſight of theſe hilles, thou ſhalt goe along the coaſt, and feare nothing, for there are no ſholdes along to the North. And when thou ſeeſt the Iſlands, thou mayeſt make accompt they be theſe which thou ſeekeſt, for there are no other on al this coaſt, and thou ſhalt ſee a round hil along the ſea. Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that on the North ſide of this hill is the going in of the riuer. But if it chance that thou finde thy ſelfe in a time that will not ſuffer thee to goe in, then goe along the Iſlands giuing them a breadth off. And thou mayeſt well come to an anker hard aboord them, for all is cleane ground. And thou ſhalt finde eight or nine fadomes, and from thence thou mayeſt goe into the riuer hard aboord the ſhore. And if it chance that thou goe from the North to the South all along the great Iſland, thou muſt keepe thy ſelfe from the land: and when thou haſt brought it Eaſtnortheaſt, then thou mayeſt anker two cables length from the ſhore: for all is cleane ground.

A round hill.

If thou chance to arriue on this coaſt in the time of the Northeaſt windes, thou ſhalt ſeeke to fall with the land in fourteene degrees. And if thou ſee a lowe land, thou mayeſt make accompt it is the land called Ciemana, and then thou ſhalt ſee Mangues: And alſo thou ſhalt come along this coaſt to the South: and when thou ſeeſt an ende of the low land, then thou ſhalt finde an high land along the ſea like the other that I haue made mention of before, that is, all ſandie along the ſea coaſt.

In what height a man muſt fall with this place in time of the Northeaſt winde.
Ciemana.
Mangues.

And thou muſt vnderſtand, that where the high land beginneth, there is a little riuer called Rio das Contas, but enter not into it: it hath for a marke to be knowen by as it were a white mouth. And from thence to the Iſlands thou haſt nine leagues. And at the ende of this high land to the Southward of it thou ſhalt find a great bay within the land, & then thou ſhalt looke to the Weſtſouthweſt, and ſhalt ſee another high land, which lieth as it were in the middeſt of the bay, and thou ſhalt there ſee certaine white houſes which are the Ingenios or houſes wherein they make ſugar of Lucas Giraldo. From thence thou ſhalt ſee the Iſles being ſo farre ſhorte as Rio de Contas. And thou ſhalt ſee within the land a round hill which is like Monte de laude, and it hath another copple on the South ſide.

The white ſugar houſes of Lucas Giraldo.

The courſe to ſayle to *Porto Seguro*, that is to ſay, *The ſafe hauen*, lying on the foreſayd coaſt of *Braſil*, & the markes to know the ſame by.

If thou goe for Porto Seguro and goeſt in the time of the Southeaſt windes, which is from March forwards, I aduiſe thee that thou fall not in more degrees then ſixteen and a halfe, becauſe of the ſholdes called Os baixos dos Abrolhos, which are very dangerous, and ſtretch very farre into the ſea. And alſo going Weſt from them, that thou keepe thy lead going and be often ſounding. And if thou chance to ſee the land, and an high hill and long withall, much like to The pike it is the hill that is called Monte Paſqual. And from thence thou muſt goe to the North, and when thou haſt brought it Southweſt of thee, then thou mayeſt beare with the land, but with great care to looke about thee.

To auoide Os baixos dos Abrolhos.

Monte Paſqual.

Marke when thou ſeeſt the land and commeſt to ſee a red cliffe, then looke to the Southward,

and

The place of comming to an anker before Porto Seguro, which ſtandeth in 16 deg. & one third.

and thou ſhalt ſee a great ſmooth coaſt along the ſea, and then on the North ſide thou ſhalt deſcrie Porto Seguro. And going along the coaſt thou ſhalt ſee the towne of Porto Seguro ſtanding vpon the toppe of an hill; which hill is a white rocke: and on the North ſide of the ſayd rocke there is a very hie land. I aduiſe thee that when thou art Eaſt and Weſt with the ſayd land, I meane with this rocke, that then thou looke to the Northward, and thou ſhalt ſee certaine rocks lying two leagues off into the ſea, whereon the ſea doth breake, and to the Southward of them thou mayeſt come to an ankor againſt the towne, and haſt a good place to ride in thirteen fadomes in ſight of the towne.

16 degrees.

A dangerous riuer in 16 degrees.

Baixos de Santo Antonio.

And if it be thy chance to arriue in the time of the Northeaſt windes, and commeſt in the height of fifteene degrees and two third parts, and ſeeſt not certaine hilles, then thou muſt goe along the coaſt being in 16 degrees, and vnder the firſt hie land that thou ſhalt deſcrie, thou ſhalt ſee certaine ſandie bayes along the ſea coaſt: And if thou haue ſight of a riuer in this height, put not thy ſelfe into it, neither beare with the land, for it hath many ſholdes. And off them lie certaine ſunken grounds, called Os Baixos de Santo Antonio. And from hence to the Southward lyeth Porto Seguro.

I aduiſe thee that going along the coaſt to the Southward, and ſeeing ſuch ſholdes, and the ſea to breake vpon them, as the other which I laſt ſpake of, thou ſhalt runne along them a ſea boord of them: and when thou art at the end of them, then the towne will beare Weſt of thee: and then thou mayeſt goe to thine ankoring place as is aboueſayd, giuing theſe ſholds a good birth.

The courſe to the hauen named *Baia do Spirito Santo*, that is to ſay, The bay of the holy Ghoſt, lying on the ſayd coaſt of *Braſil*, and the markes thereof.

THou ſhalt vnderſtand that the ſhip that goeth for Spirito Santo, when it hath doubled the ſholdes called Os Baixos dos Abrolhos, and hath brought it ſelfe in 20 or 19 degrees and a halfe, then it may hall with the land in 18 or 19 degrees and a halfe, or in twentie. And the ſayd ſhippe muſt goe in this height, becauſe on this coaſt there are no Monçoins.

Monçoins are certaine ſet windes with which the ſhips ſet.

Markes on the North ſide of Spirito Santo.

The ſituation of la ſierra de Meſtre Aluaro. Rio dos Reyes magos.

If thou chance to come in the height of 19 degrees, and ſeeſt lowe land to the Northweſt of thee, then thou art on the North ſide of Spirito Santo, and thou mayeſt make accompt that it is the land lying ouer Criquare, and ouer the riuer called Rio dolce, that is the riuer of ſweete or freſh water. If thou come along the land thou ſhalt find certaine high hilles: but truſt not the firſt that thou ſeeſt only. For beſides the reſt thou ſhalt ſee a round hie hill which is at the capes end, which is called la Sierra de meſtre Aluaro. Take heede that going for this land thou looke to the North and thou ſhalt ſee a riuer called Rio dos Reyes Magos: that is, The riuer of the three kings. And comming to the Southward thou ſhalt ſee preſently the mouth of the bay to open. At the end of this hill on the South ſide, thou haſt a point of a rocke, which is called A punta do Tubaron. And on the South ſide of the bay it hath two or three blacke hie hilles, and in the middeſt of the bay thou ſhalt goe in weſtward.

I aduiſe thee that in going in thou take heede of a ſholde which lieth in the mouth of the bay: thou muſt leaue it to the Southward of thee, and then plie to double a certaine Iſland which lieth within, and thou muſt leaue it to the Northward of thee: and when it beareth on the North or Northeaſt, thou mayeſt come to an ankor: for all is cleane ground.

A Sierra de Guariparim in 20 degrees.
A Sierra de Pero Cam.

A Ilha de Repouſo.

And if thou chance to come by this courſe, and falleſt in 20 degrees, and ſeeſt many hilles, and one among the reſt very high and craggie: it is called A Sierra de Guariparim, that is, the hill of Guaraparim, and ſeeſt another hill on the North ſide, which is called A Sierra de Pero Cam: both theſe lie on the South ſide of Spirito Santo. And from theſe hils thou ſhalt ſee a little hill named Guaipel. And when thou ſeeſt theſe hilles, thou ſhalt ſee three little Iſlands together, lying to the Southward: And then from theſe thou ſhalt ſee another rockie, bare, and round Iſland: and to the land off this Iſland thou ſhalt ſee a great bay. If thou wilt thou mayeſt ankor here ſafely. And if thou wilt go in, thou ſhalt bring thy ſelfe Eaſt and Weſt with the hill, and ſo thou mayeſt go in. And thou ſhalt leaue a lowe land to the North of thee, which is called A Ilha de Repouſo, that is, the Iſle of reſt: and this Iſle lieth along the coaſt: and thou mayeſt be bold to ride betwixt it and the maine, giuing it a breadth off.

Spirito Santo ſtandeth in 20 degrees.

From theſe three Iſlands to Spirito Santo are 12 leagues: and running Northwards to come to Spirito Santo, thou ſhalt ſee another Iſland, and ſhalt go a ſeaboord of it, and by & by the mouth of the bay will open toward thee. And this bay ſtandeth in 20 degrees.

The

The courſe from the bay *de Spirito Santo* to the bay of *S. Vincent*, and the markes thereof. Alſo the courſe from *Saint Vincent* to the riuer of *Plate*.

Sailing from Spirito Santo for Saint Vincent, thou mayeſt get along the coaſt, keeping ſeuen or eight leagues off, and muſt goe to ſeeke Cabo Frio, that is, The cold cape. And as thou commeſt toward Cabo Frio, thou haſt a very great bay called Bahia de Saluador, that is, The bay of our Sauiour. And from thence thou haſt twelue leagues to Cabo Frio.

Baia de Saluador 12 leagues North from Cabo frio.

And before thou commeſt to Cabo Frio, thou haſt two ſmall Iſlands. Thou mayeſt go ſafely either a ſea boord of them, or elſe betweene them. Thou ſhalt vnderſtand that Cabo Frio hath as it were an Iſland in the midſt of the face or ſhew thereof, that doth cut off the cape. Thou mayeſt ride ſafely on the Weſt ſide thereof; for all is cleane ground.

Two ſmall Iſlands.

Vnderſtand that Cabo Frio ſtandeth in 23 degrees: and from it to Rio de Ienero are twelue leagues. And this riuer of Ienero hath in the mouth thereof 3 or 4 Iſlands. And if thou wilt go into this riuer de Ienero, thou mayeſt well goe in betweene two Iſlands which ſtand in the entrance of the riuer on the South ſide: neere vnto this riuer there is a great hill ſeeming to bee a man with long haire.

The height of Cape frio in 23 degrees.
Rio de Ienero.
The ſituation of an hill like a man with long haire by Ienero.

And take this for aduiſe, that if thou be in the height of this riuer, thou ſhalt ſee certaine high hilles within the land, which be like vnto organs. And when thou ſeeſt theſe organs, then make accompt thou art right againſt the riuer: and comming neere the land thou ſhalt ſee a certaine Iſland very round, which lieth to the Southward, and is hie and bare in the top. Thou muſt know that the mouth of this riuer ſtandeth in 23 degrees and one third part. And from this riuer to Angra, that is to ſay, The open hauen, thou haſt 15 leagues. Goe not neere the land there, except neceſſitie compell thee.

The organs, certaine high hilles.
Angra.

I aduiſe thee, that from this riuer that I ſpake of, I meane from the entrance thereof, thou muſt goe Weſtſouthweſt, and Southweſt, and Weſt and by South. And thou ſhalt ſee a great Iſland called Iſla de San Sebaſtiano, and to the Southward thereof another ſmall Iſland very high, called the Iſland of Alcatrarzas, that is to ſay, The Iſland of Pellicanes: but come not neere it, for it hath dangerous ſhoales. And from hence thou mayeſt go Weſt, and ſo thou ſhalt fall right with the mouth of Saint Vincent, and thou ſhalt ſee an Iſland. And if thou meane to goe into Saint Vincent thou muſt leaue this Iſland to the Weſtward. And vnderſtand that Saint Vincent lieth in foure and twentie degrees. And when thou art in the mouth of this bay, or art neere the mouth of it, then thou ſhalt ſee many other Iſlands, and one among the reſt to the ſeaward. And hauing theſe ſights, thou haſt the beſt markes that bee for theſe Iſlands, that I haue told thee of: and this Iſland lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt with the mouth of S. Vincent.

A Ilha de San Sebaſtiano.
The Iſle of Alcatrarzas.
Saint Vincent in 24 degrees.
Many Iſlands about ŷ mouth of S. Vincent, & one out to the ſeaward.

The courſe from *Saint Vincent* to the riuer of *Plate*.

From S. Vincent to Cananea thou haſt 40 leagues: and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and Southweſt and by Weſt. From Cananea to the riuer of Saint Franciſco are fifteene leagues, and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt. There is a little Iſland, which hath as it were two bayes, and a good rode, and is in 26 degrees and a quarter, and towards the maine it is hie and craggie.

Cananea.
Rio de San Franciſco.

From San Franciſco to Boca de Ouerniron are 26 leagues, and the coaſt lieth North & South. Alſo thou muſt marke that the riuer of San Franciſco hath a great entrance, and 3 ſmall Iſlands, and to ſeaward it hath a good road; and the maine is high and craggie.

Boca de Ouerniron.

From this Boca de Ouerniron to Ilha de Aruoredo thou haſt no great markes be obſerued: but this Boca is a very great bay, and this bay is deepe within the Iſland, and is a good road, and hath many Iſlands, and ſtandeth in 28 degrees. And to the North of this Iſland vnder the point there is a good road: and there is no other road hereabout but this, and it is vnder the Iſland.

Ilha de Aruoredo

From hence thou ſhalt haue ſight of the Iſle called Santa Catharina, which is a great Iſland about eight or nine leagues long, and lieth North and South. And hard by euen with this Iland is Porto de Patos, which ſtandeth in 29 degrees. And from Porto de Patos to Porto de Don Rodrigo are ten or eleuen leagues: and the coaſt lieth North and South. And from Porto de Don Roderigo to Laguna are 5 leagues. And this is a good harbour for all windes, except the Northeaſt wind.

Santa Catelina a great Iland.
Porto de Patos.
Porto de Don Roderigo.
Laguna.

From the Laguna to the riuer called Rio de Martin de Souſa are 42 leagues. And the coaſt is ſomething high, & lieth Northeaſt & by North, & Southweſt & by South: and it hath an Iſland 2 leagues

Rio de Martin de Souſa.

leagues into the ſea, where ſhips may ride well. And from the riuer of Martin de Souſa to Rio de San Pedro are 52 leagues, and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt.

Rio de S. Pedro.

From this riuer of San Pedro there lieth a point of ſand a good league off and more, and it lyeth on the Southweſt ſide of the port. And frō thence to Cabo de Santa Maria are 42 leagues: and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and all is lowe land.

Cabo de Santa Maria.

Alſo on the Southeaſt ſide of Cabo de Santa Maria there lyeth an Iſle two leagues off into the ſea, and it hath a good harborough betwixt it and the mayne. And note that the mayne is lowe land.

The cape of Santa Maria ſtandeth in 35 degrees, and at the point thereof it hath an Iſland a league into the ſea.

Hereafter followeth a Ruttier from the ſayd riuer of *Plate* to the Streight of *Magelane*.

The cape of Santa Maria is in 35 degrees. Frō thence to the Cape de Santo Antonio, which is on the other ſide of the riuer, are 30 leagues Northnortheaſt, & Southſouthweſt. And this is the broadeſt place of the riuer. And this cape is in 36 degrees and a halfe, and it is a blacke groſſe land. And thou muſt marke that at 25 leagues a ſeaboord the mouth of the riuer there lie certaine ſands, which be called Baixos de los Caſtellanos.

Baixos de los Caſtellanos.

He that falleth with the cape of Santa Maria muſt take good heede to go Southeaſt vntill hee be in 36 degrees, and from thence Southſoutheaſt vntill 36 degrees and a halfe, giuing the ſayd ſholds de los Caſtellanos a breadth: and alſo taking heede of the flats of the cape. And when hee findeth 40 or 45 fadomes, and ruſſet ſand, then he muſt goe Southweſt and by South, vntill he be in 40 degrees: where hee ſhall find great ſtore of weedes, which come from the coaſt, and a man may go 20 leagues from the ſhore in this ſounding.

Cabo de Arenas Gordas.

From the Cape de Santo Antonio to the Cape de Arenas Gordas are eight & forty leagues, and the coaſt lieth Northeaſt and Southweſt, and by Eaſt, and by Weſt: and in the firſt eighteene leagues is the riuer called Rio de Santa Anna, which hath at the entrance certaine flats and ſholds, giue them a good breadth, and come not nigh them by much, but keepe thy ſelfe in forty fadomes to goe ſurely.

Rio de S. Anna.

Cape de S. André

From the cape de Arenas Gordas to the cape of Sant André are one and thirty leagues: it lieth Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and Southweſt by Weſt: I meane when thou art in the middeſt with an equall diſtance from them both. And betweene both the capes are many bayes and riuers, but all full of ſandie ſholdes.

Baia Anegada.

From the cape of Sant Andres to the bay called Anegada, that is, The ſunken bay, are 30 leagues Eaſtnortheaſt, and Weſtſouthweſt. It ſtandeth in 40 degrees, rather leſſe then more.

Punta de Tierra llana.

From the bay called Baia Anegada to The point of the plaine land are 25 leagues Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt. This point lieth in 41 degrees and a halfe. And from this point to Baia ſin fondo, that is to ſay, The bottomleſſe bay, are 35 leagues Eaſtnortheaſt, and Weſtſouthweſt. This bay ſtandeth in 42 degrees and a halfe, rather leſſe then more.

Baia ſin fondo.

Cabo redondo, Puerto de los leones.

And from Baia ſin fondo to Cabo Redondo, & Puerto de los leones, are 37 leagues Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, ſomewhat to the North and South. And if thou meane to go out from thence with a compaſſe about after the maner of a halfe circle or an arch, ſo thou mayeſt paſſe through the Baia ſin fondo along the ſhore: for there is water enough.

Note that from the riuer of Plate to this place is neuer a good harbour for great ſhipping.

Puerto de los leones in 44 degrees & better. Take good heede of these little rockes.

From this place to Puerto de los leones the coaſt is cleane, and a man may come nigh vnto the land: And it is a lowe land with white cliffes. This harbour is in 44 degrees. And as a man goeth thither, after hee bee in 43 degrees or more, hee muſt haue a care to looke out for certaine ſmall rockes which lie neere the land, and the mouth of the harbour.

Cabo de Matas.

From this harbour to Cabo de Matas, or The cape of ſhrubs, are 30 leagues North & South, halfe a point to the Eaſt and to the Weſt: and betwixt them there is a great bay very long: And to the Northweſt 18 leagues from Cabo redondo is a riuer lying Eaſt and Weſt: and it is called Rio de Camarones, or, The riuer of ſhrimps. You ſhall know when you fall with this riuer, by ſeeing many white ſpots vpon the water, and they are ſmall ſhrimps.

Rio de Camarones.

From this riuer to Cabo redondo the coaſt lieth Northweſt and by North, and Southeaſt and by South. This cape is in 45 degrees and a halfe large.

Cabo redondo in 45 degrees & a halfe large.

From this ſayd cape to Cabo Blanco and Barancas Blancas that is to ſay, to The white cape and white cliffes are 32 leagues lying North and by Eaſt and South and by Weſt: and they ſtand in 47 degrees.

Cabo Blanco and Barrancas Blancas in 47. degrees.

From this Cape the coaſt lyeth towards the North ſide Northweſt about 3 leagues all full of white cliffes ſteepe vp: and the laſt cliffe is the biggeſt both in length and height, and ſheweth to be the ſaile of a ſhip when it is vnder ſaile. Theſe white cliffes are 6 in number. And this Cape hath in the face thereof a certaine round land that ſheweth to bee an Iſland afarre off: and it hath certaine poyntes of rockes hard by it. And two cables length from the land is 25 fathomes water. Aboue theſe white cliffes the land is plaine and euen: and it hath certaine woods. There is much people in the countrey: of whom I wiſh thee to take good heed.

People to be taken heed of.

From this Cape the land lyeth North and South; which is the firſt fall of the Cape: and in the face thereof it hath a poynt of rocks, which ſhewe themſelues. And on the South ſide of this Cape is a good harbour and road, and there is a Bay in the middeſt.

A good harbour.

From Cabo Blanco to Puerto de San Iulian are 37 leagues, and the coaſt lyeth North and by Eaſt and South and by Weſt. This harbour of S. Iulian hath in the entrance certaine high hilles, which afarre off ſeeme to be towers. On the South part of the entrance the chanell is deepeſt in the middeſt: and thou muſt borrow nerer the North ſide then to the South. Within the harbour are two Iſlands: thou muſt come to an anker hard to them. This hauen lyeth in 49 degrees. And betweene Cabo Blanco and this harbour are The Iſlands of Aſcenſion, and they be eight. From this ſaid harbour to the hill of S. Yues are 35 leagues: the coaſt lyeth Northeaſt & Southweſt: it is a low land and euen and hath onely one hill, and it is a plaine from one part to the other, and hath certaine cliffes to ſeaward, and to the Southward, and to the South ſide it hath certaine little coppies: it ſtandeth in 50 degrees large.

The port of Saint Iulian.

Ilhas de Aſcenſiom.

Morro de Santo Yues, in 50 degrees large.

From the hill of S. Yues to Rio de Cruz are 8 leagues, Northeaſt and Southweſt: and on the North ſide of the riuer it hath a very high land, and in the toppe it is plaine and lyeth two leagues broad, layd out along North and South, and the downefall on both ſides hath as it were ſaddles. This Cape hath many poynts of rockes lying 4 leagues into the ſea: and when thou haſt ſight of this land, it is good for thee to keepe from it a good bredth off. And going from thence thou mayeſt runne in ſight of the land in 25 fathoms.

Rio de Cruz.

From Rio de Cruz to Rio de Galegos are 25 leagues, Northeaſt and Southweſt: and it ſtandeth in 52 degrees and ⅔ of a degree. It hath a certaine high land: and in the higheſt of the ſayd land it is plaine, and to the Northeaſt it is a pike vp, and hath certaine white cliffes: and on the toppe and ſomething downewards it is blacke: at the foote of this high land to the Eaſtward thereof it hath certaine ſteps like a lather: and to the ſea it hath a ſharpe poynt that lyeth into this Cape almoſt halfe a league. To the Southward of this Cape where the lather is, there is a little Bay, which is the entrance of Rio de Galegos, it ebbeth and floweth here 12 fathomes. A man muſt haue a great care how he goeth in here for the cauſe aboueſaid: but he muſt keepe himſelfe out and not anker in it.

Rio de Galegos and the marks thereof.

In the mouth of Rio de Galegos it ebbeth and floweth 12 fathomes.

From Rio de Galegos to the Streits of Magelan the coaſt lyeth Northnorthweſt & Southſoutheaſt 8 leagues vnto Cabo de la virgin Maria, which is the entrance into the Streit: and 4 leagues before a man come to this Cape there are white cliffes with certaine blacke ſpots in them; and they be cauſed with the falling downe of the water. Here is water inough, and thou mayeſt come to an anker hard aboord the ſhore, and haſt a good defence for a Southweſt wind. And the Cape it ſelfe is the bigeſt land of all, and is like to Cape Saint Vincent in Spaine: and it hath on the Eaſt ſide a ledge of rockes, and a poynt of ſand, with diuers ſands which ſhewe themſelues at a lowe water: thou muſt take great heede heere and giue them a good bredth halfe a league or a quarter of a league off, vntill thou bring the Cape Weſtnorthweſt, and then thou mayeſt ſteere away Southweſt. And when thou commeſt to the lower land and into ſeuen or twelue fathoms, then art thou ouer againſt la Purificacion. And halfe a league within the land the citie of Nombre de Ieſus was builded, Eaſt and Weſt with the ſayd Cape right againſt a cliffe, which commeth from the ſayd Cape, and goeth within the Streites. This Cape ſtandeth in 52 degrees ſcant.

Cabo de la virgin Maria.

Ciudad de Nombre de Ieſus called by M. Candiſh Port Famine, becauſe he found all the Spaniards famiſhed, and the towne it ſelfe vtterly abandoned, and ruined. Where Nombre de Ieſus ſtood.

And this is to be taken for a warning, that he that commeth neere this Cape, and paſſeth by it as I haue ſaid with the wind at Northeaſt, or any other wind off the ſea inclining to the Southeaſt, muſt not come to anker, but preſently be ſure [illegible] vp; becauſe in Summer this place is much ſubiect to Southweſt windes, which blow right in, ſo they put a man from his tackle, and make him to looſe his voyage. And from March forward there blow fauourable windes from the ſea to goe from this Cape to enter into the Streits. From this ſaid Cape the Streites go in to the Northweſt 14 leagues: and the chanell wareth narrower and narrower vnto the firſt Streite which runneth

Southweſt windes raigne much here in Summer.

From March forward the windes are fauourable for the Streits.

Cabo de San Gregorio a good road-ſtead for any windes from the Northweſt to the Southweſt.

The Indians about Cape de San Gregorio in the Streits are very trecherous.

Eaſtnortheaſt, and Weſtſouthweſt. And comming out of the mouth thereof a man muſt keepe himſelfe a poynt to the Northward, becauſe there be rocks and ſhoalds. And if you ſee beds of weeds, take heed of them, and keepe off from them: and after you be paſt this Streight you muſt ſtirre Weſtſouthweſt 8 leagues vnto Cabo de San Gregorio, which is a high white cliffe, and is a good road for any wind from the Northweſt to the Southweſt. But men muſt beware and not truſt the Indians of this Cape: for they be ſubtill and will betray a man.

The ſecond Streit called Nueſtra Sennora de Gracia.

Punta de Santa Anna in 53 deg. and a halfe.

Rincones.

La Ciudad del Don Philippe which is now vtterly ruined.

From this Cape beginneth the ſecond Streit which is called Nueſtra Sennora de Gracia, and lyeth Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt 3 leagues. And comming out of this Streit thou ſhalt ſee 3 little Iſlands, lying Weſt off this Streit: thou mayeſt go betweene them, for there is no danger: prouided alwayes that thou keepe well off from the bayes on both ſides, leſt thou bee imbayed. And from theſe Iſlands thou muſt keepe forwards in the chanell Weſtſouthweſt two leagues: and then the coaſt lyeth North and South vnto 53 degrees and a halfe, vnto a place called Punta de Santa Anna: and to the Northweſt thereof in a corner or nooke (which is one of the rincones or nookes) was the towne builded called La Ciudad del Don Philippe. Thou muſt come to an anker to the Northward thereof, after thou art paſt the caſtle and a great tree.

TWO VOYAGES OF CERTAINE ENGLISHmen to the riuer of *Plate* ſituate in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude: together with an exact Ruttier and deſcription thereof, and of all the maine braunches, ſo farre as they are nauigable with ſmall barkes. By which riuer the Spaniards of late yeeres haue frequented an exceeding rich trade to and from *Peru*, and the mines of *Potoſſi*, as alſo to *Chili*, and other places.

A report of a voyage of two Engliſhmen in the company of *Sebaſtian Cabota*, intended for the *Malucos* by the Streights of *Magellan*, but perfourmed onely to the riuer of *Plate* in April 1527. Taken out of the information of M. *Robert Thorne* to Doctor *Ley* Ambaſſadour for King *Henry* the eight, to *Charles* the Emperour, touching the diſcouery of the *Malucos* by the North.

This was the fleete wherein Cabot diſcouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

Two Engliſhmen went with Cabot in this diſcouery.

IN a flote of three ſhips and a carauell that went from this citie of Siuil armed by the merchants of it, which departed in Aprill laſt paſt, I and my partner haue one thouſand foure hundred duckets that wee employed in the ſayd fleete, principally for that two Engliſhmen, friendes of mine, which are ſomewhat learned in Coſmographie, ſhould goe in the ſame ſhips, to bring me certaine relation of the ſituation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of thoſe ſeas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduiſe that I deſire to know eſpecially. Seeing in thoſe quarters are ſhips and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they ſaile, though much vnlike ours: that they ſhould procure to haue the ſayd cardes, and learne how they vnderſtand them, and eſpecially to know what nauigation they haue for thoſe Iſlands Northwards, and Northeaſtward.

The Iſlands of the Malucos.

The New found Iſlands diſcouered by the Engliſh.

For if from the ſaid Iſlands the ſea doth extend without interpoſition of land to ſaile from the North point to the Northeaſt point one thouſand ſeuen hundred or one thouſand eight hundred leagues, they ſhould come to The new found Iſlands that we diſcouered, & ſo we ſhould be neerer to the ſaid Spicerie by almoſt 200 leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portugall are.

An extract out of the diſcourſe of one *Lopez Vaz* a Portugal, touching the fight of M. *Fenton* with the Spaniſh ſhips, with a report of the proceeding of M. *Iohn Drake* after his departing from him to the riuer of *Plate*.

VPon the relation of Pedro Sarmiento concerning the ſtreits of Magellan, that they might be fortified, and for that the king heard, that there were ſhips in England preparing for the ſame ſtreits, he commanded Diego Flores de Valdes a noble man of Spaine, to paſſe thither with 23 ſhips, and 3500 men to ſtoppe the paſſage of the Engliſhmen.

There went in this fleete the gouernour of Chili, with 500 olde ſouldiers that came out of Flanders: but this was the vnhappieſt fleet of ſhips that euer went out of Spaine: for before they came from the coaſt of Spaine a ſtorme tooke them, and caſt away fiue of the fleete, and in them about 800 men, and the reſt came into Cadiz. But the king ſent them word that they ſhould proceede: and ſo there went out on the voyage 16 of the ſhippes, for two more of their fleete were much ſpoyled by the ſtorme which they had.

Fiue ſhips of this fleete caſt away on the coaſt of Spaine.

In theſe ſixteene ſhippes, Pedro Sarmiento was ſent to bee gouernour in the Streites, and had aſſigned vnto him 500 men to ſtay there with him, and hee carried with him all kinde of Artificers to make him forts, and other neceſſaries, with great ſtore of ordinance and other munition.

This fleete becauſe it was late, did winter on the coaſt of Braſil, in the riuer of Ienero: and from thence they went when the winter was paſt, and about the height of 42 degrees they had a ſudden ſtorme, ſo that Diego Flores beat it vp and downe 22 dayes, in which time hee loſt one of the beſt ſhips he had, which had in her 300 men, and 20 women, that went to inhabite the Streits: and in this ſhip alſo was moſt part of the munition which ſhould haue bene left in the Streites, ſo in the end the ſtorme grew to bee ſo great, that the ſhips were not able to endure it any longer, but were put backe vnto an Iſland, called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein were ſome fryers going for the riuer of Plate: which friers told him of two great Engliſh ſhips, and a pinneſſe, which had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely aſked them for the king of Spaines ſhips.

This fleete wintred in the riuer of Ienero.

M. Fenton tooke theſe fryers.

Hereupon Diego Flores knowing that theſe Engliſh ſhips would goe for the Streits, determined to goe thither, although it was in the moneth of Februarie, and chooſing 10 ſhips of the 15 that were left, hee left two ſhips which were not in caſe to goe to ſea at the Iſland, and into the other three ſhips which were old, and ſhaken with the ſtorme hee put all the women, and ſicke men in all the fleete, and ſent them to the riuer of Ienero, and he with the other 10 returned againe for the Streits.

The three ſhips in which the ſicke men and women were, went to Braſil, and there they found within the port of S. Vincent the two ſhips before mentioned.

They woulde haue had the Engliſh men to haue gone out of the harbour, and thereupon they fell to fight, and becauſe that theſe three ſhips were weake with the ſtorme, and the men that they had were the worſt in all the fleete, the Engliſhmen eaſily put them to the worſt, and ſunke one of them, and might haue ſunke another, if the Engliſhmen would: but they minded not the deſtruction of any man: for that is the greateſt vertue that can be in a man, that when hee may doe hurt, yet he will not doe it. So the Engliſhmen went from this port to Spirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandiſe, and ſo they went backe for England, without doing of any harme in the Countrey.

A fight betweene 2 Engliſh ſhips & three Spaniſh ſhips.

They victual at Spirito Santo.

The cauſe why theſe Engliſh ſhippes vnder the conduct of M. Fenton went not to the Streits, I know not: but ſome ſay that they were put backe by foule weather: other ſome ſay that it was for feare of the kings ſhips.

But the pinneſſe of theſe two ſhips went from them, in which was Captaine Iohn Drake: the cauſe why they parted I know not, but the pinneſſe came into the riuer of Plate, and within fiue leagues of Seale Iſland, not farre from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands ſhippes did take in freſh water, ſhee was caſt away vpon a ledge of rockes: but the men were ſaued in their boat, which were in number 18, who went aſhore on the North ſide, and went a dayes iourney into the land, and met with the Sauages, which are no men-eaters, but take all the Chriſtians that they can, and make them ſlaues.

Iohn Drake proceedeth on to the riuer of Plate.

But the Engliſhmen fought with them, and the Sauages ſlew 5 of them, and tooke 13 aliue, which were with the Sauages about 15 moneths. But the Maſter of the pinneſſe, whoſe name was Richard Faireweather being not willing to indure the miſery that hee was in, and hauing knowledge that there was a towne of Chriſtians on the other ſide of the riuer, he in a night called Iohn Drake, and another yong man which was with them, and tooke a very little Canoa, which had but two oares, & ſo paſſed to the other ſide of the riuer, which is about 19 leagues broade, and were three dayes before they could get ouer without meat: and comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towards the Chriſtians: and ſeeing the footing of horſes, they followed it, and at laſt came to an houſe where there was corne ſowed, and there they met with Indians ſeruants vnto the Spaniards, which gaue them meate, and clothes to couer them, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the towne, and told them of the Engliſhmen: ſo the Captaine ſent foure horſemen, who brought them to the towne behind them.

Richard Faireweather eſcapeth in the riuer of Plate.

This Captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake dieted at the Captaines table, and they were all very well intreated, the Captaine purpoſing to ſend them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hauing newes hereof, ſent for them, and ſo Iohn Drake was

Iohn Drake ſent to the Viceroy of Peru.

ſent to him, but the other two were kept there, becauſe they were married in the countrey, ſo that I know no more of their affaires.

Upon this comming of the Engliſhmen, there were prepared 50 horſemen to goe ouer the riuer to ſeeke the reſt of the Engliſhmen, and alſo certaine Spaniards that were among the ſauage people, but I am not certaine, whether they went forward or not.

A ruttier which declareth the ſituation of the coaſt of *Braſil* from the Iſle of *Santa Catelina* vnto the mouth of the riuer of *Plata*, and all along vp within the ſayd riuer, and what armes and mouthes it hath to enter into it, as farre as it is nauigable with ſmall barks.

The Iſle of Santa Catelina. Rio Grande.

FRom the Iſle of Santa Catelina, (which is in 28 degrees of Southerly latitude) vnto Rio Grande is fortie leagues. This riuer by another name is called Ygai. The Iſland of Santa Catelina is ſixe leagues in length: it hath two ſmall Iſlands on the North ſide betweene the maine land and it: and on the South ſide it hath a ſhoald of rockes, which lyeth hidden very neere vnto the poynt of the Iſle. You are to paſſe betweene the firme land and the poynt of the Iſle.

Puerto de Biaza, or Laguna.

Iſla de reparo.

From Santa Catelina to the hauen of Biaça, which by another name is called la Laguna, are twelue leagues: it is a good hauen within: but you muſt ſtay the full ſea to enter into it, becauſe it hath ſhoaldes in the mouth, and it may be knowen by a ſmall Iſland which lyeth a league into the ſea which is called La Iſla de Reparo, that is, The Iſland of ſuccour or defence, and you muſt ride there to ſearch the chanell.

Rio Grande.

Certaine Iſlands 12. leagues diſtant from the mouth of the riuer of Plate, which are 3 in number.

From this harbour vnto the riuer before named there is no hauen for a ſhip to harbour it ſelfe. And Rio Grande hath many ſhoalds in the mouth thereof. It is a riuer that none but very ſmall ſhippes can enter into. And this riuer diuideth the countrey of the people called Carios from other nations which are called Guaues. And from this riuer vnto the entrance of the mouth of the riuer of Plate it is al a plaine land, and very low: you muſt ſaile all along two or three leagues into the ſea from the ſhore, vntill you come to certaine Iſlands which lye twelue leagues from the mouth of the riuer of Plate.

From Rio Grande vnto theſe Iſlands are 68 leagues. And from theſe Iſlands vnto the Cape of Saint Marie the coaſt runneth Northeaſt and Southweſt, ſomewhat inclining a poynt to the South. The Iſlands are three, and may be knowen as you come from the ſea by two poynts, which ſhew like the eares of a conie: you may ride betweene them and the maine.

The Cape of S. Marie. An Iſland a league an halfe from Cape Saint Marie.

From Rio Grande to the Cape of Saint Marie are 80 leagues: and the Cape may be knowne by one Iſland which lyeth from it a league and an halfe into the ſea. You may ſayle betweene the maine and that Iſland, becauſe there is aboue 8 or 9 fathoms water. The Cape of Saint Mary ſtandeth in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude.

Iſla de Lobos. The way to enter into the riuer of Plate. Rio de Solis 10 leagues within the Cape. Los tres Mogotes 3 leagues. Saint Grauiel 8 leagues.

The Cape of Santa Maria vpon the poynt thereof hath a little hill which ſtandeth ouer againſt the Iſle of Seales. From this coaſt of Santa Maria you muſt coaſt along the land alway on the North ſhore, and along the ſame are certaine Bayes. From the Cape vnto the riuer of Solis are tenne leagues, the coaſt runneth Eaſt and Weſt. There ſtandeth an Iſland ouer againſt the mouth thereof. From this riuer of Solis vnto Los tres Mogotes which are on the maine land is three leagues. And from Los Mogotes vnto the Iſles of Saint Grauiel are other 8 or 9 leagues more: all this diſtance runneth Eaſt and Weſt. Theſe are fiue ſmall Iſlands: to ride here you muſt keepe ſomewhat neere the maine within an harquebuze ſhot halfe a league before you come at the Iſlands, and ſtraight way you ſhall ſee a croſſe ✠ ſtanding on the ſaid land, and there is an harbour for ſome winds.

Rio de S. Iuan 3 leagues.

The Iſle of Martin Garcia 3. leagues.

From Saint Grauiel vnto the riuer of Sant Iuan going along the ſame coaſt, I ſay on the North ſhore, are three leagues: it is very well knowen by the broken cliffe which it hath, which is a white hill. The entrance into this riuer is very dangerous; becauſe it is ſhallow, and none but very ſmall ſhippes can enter into the ſame: the entrance thereof is on the Weſt ſide very neere the land, great Carackes may ride within the harbour. From this riuer vnto the Iſle of Martin Garçia are three leagues: it is one Iſland alone, and you muſt ſayle along the coaſt on the North ſhore: and after you be come vnto the Iſland, I ſay, ouer againſt the ſame, you ſhall haue three fathoms water, and on the Weſt ſide it hath a little creeke where you may ride.

Rio de Buenos Aëres on the Southſide of the riuer of Plate.

He that deſireth to croſſe ouer the riuer of Plate vnto the riuer de Buenos Aëres from the Iſles of Saint Grauiel, muſt ſhape his courſe Southweſt: and the cut ouer is ſixteene leagues and vpon his arriuall on the South ſhore of the riuer, hee muſt ſeeke a chanell of three fathomes water, and ſtraite he muſt goe along the coaſt vntill hee come to a broken cliffe and a poynt like vnto the firme land, which is diſtant from this chanell three or foure leagues: and when thou ſeeſt this broken cliffe, keepe thee a league from it. Here vpon this riuer of Buenos Aëres was the firſt Colonie that Don Pedro de Mendoça planted. This riuer lieth very much hidden: becauſe it is not ſeene, it is very ſhallow at a low ſea, wherefore you muſt come in with the firſt of the flood.

The firſt Spaniſh colonie was planted in the riuer of Buenos Aëres.

From the Iſle of Martin Garçia vnto certaine ſmall Iſlands which are called the Iſles of Saint Lazarus is two leagues, theſe are ſhoalds: and to goe thither you muſt goe hard aboord the maine, for there goeth the chanell: all this is to be paſſed on the North ſhore, and with ſmall barkes, and with good heede.

The Iſles of San Lazaro.

From the Iſle of Martin Garçia to the mouthes of the riuer are eight leagues in paſſing along on this ſide to ſeeke one of the mouthes of the riuer Parana, as it is hereafter deſcribed. But you had need firſt to harbour in a bay, which is in the very [illegible] or Barranca, and you muſt ſtay for the full ſea. And if you fall into the mouth of the riuer which is called Vruay, you muſt leaue it on the right hand, I ſay on the North ſide. And forthwith leauing the ſaid mouth forward toward the Weſt, you may enter into the firſt mouth although it ſeeme narrow; or rather you may enter into any of the mouthes: for all of them meete together in Parana, which is the maine riuer.

Rio Vruay.

Parana is the great riuer.

And hee that deſireth to goe from the Iſle of Martin Garçia to the riuer of Palmas, which is the beſt of all theſe armes, or mouthes to ſpeake more properly, is to ſhape his courſe to the Weſt, and comming ouer to the other ſhore, and ſayling along the coaſt Northnorthweſt hee ſhall diſcouer the mouth of this riuer of Palmas: and hee muſt enter hard by Los Iuncales, which lye on the South ſide: and afterward within is very deepe ſounding. All theſe mouthes of this riuer which are 5, are full of ſholds towards the Eaſt about the ſpace of two leagues. And if the courſe of the water were not ſwift there, you could not enter into them, as I haue already ſayd, and you muſt paſſe all along with much heede and foreſight.

Rio de las Palmas.

And if peraduenture you haue paſſed Cape Saint Marie and are come ouer to Cape Blanco, conſider it, that it is ſo euen and ſmooth a land, that you can ſcarcely diſcerne it a league from the maine, vnleſſe it be a very cleare day: and after this ſort the coaſt lieth low vnto the riuer de Buenos Aëres. And from thence the coaſt lyeth ſomewhat high vnto the entrance of the riuer de Palmas: all the coaſt runneth as I ſayd before. And all along this coaſt are naughty people, which eate thoſe which they kill, and many Tygers.

Cape Blanco on the South ſide of the mouth of the riuer of Plate a very low and euen land.

Man-eaters vpon the ſouth ſhore.

From the Iſle of Martin Garçia vnto Sant Saluador is nine or tenne leagues. This is an Iſland which ſtandeth two leagues within the firſt mouth: where Sebaſtian Cabota tooke poſſeſſion. And this countrey is very well peopled by a people called Carios; and you muſt beware of all theſe people: for they are your deadly enemies. The moſt Southerly mouth of Parana called Rio de Palmas is ſixteene leagues long, and it hath many turnings, and many palme or date-trees growing neere it, whereupon it is called The riuer of palme trees: and forthwith it entreth into the riuer Parana, as ſoone as theſe ſixteene leagues are finiſhed. All the other armes containe likewiſe ſixteene leagues in length, ſauing one ſmall or narrowe arme, which is called The riuer de los Boguaes: for this containeth fortie leagues in length. From this you muſt enter by the mouth of the riuer of Palmas vnto Santo Spirito, the way is fiftie leagues: you are to paſſe ſtill along the cliffes. As you enter on the left hand which is on the Weſt ſhore vp this riuer there are many Iſles, lakes and ſmall riuers, and many Indians which are your enemies.

Sant Saluador an Iſland ten leagues off.

Sebaſtian Cabota.

16. Leagues.

Santo Spirito 50 leagues from Rio de Palmas.

From Santo Spirito vnto a people which are called Los Tenbuis is fifteene leagues. This is by the narrow arme whereby they paſſe into the riuer Parana: it is the more becauſe it is the longer way. From the Tenbuis by this narrow arme vpward vnto the Quiloacas, which is another nation, are twentie leagues; and all vp this riuer is great ſtore of people.

Los Tenbuis a people.
15. leagues.
The Quiloacas 20. leagues.

From the Quiloacas, to a place where the Spaniards now haue builded a towne, are fifteene leagues. From this towne vnto the people called Los Mequaretas is twentie leagues. Here are many ſholds which continue thirtie leagues. All theſe thirtie leagues are ſunken landes: where are many Iſles, flats, and nations, which are our enemies.

This towne perhaps may be the towne of Santa Anna.
15. leagues.
The Mequaretas a people.
20 leagues.

From the Mequaretas vnto the people called Mepenes are theſe thirtie leagues. And from hence begin the coaſts of the firme land vnto the mouth of the riuer Paraguai; ſauing that there are eight leagues more of ſunken ground.

The Mepenes 30 leagues.
8. leagues.

From the Mepenes vnto the mouth of the riuer of Paraguai are thirtie leagues: it is a riuer that cannot be miſtaken although it hath many armes and Iſlands and dangers, it hath a marke two leagues beneath the mouth on the Eaſt ſide, to wit, an high land, where are 7 points, which we call the 7 currents: and immediatly aboue theſe currents there is an Iſland as you paſſe vp the

The riuer Paraguai.

The 7. currents.

The towne of Piquiri or Picora 170. leagues vp the riuer of Parana.

The citie of Aſſumption, or Aſcenſion 60. leagues from the mouth of Paraguai.

200. leagues from Aſſumption ſubiect to the Spaniards, to the citie of Xaraes.

riuer ouer againſt the poynt aforeſaid ſtandeth the mouth of Paraguai. This mouth is very plaine to be found, in ſeeking whereof a man cannot be deceiued. From this mouth the riuer of Parana is diuided, which is a very great riuer: and it goeth vnto the towne of Piquiri, which is an hundred and ſeuentie leagues: and it runneth all this ſpace North and South, and in the way are many flats and ſhoalds; and great ſtore of people, which are a bad nation, although they bee diuided. From the place where theſe two riuers are diuided, that is to ſay, from the mouth of Paraguai are ſixtie leagues vnto the citie of Aſſumption. This is a good riuer, and better to ſaile then all the reſt of the riuers, which are in this countrey. And from this towne to Los Xaraes are 200. leagues, very well inhabited with people of diuers nations, which ſerue the Spaniards.

THE TWO FAMOVS VOYAGES HAPPILY perfourmed round about the world, by Sir *Francis Drake*, and M. *Thomas Candiſh* Eſquire, together with the reſt of our Engliſh voyages intended for the South Sea, the kingdomes of *Chili*, *Peru*, the backe ſide of *Nueua Eſpanna*, the *Malucos*, the *Philippinas*, the mightie Empire of *China*, though not ſo happily perfourmed as the two former: Whereunto are annexed certaine rare obſeruations touching the preſent ſtate of *China*, and the kingdome of *Coray*, lately inuaded by *Quabacondono* the laſt Monarch of the 66. princedomes of *Iapan*.

The famous voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* into the South ſea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.

The 15. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a fleete of fiue ſhips and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, gentlemen and ſailers, departed from Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where ſuch and ſo terrible a tempeſt tooke vs, as few men haue ſeene the like, and was in deed ſo vehement, that all our ſhips were like to haue gone to wracke: but it pleaſed God to preſerue vs from that extremitie, and to afflict vs onely for that preſent with theſe two particulars: The maſt of our Admirall which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the ſafegard of the ſhip, and the Marigold was driuen aſhore, and ſomewhat bruiſed: for the repairing of which damages wee returned againe to Plimmouth, and hauing recouered thoſe harmes, and brought the ſhips againe to good ſtate, we ſet forth the ſecond time from Plimmouth, and ſet ſaile the 13. day of December following.

The Iſle of Mogador on the coaſt of Barbarie.

The 25. day of the ſame moneth we fell with the Cape Cantin, vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, and coaſting along, the 27. day we found an Iſland called Mogador, lying one mile diſtant from the maine, betweene which Iſland and the maine, we found a very good and ſafe harbour for our ſhips to ride in, as alſo very good entrance, and voyde of any danger.

On this Iſland our Generall erected a pinneſſe, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While theſe things were in doing, there came to the waters ſide ſome of the inhabitants of the countrey, ſhewing foorth their flags of truce, which being ſeene of our Generall, hee ſent his ſhips boate to the ſhore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord our men left there one man of our company for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our ſhip, which by ſignes ſhewed our General, that the next day they would bring ſome prouiſion, as ſheepe, capons and hennes, and ſuch like: whereupon our Generall beſtowed amongſt them ſome linnen cloth and ſhooes, and a iaueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters ſide, and our Generall againe ſetting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer raſhly aſhore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they ſet violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any reſiſtance, and ſo laying him on a horſe, caried him away: ſo that a man cannot be too circumſpect and warie of himſelfe among ſuch miſcreants.

Our pinneſſe being finiſhed, wee departed from this place the 30. and laſt day of December, and coaſting along the ſhore, wee did deſcrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spaniſh fiſhermen, to whom we gaue chaſe and tooke three of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Carauels and tooke them alſo.

The 17. day of January we arriued at Cape Blanco, where we found a ſhip riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two ſimple Mariners in her, which ſhip we tooke and caried her further into the harbour, where we remained 4. dayes, and in that ſpace our Generall muſtered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occaſions.

Januarie.

In this place we tooke of the Fiſhermen ſuch neceſſaries as wee wanted, and they could yeeld vs, and leauing heere one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with vs one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All theſe things being finiſhed, wee departed this harbour the 22. of Januarie, carying along with vs one of the Portugall Carauels which was bound to the Iſlands of Cape Verde for ſalt, whereof good ſtore is made in one of thoſe Iſlands.

The maſter or Pilot of that Carauel did aduertiſe our Generall that vpon one of thoſe Iſlands called Mayo, there was great ſtore of dryed Cabritos, which a few inhabitants there dwelling did yeerely make ready for ſuch of the kings Ships as did there touch, beeing bound for his countrey of Braſile or elſewhere. Wee fell with this Iſland the 27. of January, but the Inhabitants would in no caſe traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall ſent to view the Iſland, and the likelihoodes that might be there of prouiſion of victuals, about threeſcore and two men vnder the conduct and gouernment of Maſter Winter and Maſter Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Iſland (as by the Portugall wee were informed) hauing trauailed to the mountaines the ſpace of [illegible] miles, and arriuing there ſomewhat before the day breake, we arreſted our ſelues to ſee day [illegible] vs, which appearing, we found the inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reaſon that it was manured, wee found to be more fruitfull then the other part, eſpecially the valleys among the hils.

The Iſle of Mayo.

Here we gaue our ſelues a litle refreſhing, as by very ripe and ſweete grapes, which the fruitfulneſſe of the earth at that ſeaſon of the yeere yeelded vs: and that ſeaſon being with vs the depth of Winter, it may ſeeme ſtrange that thoſe fruites were then there growing: but the reaſon thereof is this, becauſe they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne paſſeth twiſe in the yeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Summers, & being ſo neere the heate of the line, they neuer loſe the heate of the Sunne ſo much, but the fruites haue their increaſe and continuance in the midſt of Winter. The Iſland is wonderfully ſtored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath ſalt alſo without labour, ſaue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increaſed vpon the ſands by the flowing of the ſea, and the receiuing heate of the Sunne kerning the ſame, ſo that of the increaſe thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

Ripe grapes in Winter.

Amongſt other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which becauſe it is not commonly knowen with vs in England, I thought good to make ſome deſcription of it.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in cluſters, hard at the top of the ſtemme of the tree, as big euery ſeuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauing taken off the vttermoſt barke, which you ſhall find to bee very full of ſtrings or ſinowes, as I may terme them, you ſhall come to a hard ſhell which may holde of quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or ſome a quart, and ſome leſſe: within that ſhell of the thickneſſe of halfe an inch good, you ſhall haue a kinde of hard ſubſtance and very white, no leſſe good and ſweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleare liquor, which being drunke, you ſhall not onely finde it very delicate and ſweete, but moſt comfortable and cordiall.

The deſcription of the tree that beareth Cocos.

After wee had ſatiſfied our ſelues with ſome of theſe fruites, wee marched further into the Iſland, and ſaw great ſtore of * Cabritos aliue, which were ſo chaſed by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our prouiſion, but they had layde out as it were to ſtoppe our mouthes withall, certaine olde dryed Cabritos, which being but ill, and ſmall and few, wee made no account of.

* Or goates.

Being returned to our ſhips, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and ſayled by the Iſland of S. Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who ſhot and diſcharged at vs three peeces, but they all fell ſhort of vs, and did vs no harme. The Iſland is fayre and large, and as it ſeemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals, but the mountaines and high places of the Iſland are ſayd to be poſſeſſed by the Moores, who hauing bin ſlaues to the Portugals, to eaſe themſelues, made eſcape to the deſert places of the Iſland, where they abide with great ſtrength.

The Iſle of S. Iago.

Being

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Being before this Iſland, we eſpied two ſhips vnder ſayle, to the one of which wee gaue chaſe, and in the end boorded her with a ſhip-boat without reſiſtance, which we found to be a good prize, and ſhe yeelded vnto vs good ſtore of wine: which prize our Generall committed to the cuſtodie of Maſter Doughtie, and reteining the Pilot, ſent the reſt away with his Pinneſſe, giuing them a Butte of wine and ſome victuals, and their wearing clothes, and ſo they departed.

A prize, and Nuno da Silua a Portugall Pilot taken.

The Iſle of Fogo.

The ſame night wee came with the Iſland called by the Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Iſland: in the Northſide whereof is a conſuming fire, the matter is ſayde to be of Sulphure, but notwithſtanding it is like to bee a commodious Iſland, becauſe the Portugals haue built, and doe inhabite there.

Upon the South ſide thereof lyeth a moſt pleaſant and ſweete Iſland, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in reſpect whereof they call it Ilha Braua, that is, the braue Iſland. From the bankes thereof into the ſea doe run in many places reaſonable ſtreames of freſh waters eaſie to be come by, but there was no conuenient roade for our ſhips: for ſuch was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring, and it is reported, that ground was neuer found in that place, ſo that the tops of Fogo burne not ſo high in the ayre, but the rootes of Braua are quenched as low in the ſea.

Being departed from theſe Iſlands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the ſpace of 3. weekes, but yet ſubiect to diuers great ſtormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miſerie we had the commoditie of great ſtore of fiſh, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying fiſhes, whereof ſome fell into our ſhippes, wherehence they could not riſe againe for want of moiſture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

From the firſt day of our departure from the Iſlands of Cape Verde, wee ſayled 54. dayes without ſight of land, and the firſt land that we fell with was the coaſt of Braſil, which we ſaw the fift of April in ỹ height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike, and being diſcouered at ſea by the inhabitants of the countrey, they made vpon the coaſt great fires for a ſacrifice (as we learned) to the deuils, about which they vſe coniurations, making heapes of ſande and other ceremonies, that when any ſhip ſhall goe about to ſtay vpon their coaſt, not onely ſands may be gathered together in ſhoalds in euery place, but alſo that ſtormes and tempeſts may ariſe, to the caſting away of ſhips and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiments.

Aprill.
33. Degrees.

The ſeuenth day in a mightie great ſtorme both of lightning, rayne and thunder, wee loſt the Canter which we called the Christopher: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in diſperſing his ſhips, we found her againe, and the place where we met, our Generall called the Cape of Ioy, where euery ſhip tooke in ſome water. Heere we found a good temperature and ſweete ayre, a very faire and pleaſant countrey with an exceeding fruitfull ſoyle, where were great ſtore of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the ſight of any people: but traueiling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay-ground, ſhewing that they were men of great ſtature. Being returned to our ſhips, we wayed anchor, and ranne ſomewhat further, and harboured our ſelues betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the ſea, we rid very ſafe, and vpon this rocke we killed for our prouiſion certaine ſea-wolues, commonly called with vs Seales.

The Cape of Ioy.

Their entrance into the riuer of Plate.

From hence we went our courſe to 36. degrees, and entred the great riuer of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 53. fadomes and a halfe of freſh water, where wee filled our water by the ſhips ſide: but our Generall finding here no good harborough, as he thought he ſhould, bare out againe to ſea the 27. of April, and in bearing out we loſt ſight of our Flieboate wherein maſter Doughtie was, but we ſayling along, found a fayre and reaſonable good Bay wherein were many, and the ſame profitable Iſlands, one whereof had ſo many Seales, as would at the leaſt haue laden all our Shippes, and the reſt of the Iſlands are as it were laden with foules which is wonderfull to ſee, and they of diuers ſortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of freſh water.

Abundance of Seales.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on ſhore in an Iſland, the people of the countrey ſhewed themſelues vnto him, leaping and dauncing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the ſame muſt bee caſt vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and ſtrong bodies, ſwift on foote, and ſeeme to be very actiue.

May.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to haue a care of ſuch Ships as were abſent, and therefore indeuouring to ſeeke the Flieboate wherein maſter Doughtie was, we eſpied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ſhips were ſent to diſcouer the coaſt and to ſearch an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that buſineſſe, came vnto vs and gaue vs vnderſtanding of a ſafe harbour that they had found, where with all our ſhips bare, and entred it, where we watered and made new prouiſion of victuals, as by Seales, whereof we ſlew to the number of 200. or 300. in the ſpace of an houre.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid cloſe aboord the Flie-boate, and tooke out of her all the prouiſion of victuals and what els was in her, and halling her to the Lande, ſet fire to her, and ſo burnt her to ſaue the iron worke: which being a doing, there came downe of the countrey certaine of the people naked, ſauing only about thei[illegible]le the ſkinne of ſome beaſt with the furre or haire on, and ſomething alſo wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with diuers colours, and ſome of them had on their heads the ſimilitude of hornes, euery man his bow which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliuer, and ſeemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. Theſe people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our handes; yet at length our Generall being aſhore, and they dauncing after their accuſtomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt ſuddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his golde band off his head, and ran a litle diſtance from him and ſhared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

The Flie-boat caſt off and burnt.

The people of the countrey.

Hauing diſpatched all our buſineſſe in this place, wee departed and ſet ſayle, and immediatly vpon our ſetting foorth we loſt our Canter which was abſent three or foure dayes: but when our General had her againe, he tooke out the neceſſaries, and ſo gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope.

The cape of Good hope.

The next day after being the twentieth of Iune, wee harboured our ſelues againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan Port S. Iulian, where we found a gibbet ſtanding vpon the maine, which we ſuppoſed to be the place where Magellan did execution vpon ſome of his diſobedient and rebellious company.

Iune.

Port S. Iulian.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went aſhore to the maine, and in his companie, Iohn Thomas, and Robert Winterhie, Oliuer the Maſter gunner, Iohn Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they preſently met with two or three of the countrey people, and Robert Winterhie hauing in his hands a bowe and arrowes, went about to make a ſhoote of pleaſure, and in his draught his bowſtring brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes againſt our company, and droue them to their ſhifts very narrowly.

In this Port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be ſuch as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or ſome other diſorder, whereby (without redreſſe) the ſucceſſe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the company was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cauſe, which were found partly by maſter Doughties owne confeſſion, and partly by the euidence of the fact, to be true: which when our Generall ſaw, although his priuate affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the preſence of vs all ſacredly proteſted) was great, yet the care he had of the ſtate of the voyage, of the expectation of her Maieſtie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as indeede it ought) then the priuate reſpect of one man: ſo that the cauſe being throughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the courſe of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie ſhould receiue puniſhment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he ſeeing no remedie but patience for himſelfe, deſired before his death to receiue the Communion, which he did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Miniſter, and our Generall himſelfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made ready, hee hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queenes maieſtie and our realme, in quiet ſort laid his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers ſpeaches to the whole company, perſwading vs to vnitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage; and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery man the next Sunday following to prepare himſelfe to receiue the Communion, as Chriſtian brethren and friends ought to doe, which was done in very reuerent ſort, and ſo with good contentment euery man went about his buſineſſe.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

The 17. day of Auguſt we departed the port of S. Iulian, & the 20. day we fell with the ſtreight or freat of Magellan going into the South ſea, at the Cape or headland whereof we found the bodie of a dead man, whoſe fleſh was cleane conſumed.

Auguſt.

The ſtreight of Magellan.

The 21. day we entred The ſtreight, which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were ſhuttings vp, as if there were no paſſage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often againſt vs, ſo that ſome of the fleete recouering a Cape or point of land, others ſhould be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an anchor where they could.

In this ſtreight there be many faire harbors, with ſtore of freſh water, but yet they lacke their beſt commoditie: for the water is there of ſuch depth, that no man ſhal find ground to anchor in, except it bee in ſome narow riuer or corner, or betweene ſome rocks, ſo that if any extreme blaſts or contrary winds do come (whereunto the place is much ſubiect) it carieth with it no ſmall danger.

The land on both ſides is very huge & mountainous, the lower mountains whereof, although they be monſtrous and wonderfull to looke vpon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a ſtrange maner, reaching themſelues aboue their fellowes ſo high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

These mountaines are couered with ſnow: at both the Southerly and Eaſterly partes of the ſtreight there are Iſlands, among which the ſea hath his indraught into the ſtreights, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This ſtreight is extreme cold, with froſt and ſnow continually; the trees ſeeme to ſtoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and ſweete herbes doe very plentifully grow and increaſe vnder them.

The bredth of the ſtreights of Magellan.

The bredth of the ſtreight is in ſome place a league, in ſome other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in ſome other 4. leagues, but the narroweſt place hath a league ouer.

Abundance of foule in the ſtreight.

The 24, of Auguſt we arriued at an Iſland in the ſtreights, where we found great ſtore of foule which could not flie, of the bigneſſe of geeſe, whereof we killed in leſſe then one day 3000. and victualled our ſelues throughly therewith.

September.

The 6, day of September we entred the South ſea at the Cape or head ſhore.

The ſeuenth day wee were driuen by a great ſtorme from the entring into the South ſea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Streight: in which height, and ſo many leagues to the Weſtward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipſe of the Moone at the houre of ſixe of the clocke at night: but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our ſtate, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accuſtomed Eclipſe of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone ſeuen fold.

57. Degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude. Botero writeth that another hath found this place all Iſlands.

From the Bay (which we called The Bay of ſeuering of friends) wee were driuen backe to the Southward of the ſtreights in 57. degrees and a terce: in which height we came to an anker among the Iſlands, hauing there freſh and very good water, with herbes of ſingular vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Bay, where wee found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Iſland to another to ſeeke their meat, who entred traffique with vs for ſuch things as they had.

We returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Iſlands, in one of which was ſuch plentie of birdes as is ſcant credible to report.

M. Winter ſeparated and returned.

The 8, day of October we loſt ſight of one of our Conſorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we ſuppoſed was put by a ſtorme into the ſtreights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not periſhed, as ſome of our company feared.

The trending of the coaſt of Chili.

Thus being come into the height of The ſtreights againe, we ran, ſuppoſing the coaſt of Chili to lie as the generall Maps haue deſcribed it, namely Northweſt, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeaſt and Eaſtwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Chili hath not bene truely hitherto diſcouered, or at the leaſt not truely reported for the ſpace of 12. degrees at the leaſt, being ſet downe either of purpoſe to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.

The Iſle la Mocha in 38. degrees and 30. minutes.

We continuing our courſe, fell the 29, of Nouember with an Iſland called la Mocha, where we caſt anchor, and our Generall hoyſing out our boate, went with ten of our company to ſhore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne ſafetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themſelues in this Iſland. We being on land, the people came downe to vs to the water ſide with ſhew of great courteſie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat ſheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them, and had promiſe to haue water there: but the next day repayring againe to the ſhore, and ſending two men aland with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vſe to ſhew no fauour if they take them) layde violent hands on them, and as we thinke, ſlew them.

Our Generall ſeeing this, ſtayed here no longer, but wayed anchor, and ſet ſayle towards the coaſt of Chili, and drawing towards it, we mette neere to the ſhore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and tolde vs, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spaniſh ſhip laden from the kingdome of Peru: for which good newes our Generall gaue him diuers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with vs and brought vs to the place, which is called the port of Valparizo.

When we came thither, we found indeede the ſhip riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Bottija of wine of Chili to drinke to vs: but as ſoone as we were entred, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and ſtrooke one of the Spanyards, and ſayd vnto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in Engliſh, Goe downe dogge. One of theſe Spaniards ſeeing perſons of that quality in thoſe ſeas, all to croſſed, and bleſſed himſelfe: but to be ſhort, wee ſtowed them vnder hatches all ſaue one Spaniard, who ſuddenly and deſperately leapt ouer boord into the ſea, and ſwamme aſhore to the towne of S. Iago, to giue them warning of our arriuall.

The port of Valparizo in 33. degrees 40. minutes.

Wine of Chili.

The towne of S. Iago taken.

They of the towne being not aboue 9. houſholds, preſently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our Generall manned his boate, and the Spaniſh ſhips boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a ſmall chappell which wee entred, and found therein a ſiluer chalice, two cruets, and one altar-cloth, the ſpoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. Fletcher his miniſter.

We found alſo in this towne a warehouſe ſtored with wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-wood, all which wine we brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords to burne for firewood: and ſo being come aboord, wee departed the Hauen, hauing firſt ſet all the Spaniards on land, ſauing one Iohn Griego a Greeke borne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the hauen of Lima.

Wine of Chili.

Iohn Griego a Pilot taken.

When we were at ſea, our Generall rifled the ſhip, and found in her good ſtore of the wine of Chili, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldiuia, amounting in value to 37000. ducats of Spaniſh money, and aboue. So going on our courſe, wee arriued next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall ſent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were eſpied by the Spaniards, who came with 300. horſemen and 200. footemen, and ſlewe one of our men with a piece, the reſt came aboord in ſafetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on ſhore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we ſet ſayle and would not truſt them.

Gold of Baldiuia.

Coquimbo in 29. degrees 30. minutes.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tarapaça, where being landed, we found by the Sea ſide a Spaniard lying aſleepe, who had lying by him 13. barres of ſiluer, which weighed 4000. ducats Spaniſh; we tooke the ſiluer, and left the man.

Tarapaça.

Not farre from hence going on land for freſh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driuing 8. Llamas or ſheepe of Peru which are as big as aſſes; euery of which ſheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bagge conteining 50. li. weight of fine ſiluer: ſo that bringing both the ſheepe and their burthen to the ſhips, we found in all the bags 800. weight of ſiluer.

Here hence we ſailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the port, we found there three ſmall barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57 wedges of ſiluer, each of them weighing about 20 pound weight, and euery of theſe wedges were of the faſhion and bigneſſe of a brickbat. In all theſe 3. barkes we found not one perſon: for they miſtruſting no ſtrangers, were all gone aland to the Towne, which conſiſteth of about twentie houſes, which we would haue ranſacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the ſpoyle of the ſhips, left the Towne and put off againe to ſea and ſet ſayle for Lima, and by the way met with a ſmall barke, which he boorded, and found in her good ſtore of linnen cloth, whereof taking ſome quantitie, he let her goe.

Arica in 18. deg. 30. min.

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue ſayle of ſhips lying faſt moored at an anker, hauing all their ſayles caried on ſhore; for the maſters and marchants were here moſt ſecure, hauing neuer bene aſſaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approch of rone ſuch as we were. Our generall rifled theſe ſhips, and found in one of them a cheſt full of royals of plate, and good ſtore of ſilkes and linnen cloth, and tooke the cheſt into his owne ſhip, and good ſtore of the ſilkes and linnen. In which ſhip hee had newes of another ſhip called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the ſame ſhippe was laden with treaſure: whereupon we ſtaied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the ſhippes in the hauen, we let them driue whither they would, either to ſea or to the ſhore, and with all ſpeede we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to haue found her; but before wee arriued there, ſhe was gon. From thence towards Panama, whom our Generall ſtill purſued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ſhips, which hee boorded and ſearched, and found in her 80. li. weight of golde, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emerauds ſet in

Lima in 11. deg. 50. minutes.

it which he tooke, and ſome of the cordage alſo for his owne ſhip.

From hence we departed, ſtill following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promiſed our company, that whoſoeuer could firſt deſcrie her, ſhould haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that Iohn Drake going vp into the top, deſcried her about three of the clocke, and about ſixe of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and ſhotte at her three peeces of ordinance, and ſtrake downe her Miſen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious ſtones, thirteene cheſts full of royals of plate, foure ſcore pound weight of golde, and ſixe and twentie tunne of ſiluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape de San Franciſco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

The rich ſhip called the Cacafuego taken.

The Pilots name of this Shippe was Franciſco, and amongſt other plate that our Generall found in this ſhip, he found two very faire guilt bowles of ſiluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall ſayd: Senior Pilot, you haue here two ſiluer cups, but I muſt needes haue one of them: which the Pilot becauſe hee could not otherwiſe chuſe, yeelded vnto, and gaue the other to the ſteward of our Generals ſhips.

Cape de San Franciſco in 1. degree to the North.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his boy ſayde thus vnto our Generall: Captaine, our ſhip ſhall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your ſhippe ſhall bee called the Cacafuego: which pretie ſpeach of the Pilots boy miniſtred matter of laughter to vs, both then and long after.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee caſt her off, and wee went on our courſe ſtill towards the Weſt, and not long after met with a ſhip laden with linnen cloth and fine China-diſhes of white earth, and great ſtore of China-ſilks, of all which things wee tooke as we liſted.

China ſilks, and Porcellan.

The owner himſelfe of this ſhip was in her, who was a Spaniſh Gentleman, from whom our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of golde, with a great Emeraud in the breaſt thereof, and the Pilot of the ſhip he tooke alſo with him, and ſo caſt the ſhip off.

This Pilot brought vs to the hauen of Guatulco, the towne whereof, as he told vs, had but 17. Spaniards in it. Aſſoone as we were entred this hauen, wee landed, and went preſently to the towne, and to the Towne-houſe, where we found a Iudge ſitting in iudgement, being aſſociate with three other officers, vpon three Negros that had conſpired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges & priſoners we tooke, and brought them a ſhipboord, and cauſed the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to auoid, that we might ſafely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ranſaked the Towne, and in one houſe we found a pot of the quantitie of a buſhell, full of reals of plate, which we brought to our ſhip.

Guatulco.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our company, tooke a Spaniſh Gentleman as hee was flying out of the towne, and ſearching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and ſo let him goe.

At this place our General among other Spaniards, ſet ashore his Portugall Pilote, which hee tooke at the Iſlands of Cape Verde, out of a ſhip of S. Mary port of Portugall: and hauing ſet them ashore, we departed hence, and ſailed to the Iſland of Canno, where our Generall landed, and brought to ſhore his owne ſhip, and diſcharged her, mended, and graued her, and furniſhed our ſhip with water and wood ſufficiently.

The Portugal Pilot ſet on land.
The Iſland of Canno.

And while wee were here, we eſpied a ſhippe, and ſet ſaile after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots, and a Spaniſh Gouernour, going for the Iſlands of the Philippinas: wee ſearched the ſhippe, and tooke ſome of her marchandizes, and ſo let her goe. Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himſelfe both in reſpect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as alſo of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, ſufficiently ſatiſfied, and reuenged: and ſuppoſing that her Maieſtie at his returne would reſt contented with this ſeruice, purpoſed to continue no longer vpon the Spaniſh coaſts, but began to conſider and to conſult of the beſt way for his Countrey.

A ſhip with a Gouernour for the Iſlands of Philippinas.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two ſpeciall cauſes: the one, leſt the Spaniards ſhould there waite, and attend for him in great number and ſtrength, whoſe hands, hee being left but one ſhip, could not poſſibly eſcape. The other cauſe was the dangerous ſituation of the mouth of the Streights in the South ſea, where continuall ſtormes reigning and bluſtering, as he found by experience, beſides the ſhoalds and ſands vpon the coaſt, he thought it not a good courſe to aduenture that way: he reſolued therefore to auoyde theſe hazards, to goe forward to the Iſlandes of the Malucos, and therehence to ſaile the courſe of the Portugals by the Cape of Buena Eſperança.

Vpon this reſolution, hee beganne to thinke of his beſt way to the Malucos, and finding himſelfe

ſelfe where he now was becalmed, he ſaw that of neceſſitie hee muſt be forced to take a Spaniſh courſe, namely to ſayle ſomewhat Northerly to get a winde. Wee therefore ſet ſaile, and ſayled 600. leagues at the leaſt for a good winde, and thus much we ſailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of Iune.

Iune.

Sir Francis Drake ſayled on the backſide of America to 43. degrees of Northerly latitude.

The 5. day of Iune, being in 43. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the ayre ſo colde, that our men being grieuouſly pinched with the ſame, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increaſed vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it beſt for that time to ſeeke the land, and did ſo, finding it not mountainous, but low plaine land, till wee came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleaſed God to ſend vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the ſame.

38. Degrees.

A deſcription of the people and Countrey of Noua Albion.

In this Baye wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey hauing their houſes cloſe by the waters ſide, ſhewed themſelues vnto vs, and ſent a preſent to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that wee brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accuſtomed humanitie) courteouſly intreated them, and liberally beſtowed on them neceſſary things to couer their nakedneſſe, whereupon they ſuppoſed vs to be gods, and would not be perſwaded to the contrary: the preſents which they ſent to our Generall, were feathers, and calles of net-worke.

Their houſes are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermoſt brimmes of the circle, cliffs of wood ſet vpon them, ioyning cloſe together at the toppe like a ſpire ſteeple, which by reaſon of that cloſeneſſe are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with ruſhes ſtrowed on it, and lying about the houſe, haue the fire in the midſt. The men go naked, the women take bulruſhes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their looſe garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing alſo about their ſhoulders a ſkinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. Theſe women are very obedient and ſeruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and viſited vs the ſecond time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for preſents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they ſtaied themſelues: where one appointed for ſpeaker wearied himſelfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their preſents.

A long oration.

In the meane time the women remaining on the hill, tormented themſelues lamentably, tearing their fleſh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a ſacrifice. In the meane time our Generall with his company went to prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exerciſe they were attentiue, & ſeemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they reſtored againe vnto vs thoſe things which before we beſtowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there being ſpread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongſt them the King himſelfe, a man of a goodly ſtature, & comely perſonage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whoſe comming were ſent two Ambaſſadors to our Generall, to ſignifie that their King was comming, in doing of which meſſage, their ſpeach was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by ſignes requeſted our Generall to ſend ſome thing by their hand to their king, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing ſatiſfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maieſtie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drew neere vnto vs, ſo did they ſtriue to behaue themſelues in their actions with comelineſſe.

In the fore-front was a man of a goodly perſonage, who bare the ſcepter or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a leſſe and a bigger, with three chaines of a marueilous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie ſubſtance, and few be the perſons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number alſo the perſons are ſtinted, as ſome ten, ſome 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the ſcepter, was the King himſelfe, with his Guard about his perſon, clad with Conie ſkins, & other ſkins: after them followed the naked cõmon ſort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, ſome with white, ſome with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their hands one thing or another for a preſent, not ſo much as their children, but they alſo brought their preſents.

Chaines like thoſe of Canada.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making againſt their approching, a very warre-like ſhew. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall ſalutation being made, there was preſently a generall ſilence. Then he that bare the ſcepter before the King, being informed by another, whom they aſſigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other ſpake to him in ſecrete, continuing halfe an houre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who deſcending to the foote of the hill, ſet themſelues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the ſcepter-bearer began a ſong, obſeruing his meaſures in a daunce, and that with a ſtately countenance, whom the King with his Guarde, and euery degree of perſons following, did in like maner ſing and daunce, ſauing onely the women, which daunced & kept ſilence. The General permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their ſong and daunce a reaſonable time. When they had ſatisfied themſelues, they made ſignes to our General to ſit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made ſeuerall orations, or rather ſupplications, that hee would take their prouince and kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making ſignes that they would reſigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his ſubiects. In which, to perſwade vs the better, the King and the reſt, with one conſent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully ſinging a ſong, did ſet the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it ſeemed, a ſigne of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, becauſe he knew not what honour and profit it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vſe of her Maieſtie he tooke the ſcepter, crowne, and dignitie of the ſaid Countrey into his hands, wiſhing that the riches & treaſure thereof might ſo conueniently be tranſported to the inriching of her kingdom at home, as it aboundeth in yͤ ſame.

The King reſignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

The common ſorte of people leauing the King and his Guarde with our Generall, ſcattered themſelues together with their ſacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery perſon: and ſuch as pleaſed their fancie, (which were the yongeſt) they incloſing them about offred their ſacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, ſcratching, and tearing the fleſh from their faces with their nailes, whereof iſſued abundance of blood. But wee vſed ſignes to them of diſliking this, and ſtayed their hands from force, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whom onely they ought to worſhip. They ſhewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gaue them lotions, plaiſters, and oyntments agreeing to the ſtate of their griefes, beſeeching God to cure their diſeaſes. Euery third day they brought their ſacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderſtood our meaning, that we had no pleaſure in them: yet they could not be long abſent from vs, but dayly frequented our company to the houre of our departure, which departure ſeemed ſo greeuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into ſorow. They intreated vs, that being abſent we would remember them, and by ſtealth prouided a ſacrifice, which we miſliked.

The like they did in Hochelaga.

Our neceſſarie buſineſſe being ended, our Generall with his company trauailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where we found herdes of Deere by 1000. in a company, being moſt large, and fat of body.

Great herdes of Deere.

We found the whole Countrey to bee a warren of a ſtrange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bigneſſe as be the Barbary Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne is on either ſide a bag, into the which ſhe gathereth her meate, when ſhe hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their ſkinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Abundance of ſtrange conies.

Our Generall called this Countrey Noua Albion, and that for two cauſes: the one in reſpect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the ſea: and the other, becauſe it might haue ſome affinitie with our Countrey in name, which ſometime was ſo called.

Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth heere to bee taken vp, wherein there is not ſome probable ſhew of gold or ſiluer.

Golde and ſiluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

At our departure hence our Generall ſet vp a Monument of our being there, as alſo of her Maieſties right and title to the ſame, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poſte, whereupon was ingrauen her Maieſties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maieſties hands, together with her highneſſe picture and armes, in a peece of ſixe pence of current Engliſh money vnder the plate, whereunder was alſo written the name of our Generall.

It ſeemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer diſcouer the land by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

Their departure.

After we had ſet ſaile from hence, wee continued without ſight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Iſlands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Iſlands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in ſome of them 4. in ſome 6. and in ſome alſo 14. men, bringing with them cocos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were

October.

Certaine Iſlands in 8. degrees.

Strange Canoas, like thoſe of Iaua.

were hollow within,and cut with great arte and cunning,being very ſmooth within and without, and bearing a glaſſe as if it were a horne daintily burniſhed, hauing a prowe, and a ſterne of one ſort, yeelding inward circle-wiſe, being of a great height, and full of certaine white ſhels for a brauerie,and on each ſide of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long,more or leſſe,according to the ſmalneſſe,or bigneſſe of the boate.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reaſonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwayes carrie about them in a cane for the ſame purpoſe.

Iſlands.

Leauing this Iſland the night after we fell with it,the 18.of October,we lighted vpon diuers others,ſome whereof made a great ſhew of Inhabitants.

Wee continued our courſe by the Iſlands of Tagulada, Zelon,and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals,the firſt whereof hath growing in it great ſtore of Cinnamom.

Nouember.

The Iſle of Ternate.

The 14.of Nouember we fell with the Iſlands of Maluco, which day at night (hauing directed our courſe to runne with Tydore) in coaſting along the Iſland of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate,his Deputie or Vice-king ſeeing vs at ſea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare,and came aboord,and after ſome conference with our Generall,willed him in any wiſe to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, aſſuring him that the King would bee glad of his comming,and would be ready to doe what he would require,for which purpoſe he himſelfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whom if he once dealt, hee ſhould finde that as he was a King,ſo his word ſhould ſtand: adding further,that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs,becauſe hee held the Portugall as his enemie: whereupon our General reſolued to runne with Ternate,where the next morning early we came to anchor, at which time our Generall ſent a meſſenger to the king with a veluet cloke for a preſent,and token of his comming to be in peace,and that he required nothing but traffique and exchange of marchandize,whereof he had good ſtore, in ſuch things as he wanted.

In the meane time the Vice-king had bene with the king according to his promiſe, ſignifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffique: whereby the King was moued with great liking towards vs, and ſent to our Generall with ſpeciall meſſage, that hee ſhould haue what things he needed,and would require with peace and friendſhip, and moreouer that hee would yeeld himſelfe, and the right of his Iſland to bee at the pleaſure and commandement of ſo famous a Prince as we ſerued. In token whereof he ſent to our Generall a ſignet, and within ſhort time after came in his owne perſon,with boates, and Canoas to our ſhip, to bring her into a better and ſafer roade then ſhe was in at that preſent.

The king of Ternate offreth himſelfe and his kingdome to the ſeruice of the Queene of England.

In the meane time, our Generals meſſenger beeing come to the Court, was met by certaine noble perſonages with great ſolemnitie,and brought to the King, at whoſe hands hee was moſt friendly and graciouſly intertained.

The great and ſtrange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

The King purpoſing to come to our ſhip,ſent before 4.great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greateſt ſtates that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Calicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats,borne vp with a frame made of reedes for the ſame vſe,vnder which euery one did ſit in his order according to his dignitie,to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whom beeing of good age and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly ſhew. There were alſo diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the reſt were ſouldiers, which ſtood in comely order round about on both ſides, without whom ſate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a ſide all along the Canoas,did lie off from the ſide thereof three or foure yardes,one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries were the number of 4.ſcore rowers.

Theſe Canoas were furniſhed with warlike munition,euery man for the moſt part hauing his ſword and target,with his dagger, beſide other weapons, as launces, caliuers, darts, bowes and arrowes: alſo euery Canoa had a ſmall caſt baſe mounted at the leaſt one full yarde vpon a ſtocke ſet vpright.

Thus comming neere our ſhippe,in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and paſſing by,did their homage with great ſolemnitie, the great perſonages beginning wͭ great grauitie and fatherly countenances,ſignifying that yͤ king had ſent them to conduct our ſhip into a better roade.

The King of Ternate came to viſite Sir Francis Drake.

Soone after the King himſelfe repaired, accompanied with 6.graue and ancient perſons, who did their obeiſance with marueilous humilitie. The king was a man of tall ſtature,and ſeemed to be much delighted with the ſound of our muſicke, to whom as alſo to his nobilitie, our Generall gaue preſents, wherewith they were paſſing well contented.

Sagu a kinde of meale.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promiſing the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to ſend vs ſuch victuals, as were neceſſarie for our prouiſion: ſo that the ſame night we receiued of them meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine trees, taſting in the mouth like ſowre curds, but melteth like ſugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the ſpace of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. We had of them ſtore of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid ſugar, ſugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with ſtore of cloues.

A caſtle in Ternate.

The King hauing promiſed to come aboord, brake his promiſe, but ſent his brother to make his excuſe, and to intreate our Generall to come on ſhoare, offring himſelfe pawne aboord for his ſafe returne. Whereunto our Generall conſented not, vpon miſlike conceiued of the breach of his promiſe, the whole company alſo vtterly refuſing it. But to ſatiſfie him, our General ſent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the Kings brother, reſeruing the Vice-king for their ſafe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other ſtates, and were conducted with great honour to the Caſtle. The place that they were brought vnto, was a large and faire houſe, where were at the leaſt 1000. perſons aſſembled.

Romanes and Turks Ligiers in Ternate.

The maieſtie of the King.

The King being yet abſent, there ſate in their places 60. graue perſonages, all which were ſaid to be of the kings Counſel. There were beſides 4. graue perſons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and theſe were ſaid to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were alſo 2. Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at laſt came in guarded with 12. launces couered ouer with a rich canopy, with emboſſed gold. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, riſing to meete him, he graciouſly did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the maner of the Countrey, but more ſumptuouſly then the reſt. From his waſte downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the ſame very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feete were a paire of ſhooes, made of Cordouan ſkinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of gold, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had ſixe very faire iewels, and ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, at his right hand ſtood a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, ſet with 8. ſaphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a ſtaffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and mooue it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their meſſage, and receiued order accordingly, were licenſed to depart, being ſafely conducted backe againe by one of the kings Counſell.

Ternate the chiefeſt of the Maluco-iſles.

This Iſland is the chiefeſt of all the Iſlands of Maluco, and the King hereof is King of 70. Iſlands beſides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, obſeruing certaine new Moones, with faſtings: during which faſts, they neither eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

A litle Iſland to the Southward of Celebes.

Fiery wormes.

Bats.

Crauiſhes.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had heere by the fauour of the king receiued all neceſſary things that the place could yeeld vs: our General conſidering the great diſtance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not beſt here to linger the time any longer, but waying his anchors, ſet out of the Iſland, and ſayled to a certaine litle Iſland to the Southwards of Celebes, where we graued our ſhip, and continued there in that and other buſineſſes 26. dayes. This Iſland is throughly growen with wood of a large and high growth, very ſtraight and without boughes, ſaue onely in the head or top, whoſe leaues are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongſt theſe trees night by night, through the whole land, did ſhew themſelues an infinite ſwarme of fiery wormes flying in the ayre, whoſe bodies beeing no bigger then our common Engliſh flies, make ſuch a ſhew and light, as if euery twigge or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth alſo wonderfull ſtore of Bats, as bigge as large hennes: of Crayfiſhes alſo heere wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bigneſſe, one whereof was ſufficient for 4. hungry ſtomacks at a dinner, beeing alſo very good, and reſtoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themſelues holes in the earth like Conies.

Ianuarie in anno 1579.

When wee had ended our buſineſſe here, we waied, and ſet ſaile to runne for the Malucos: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongſt the Iſlands, with much difficultie wee recouered to the Northward of the Iſland of Celebes, where by reaſon of contrary winds not able to continue our courſe to runne Weſtwards, we were inforced to alter the ſame to the Southward againe, finding that courſe alſo to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reaſon of infinite ſhoalds which lie off, and among the Iſlands: whereof wee had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our ſhippe and liues. For of all other dayes vpon the 9. of Ianuarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne ſuddenly vpon a rocke, where we ſtucke faſt from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeede out of all hope to eſcape the danger: but our Generall as hee had alwayes hitherto ſhewed himſelfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: ſo now he continued in the ſame, and leſt he ſhould ſeeme to periſh wilfully, both he, and we did our beſt indeuour to ſaue our ſelues, which it pleaſed God ſo to bleſſe, that in the ende we cleared our ſelues moſt happily of the danger.

Their danger vpon a rocke.

We lighted our ſhip vpon the rockes of 3. tunne of cloues, 8. peeces of ordinance, and certaine meale and beanes: and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the ſpeciall grace of God) changing from the ſtarreboord to the larboord of the ſhip, we hoiſed our ſailes, and the happy gale droue our ſhip off the rocke into the ſea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hearts, for which we gaue God ſuch prayſe and thanks, as ſo great a benefite required.

Cloues.
The helpe of a currents in the deliuerie.

The 8. of Februarie following, wee fell with the fruitfull Iſland of Barateue, hauing in the meane time ſuffered many dangers by windes and ſhoalds. The people of this Iſland are comely in body and ſtature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iuſt in dealing, and courteous to ſtrangers, whereof we had the experience ſundry wayes, they being moſt glad of our preſence, and very ready to releeue our wants in thoſe things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, ſauing their heads and priuities, euery man hauing ſomething or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for ſome had 8. vpon each arme, being made ſome of bone, ſome of horne, and ſome of braſſe, the lighteſt whereof by our eſtimation waied two ounces apeece.

Februarie.
Barateue Iſland.

With this people linnen-cloth is good marchandize, and of good requeſt, whereof they make rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Linnen-cloth good marchandize.

Their Iſland is both rich and fruitfull: rich in golde, ſiluer, copper, and ſulphur, wherein they ſeeme ſkilfull and expert, not onely to trie the ſame, but in working it alſo artificially into any forme and faſhion that pleaſeth them.

Their fruites be diuers and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, cocos, figu, ſagu, with diuers other ſorts: and among all the reſt, wee had one fruite, in bigneſſe, forme, and huſke, like a Bay berry, hard of ſubſtance, and pleaſant of taſte, which being ſodden, becommeth ſoft, and is a moſt good and wholſome victuall, whereof we tooke reaſonable ſtore, as we did alſo of the other fruites and ſpices: ſo that to confeſſe a trueth, ſince the time that we firſt ſet out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened vpon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more comforts and better meanes of refreſhing.

Nutmegs and long Peper growing in Barateue.
Commendation of the Iſland of Barateue.

At our departure from Barateue, we ſet our courſe for Iaua maior, where arriuing, we found great courteſie, and honourable entertainment. This Iſland is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call Raiah: as Raiah Donaw, and Raiah Mang Bange, and Raiah Cabuccapollo, which liue as hauing one ſpirite, and one minde.

Iaua maior.

Of theſe fiue we had foure a ſhipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their vpper parts of their bodies are naked, ſaue their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkiſh roll, as do the Maluccians: from the middle downward they weare a pintado of ſilke, trailing vpon the ground, in colour as they beſt like.

Red & greene clothes much eſteemed.

The Maluccians hate that their women ſhould bee ſeene of ſtrangers: but theſe offer them of high courteſie, yea the kings themſelues.

The manners of the people of Iaua.

The people are of goodly ſtature, and warlike, well prouided of ſwords and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and moſt artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as alſo in the forme, whereof we bought reaſonable ſtore.

They haue an houſe in euery village for their common aſſembly: euery day they meete twiſe, men, women, and children, bringing with them ſuch victuals as they thinke good, ſome fruites, ſome rice boiled, ſome hennes roaſted, ſome ſagu, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they ſet their meate, that euery perſon ſitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the company of another.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a ſugar loafe, being ful of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moiſture. In the meane time they haue ready another great earthen pot, ſet faſt in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by ſuch meaſure, that they ſwelling become ſoft at the firſt, and by their ſwelling ſtopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme ſubſtance they become, ſo that in the end they are a firme & good bread, of the which with oyle, butter, ſugar, and other ſpices, they make diuers ſorts of meates very pleaſant of taſte, and nouriſhing to nature.

A ſtrange faſhion of boyling rice.

The French pocks.

The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themſelues, ſitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawen out. Not long before our departure, they tolde vs, that not farre off there were ſuch great Ships as ours, wiſhing vs to beware: vpon this our Captaine would ſtay no longer.

From Iaua Maior we ſailed for the cape of Good Hope, which was the firſt land we fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to Sierra Leona, vpon the coaſt of Guinea: notwithſtanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be moſt falſe, who affirme, that it is the moſt dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intolerable ſtormes and preſent danger to trauailers, which come neere the ſame.

The Cape of Buena Eſperanza not ſo dangerous as the Portugals haue giuen out.

This Cape is a moſt ſtately thing, and the faireſt Cape we ſaw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we paſſed by it the 18. of Iune.

Sierra Leona.

Oiſter-trees.

From thence we continued our courſe to Sierra Leona, on the coaſt of Guinea, where we arriued the 22. of Iuly, and found neceſſarie prouiſions, great ſtore of Elephants, Oiſters vpon trees of one kinde, ſpawning and increaſing infinitely, the Oiſter ſuffering no budde to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

We arriued in England the third of Nouember 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

The names of the Kings or Princes of *Iaua* at the time of our *Engliſh mens being there.*

Raia Donaw
Raia Rabacapala.
Raia Bacabatra.
Raia Tymbanton.
Raia Mawgbange.
Raia Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of *Iaua*, learned *and obſerued by our men there.*

Sabuck, ſilke.
Sagu, bread of the Countrey.
Larnike, drinke.
Paree, ryce in the huſke.
Braas, ſodden ryce.
Calapa, Cocos.
Cricke, a dagger.
Catcha, a looking glaſſe.
Arbo, an oxe.
Vados, a goate.
Cabo, golde.
Gardange, a plantane.
Hiam, a henne.
Senit, linnen cloth.
Doduck, blew cloth.
Totopps, one of their caps.
Gula, blacke ſugar.
Tadon, a woman.
Bebeck, a ducke.
Anlange, a deere.
Popran, oyntment.
Coar, the head.
Endam, raine.
Ionge, a ſhippe.
Chay, the ſea.
Sapelo, ten in number.
Dopolo, twentie.
Treda, no.
Lau, vnderſtand you.
Bayer, goe.
Adadizano, I will fetch it.
Suda, ynough.

The relation of a Voyage made by a Pilot called *Nuno da Silua* for the Vice-roy of new *Spaine*, the 20. of May, in the yere of our Lord 1579. in the citie of *Mexico*, from whence it was ſent to the Vice-roy of the *Portugall-Indies*: wherein is ſet downe the courſe and actions paſſed in the Voyage of *Sir Francis Drake* that tooke the aforeſayd *Nuno da Silua* at *S. Iago* one of the Iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, and caried him along with him through the Sreights of *Magellan*, to the Hauen of *Guatulco* in new *Spaine*, where he let him goe againe.

1579.

Nuno da Silua borne in Porto, a Citizen and inhabitant of Guaia, ſaith, that hee departed out of his houſe in the beginning of Nouember in the yeere of our Lorde 1577. taking his courſe to Cabo Verde, or The greene Cape, where he anchored with his Shippe cloſe by the Hauen of the Iſland of Sant Iago, one of the Iſlandes of Cabo Verde aforeſayde, beeing the nineteenth of Ianuarie

January in the yeere of our Lord 1578. And lying there, there came ſixe ſhips, which ſeemed to be Engliſhmen, whereof the Admirall boorded his ſhip, and by force with his men tooke him out of his ſhip, bringing him in the boate aboord the Admirals ſhippe, leauing ſome of his beſt men aboord his ſhip: and although the fortreſſe of the Iland ſhot foure or fiue times at them, yet they hurt not the Engliſhmen: who hauing done, ſet ſaile from thence to the Iſland of Braua, taking with them the ſhip of the ſayd Nuno da Silua: being there, they filled certaine veſſels with freſh water: from thence holding their courſe inward to ſea, hauing firſt with a boat ſet the men of Nuno da Siluas ſhip on land, onely keeping Nuno da Silua in his ſhip, as alſo his ſhip with the wines that were therein. And Nuno da Silua ſaith, the cauſe why they kept him on boord was, becauſe they knew him to bee a pilot for the coaſt of Braſilia, that hee might bring them to ſuch places in thoſe countreys as had freſh water.

Being put off from the Iland of Braua, they helde their courſe to the land of Braſilia, which they deſcried vpon the firſt of April, vnder the height of thirtie degrees: and without landing or taking in freſh water, they helde on their courſe to Rio de la Plata, that is, The riuer of ſiluer, lying vnder fiue and thirtie degrees, little more or leſſe: where they went on land, and prouided themſelues of freſh water. Rio de Plata.

From thence they helde on their courſe till they came vnder nine and thirtie degrees, where they ankered: and beeing there, they left two of their ſixe ſhippes behinde them, and ſailed but foure in companie (that of Nuno da Silua being one) till they came to the Bay called Baya de las Iſlas, that is, The Bay of the Ilands, lying vnder nine and fortie degrees, where it is ſayde, that Magellan lay and wintered there with his ſhippe, when hee firſt diſcouered the Streight, which now holdeth his name. Into this Bay the twentieth of June they entred, and there ankered ſo cloſe to the land, that they might ſend to it with a harquebuſe ſhot: and there they ſawe the land to bee inhabited with Indians, that were apparelled with ſkinnes, with their legges from the knees downeward, and their armes from the elbowes downeward naked, all the reſt of their bodies beeing clothed, with bowes and arrowes in their handes, being ſubtill, great, and well formed people, and ſtrong and high of ſtature: where ſixe of the Engliſhmen went on land to fetch freſh water, and before they lept on land, foure of the Indians came vnto their boate, to whome the Engliſhmen gaue bread and wine: and when the Indians had well eaten and drunke, they departed thence: and going ſomewhat farre from them, one of the Indians cryed to them, and ſayde: Magallanes, Eſta he minha Terra, that is, Magallanes, this is my countrey: and becauſe the Engliſhmen followed them, it ſeemed the Indians fledde vpward into the land, and beeing ſomewhat farre off, they turned backe againe, and with their arrowes ſlewe two of the Engliſh ſhippers, one being an Engliſhman, the other a Netherlander: the reſt came backe againe and ſaued themſelues in the boate, wherewith they preſently put off from the ſhore. Here they ſtayed till the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt, vpon the which day they ſet ſaile, running along by the coaſt about a league and a halfe from the land, (for there it is all faire and good ground, at twentie, and fiue and twentie fathome deepe) and were about foure or fiue dayes before they came to the mouth or entrie of the Streight; but becauſe the wind was contrary, they ſtayed till the 24 of Auguſt before they entred. Bay de las Iſlas.

The entrie or mouth of the Streight is about a league broad, on both ſides being bare and flatte land: on the North ſide they ſawe Indians making great fires, but on the South ſide they ſaw no people ſtirring. The foure and twentieth day aforeſayd, they beganne to enter into the Streight, with an Eaſtnortheaſt wind. This Streight may bee about an hundred and tenne leagues long, and in bredth a league. About the entry of the Streight, and halfe way into it, it runneth right foorth without any windings or turnings: and from thence about eight or tenne leagues towards the ende, it hath ſome boutes and windings, among the which there is one ſo great a hooke or headland, that it ſeemed to runne into the other land; and there it is leſſe then a league broad from one land to the other: and from thence forward it runneth ſtraight out againe: And although you finde ſome crookings, yet they are nothing to ſpeake of. The iſſue of the Streight lieth Weſtward, and about eight or tenne leagues before you come to the ende, then the Streight beginneth to bee broader, and it is all high land to the ende thereof, after you are eight leagues within the Streight, for the firſt eight leagues after you enter [illegible] low flat land, as I ſayd before: and in the entrie of the Streight you finde the ſtreame to runne from the South ſea to the North ſea. The deſcription of The ſtreit of Magellan.

And after they began to ſaile in with the Eaſtnortheaſt wind, being entred they paſſed along without any let or hinderance either of wind or weather: and becauſe the high land on both ſides lay couered with ſnow, and that all the Streight is faire and cleare, they helde their courſe a harquebuſe-ſhot in length from off the North ſide, hauing nine and tenne fathome depth, with good ground, as I ſaid before, where (if neede require) a man may anker: the hilles on both ſides being full of trees, ſome of the hilles and trees reaching downe to the ſea ſide in ſome places hauing plaine and euen land: and there they ſawe not any great riuers, but ſome ſmall riuers that iſſued out of the riffes and breaches of the land: and in the countrey where the great Cape or crooking is, on the South ſide they ſaw certaine Indian fiſhermen in their Canoas or ſkiffs, being ſuch as they ſaw firſt on the North ſide, but more people they ſaw not on the South ſide.

Being out of the Streight on the other ſide, vpon the ſixt of September of the aforeſaid yeere, they held their courſe Northweſt for the ſpace of three dayes, and the third day they had a Northeaſt wind, that by force draue them Weſtſouthweſt, which courſe they held for the ſpace of ten or twelue dayes with few ſailes vp: and becauſe the wind began to be very great, they tooke in all their ſailes, and lay driuing till the laſt of September.

This was the Elizabeth M. Iohn Winters ſhip.

The 24 day of the ſame moneth hauing loſt the ſight of one of their ſhippes which was about an hundred tunne, then againe they hoiſed ſaile becauſe the winde came better, holding their courſe Northeaſt for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, and at the ende of the ſayde ſeuen dayes, they had the ſight of certayne Iſlands, which they made towards for to anker by them, but the weather would not permit them: and being there, the wind fell Northweſt: whereupon they ſailed Weſtſouthweſt.

They were driuen vnto 57. degrees of ſoutherly latitude.

The next day they loſt the ſight of another ſhip of their company, for it was very foule weather, ſo that in the ende the Admirals ſhippe was left alone, for the ſhip of Nuno da Silua was left in the Bay where they wintered before they entred into the Streights: and with this foule weather they ranne till they were vnder ſeuen and fiftie degrees, where they entred into a hauen of an Iſland, and ankered about the length of the ſhot of a great piece from the land, at twentie fathome deepe, where they ſtayed three or foure dayes, and the wind comming Southward, they weyed anker, holding their courſe Northward for the ſpace of two daies, and then they eſpied a ſmall vnhabited Iſland, where being arriued, they ſtroke ſailes, and hoiſed out their boate, and there they tooke many birds and Seales.

The Iſle of Mocha in 38. deg. 30. min.

The next day they ſet ſaile againe, holding their courſe Northnortheaſt, and North, to another Iſland lying fiue or ſixe leagues from the firme land, on the North ſide of the Streight, where they ankered about a quarter of a league from the land, in twelue fathome water. This Iſland is ſmall and lowe land, and full of Indians, the Iſland being altogether poſſeſſed and inhabited by them, where they hoyſed out their boate, wherein the Admirall and twelue Engliſhmen entred, going to fetch freſh water, and to ſeeke for victuals: and being landed vpon the Iſland, the Indians in exchange of other things, brought two Spaniſh ſheepe, and a little Maiz or rootes whereof they make bread, and becauſe it was late, they returned againe vnto their ſhip, without doing any other thing for that day.

Sir Francis Drake wounded.

The next day the ſaid Captaine with the aforeſaid twelue men being harquebuſiers, rowed to land againe, and ſet two of their company on ſhore with their veſſels to fetch freſh water, and by the place where they ſhould fill their water there lay certaine Indians ſecretly hidden, that fell vpon the two Engliſhmen and tooke them: which they in the boat perceiuing, went out to helpe them, but they were ſo aſſailed with ſtones & arrowes, that all or the moſt part of them were hurt, the Captaine himſelfe being wounded with an arrow on the face, and with another arrow in the head, whereby they were conſtrained to turne backe againe, without once hurting any of the Indians, and yet they came ſo neere the boate, that they tooke foure of their oares from them. This done, they ſet faile againe, running along the coaſt with a South winde, ſailing ſo for the ſpace of ſixe dayes, paſſing by the hauen called Sant Iago, and put into another hauen, and there they tooke an Indian that lay fiſhing in a Canoa, giuing him linnen and butchers chopping kniues, with other trifles, and not long after there came another Indian aboord their ſhippe called Felippe, and he ſpake Spaniſh, he gaue the Engliſh Captaine notice of a certaine ſhippe that lay in the hauen of Sant Iago, which they had left ſixe leagues behind them: with that intelligence the Indian being their guide, the next day they ſet ſaile and went to the aforeſayd hauen of S. Iago, and entring therein, they tooke the ſaid ſhippe, wherein they found a thouſand ſeuen hundred and 70 Botijas or Spaniſh pots full of wine, and other things: which hauing done, they lept on land, where they tooke certaine ſackes with meale, with whatſoeuer they could find; they tooke likewiſe the ornaments and the reliques out of the Church, wherewith they departed from thence, taking the aforeſayd ſhippe, with two men (that they found in her) with them, and ſo departed from that hauen, which lyeth vnder 32 degrees and a halfe, running along by the coaſt till they came vnder one and thirtie, and thirtie degrees: which was the place where they had

The hauen of S. Iago in 32. degrees and a halfe.

appointed to meete, and there to ſtay for eche other, if by tempeſt or foule weather they chanced to be ſeparated, and ſo looſe eche others company.

And comming vnder thirtie degrees, they found a very good hauen, whereinto they entred, and ankered at ſixe fathome deepe, the ſhot of a great peece from the land, which was right ouer againſt a riuer, where they tooke in ſixe pipes of freſh water: and to defend them that fetched the water, they ſet twelue men vpon the land, and being buſied in filling of their water, they eſpied a company of men comming towards them, whereof halfe of them were Spaniards, being about two hundred and fifty horſemen, and as many footemen, but they had no ſooner eſpied them, but they preſently entred into the boat, and eſcaped away, looſing but one man.

The ſame night they ſet ſaile againe with both their ſhips, running along the coaſt about ten leagues farther, where they tooke in ſome freſh water, but becauſe they perceiued certaine horſemen, they departed without lading any more water.

From thence they followed on their courſe along the coaſt for the ſpace of 30 leagues, where they entred into a deſert or vnhabited hauen: yet they went not on land, for euery day they ſaw people vpon the ſhore, & there they made out a ſmal pinneſſe, the peeces whereof they brought ready framed out of England, and hauing prepared it, they launched it into the water, wherein the Captaine with fifteene men entred with the chiefe boateſman called Iohn the Greeke, (being Maſter of the ſhip which they had taken in the hauen of S.Iago,) wherewith they went to ſee if they could find the two ſhippes that they had loſt by ſtormie weather, as I ſayd before: and likewiſe thinking to goe on land to fill certaine veſſels with freſh water, they durſt not venture, for they ſaw people on all ſides of the ſhore: ſo that in the ende they returned againe without hearing of the other ſhips: being there, they tooke all the ordinance out of their ſhip, and new dreſſed and rigged her: which done, they put a ſmall peece of ordinance into the pinneſſe, wherewith they ſet ſaile againe, following on their courſe.

Hauing ſailed thirteene dayes, they came to an Iſland lying about the ſhotte of a baſe from the land, where they ankered, and there they found foure Indian fiſhermen in two Canoas, who told them that on the firme land they might haue freſh water, but they vnderſtanding that there was not much, and that it was ſomewhat within the land, would not ſpend any time about it, but ſet ſaile againe, leauing the fiſhermen with their Canoas, following on their courſe along by the ſhore.

The next day being ſomewhat further, they eſpied certaine Indian fiſhermen that were vpon the land in their houſes, which the Engliſh captaine perceiuing, preſently entred into his pinneſſe, and rowed on land, where he tooke three of the ſaid fiſhermen, taking with him halfe of the fiſh that lay packed vpon the ſhore ready to be laden, with the which Indians and booty, they came on boord againe.

The next day following, they ſaw a barke laden with fiſh, that belonged to the Spaniards, with foure Indians in it. This barke with the Indians and the fiſh they tooke, and bound the Spaniſh ſhip to their ſterne, and ſo drewe it after them, leauing the ſaid Indians within it, who by night vnbound the barke, and ſecretly made away with barke and fiſh, and were no more ſeene. The next day the Captaine went into the pinneſſe, and becauſe he ſaw certaine houſes vpon the ſhore, he made thither, and being on land, he found two men in them, one whereof he tooke, leauing the other behind, and there he found three thouſand pezos of ſiluer, (euery pezo being the value of a ryall of eight,) and ſeuen Indian ſheepe, and hennes, & tooke al whatſoeuer they found: wherewith they departed from thence, following on their courſe. And two dayes after they came to the hauen called Arica, where they found two ſhips, the one laden with goods and Spaniſh wares, out of the which they tooke only two hundred Botijas, or Spaniſh pots with wine, and out of the other ſeuen and thirty barres of ſiluer, which are peeces of ten or twelue pound eche barre, and thinking to leape on ſhore (with two barks that they found in the ſaid hauen, with about ſeuen and thirty harquebuſes and bowes) they perceiued on the land certaine horſemen comming towards them, whereupon they left off their pretence, and tooke with them a Negro that they found in the barks, with whom they returned aboord.

Arica.

The next day in the morning they burnt the ſhip, that was laden with the Spaniſh wares, and tooke the other with them, paſſing forward with it on their courſe, the Captaine ſailing along the ſhore with his pinneſſe, and the ſhip keeping about a league from him to ſeaward, to ſeeke for a ſhip whereof they had intelligence: and hauing in that maner ſailed about fiue and forty leagues, they found the ſhip that lay at anker in a hauen, who about two houres before had bene aduertiſed of an Engliſh pirate or ſea-rouer, and had diſcharged eight hundred barres of ſiluer out of her, and hidden it on the land, which ſiluer belonged to the king of Spaine, of the which ſiluer the

Engliſhmen had receiued ſome intelligence, but they durſt not go on land, becauſe there were many Indians and Spaniards that ſtood to gard it, and they found nothing in the ſhip but three pipes of water: the ſhip they tooke with them, and being about a league in the ſea, they hoyſed vp all her ſailes and let her driue, doing the like with the ſhip that they had taken in Arica, as alſo the other of Sant Iago, which likewiſe they let driue, following on their courſe with their owne ſhip, and the pinneſſe.

Calao de Lima. Being ſeuen or eight leagues from the hauen of Calao de Lyma, they eſpied three ſhips, and boording one of them, they tooke three men out of her, and ſo held on their courſe towards Calao de Lyma, where they entred, being about two or three houres within night, ſailing in betweene all the ſhips that lay there, being ſeuenteene in number: and being among the ſhips, they asked for the ſhip that had laden the ſiluer, but when anſwere was made them, that the ſiluer was layd on land, they cut the cables of the ſhips, and the maſts of two of the greateſt ſhips, and ſo left them. At the ſame time there arriued a ſhip from Panama laden with wares and merchandiſe of Spaine, that ankered cloſe by the Engliſh ſhip, which was, while the Engliſh Captaine ſought in the other ſhips for the ſiluer. Aſſoone as the ſhip of Panama had ankered, there came a boat from the ſhore to ſearch it: but becauſe it was in the night, they let it alone till morning, and comming to the Engliſh ſhip, they asked what ſhip it was: whereupon one of the Spaniſh priſoners (by the Engliſh Captaines commandement) anſwered and ſaid it was the ſhip of Michael Angelo, that came from Chili: which they of the boat hearing, ſent a man on boord, who climing vp, light vpon one of the great peeces, wherewith he was afraid, and preſently ſtept backe againe into the boat (becauſe the ſhippes that lay there, and that ſailed in thoſe countreys, vſed to carry no great ſhot) and therewith they were abaſhed, and made from it: which the ſhip of Panama hearing, that was newly come in, ſhee iudged it to be a rouer, and therewith cutting her cables, ſhee put to ſea, which the Engliſhmen perceiuing, ſhipped certaine men in their pinneſſe, and followed her: and being hard by her, they badde her ſtrike, which they of the ſhip refuſed to doe, and with a harquebuſe ſhot killed one of the Engliſhmen, wherewith they turned againe into their ſhippe, and preſently ſet ſaile, following after the ſhip, which not long after they ouertooke: which they of the ſhippe perceiuing, hoyſed out their boate, and leaping into it, rowed to the land, leauing the ſhippe with all the goods, which the Engliſhmen preſently tooke, and with her ſayled on their courſe.

The next day they ſaw a boat with ſailes making towards them, whereby they preſently miſtruſted it to be a ſpie, and not long after they perceiued two great ſhips comming towards them, which made the Engliſh thinke they came to fight with them, whereupon they let the ſhippe of Panama driue, therein leauing Iohn the Greeke, with the two men that they had taken the ſame day that they entred into the Calao de Lyma, as I ſayde before, and preſently hoyſed all their ſailes, and ſailed forward, not once ſetting eye againe vpon the aforeſayde ſhips, for they made towards the ſhip of Panama, which the Engliſhmen let driue. From thence they ſailed againe along the coaſt, following on their courſe: and hauing ſailed certaine dayes, they met a frigate that went towards Lyma, laden with wares and merchandiſes of the countrey, from whence the Engliſhmen tooke a lampe and a fountaine of ſiluer, and asked the pilote being a Spaniard, if they met not with a ſhip, that they vnderſtood ſhould be laden with ſiluer, but the one pilote ſaide he met her not, and the other ſaid he ſaw her about three dayes before. This frigat came not to the ſhip, but to the pinneſſe, wherein the Captaine ſailed, for the pinneſſe ranne cloſe by the ſhore, and the ſhip kept a league and a halfe from the lande: whereupon they let the frigate goe, following on their courſe.

Payta. Two dayes after they came to the hauen called Payta, where they found a ſhip laden with Spaniſh wares, which the pinneſſe boorded, and tooke without any reſiſtance: for aſſoone as the Spaniards perceiued the Engliſhmen, they preſently made to land with their boate, and two of them lept into the ſea, none ſtaying in the ſhippe, but the Maſter, Pilote, and ſome Negros, out of the which ſhippe the Engliſhmen tooke the pilote, and all the bread, hennes, and a hogge, and ſo ſailed forward with the ſhip: but being about two harquebuſe ſhot to ſeaward, they let it goe againe, not taking any thing out of it, and asking after the ſhip which they ſought for, they told them that about two dayes before ſhe departed from that place, wherewith they followed on their courſe, and before night they met with a ſhip of Panama, which they preſently boorded, but tooke nothing from her but onely a Negro, and ſo left it, holding on their courſe.

The next day being the firſt of Februarie, they met another ſhip that ſailed to Panama, laden with fiſh and other victuals, and fortie barres of ſiluer, and ſome gold, but I know not how much, which they tooke, and ſent the paſſengers (with two friers that were in her) in a boate to land.

The next day they hanged a man of the ſhip, becauſe hee would not confeſſe two plates of golde that he had taken, which after they found about him: which done, they let the ſhip driue, following on their courſe.

The firſt of March towards noone, they eſpied the ſhip laden with ſiluer, being about foure leagues to ſeaward from them: and becauſe the Engliſh ſhip was ſomewhat heauie before, whereby it ſailed not as they would haue it, they tooke a company of Botijas or Spaniſh pots for oyle, and filling them with water, hung them by ropes at the ſterne of the ſhip to make her ſayle the better: and the ſhippe that ſayled towardes Panama made towards the Engliſh ſhippe to know what ſhee was, thinking it to bee one of the ſhippes that vſed to ſaile along the coaſtes, and to traffique in the countrey: and beeing hard by her, the Engliſh Captaine badde them ſtrike, but the other refuſing to doe it, with a great peece hee ſhotte her maſt ouerboord, and hauing wounded the Maſter with an arrowe, the ſhippe preſently yeelded, which they tooke, and ſayled with her further into the ſea, all that night and the next day and night, making all the way they could.

A prettie deuiſe to make their ſhip ſaile more ſwiftly.

The third day being out of ſight of the land, they beganne to ſearch the ſhip, and to lade the goods out of her into their ſhip, which was a thouſand three hundred barres or peeces of ſiluer, and foureteene cheſtes with ryals of eight, and with gold: but what quantitie it was I know not, onely the paſſengers ſayd that there was great ſtore, and that three hundred barres of the ſiluer belonged to the king, the reſt belonged to certaine merchants. That done, they let the ſhip with the men ſaile on their courſe, putting the three pilots in her that they brought with them, ſo that as then they had none but their owne men aboord, being the ſixt of March, and from thence they held their courſe towards the land of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua.

The thirteenth of March, either the day before or after, in the morning they deſcried land, not being very high, being a ſmall Iſland two leagues from the firme land, and there they found a ſmall Bay, wherein they ankered at fiue fathome deepe cloſe by the land, and there they ſtayed till the twentie day. Vpon the which day there paſſed a Frigate cloſe by the Iſland, which with their pinneſſe they followed, and taking her, brought her to the Engliſh ſhip, which frigat was laden with Salſaperilla, and Botijas or pots with butter and hony, and with other things. The Engliſh Captaine went on boord, and caſt the Salſaperilla on the land, leauing all the reſt of the wares in the frigate, and then he put all his peeces into the frigate, that ſo he might lay his ſhip on ſhore, to new calke and trimme her, which continued till the three and twentie or foure and twentie of March. Which done, and hauing made prouiſion of wood and freſh water, they held on their courſe along by the coaſt, ſayling Weſtward, taking the ſayd frigate and her men with them, and hauing ſailed two dayes, they tooke their men out of her, and ſet them in the pinneſſe, among the which were foure ſailers, that meant to ſayle to Panama, and from thence to China, whereof one they tooke, with the letters and patents that hee had about him, among the which were the letters of the king of Spaine, ſent to the gouernour of the Philippinas, as alſo the ſea-cards wherewith they ſhould make their voyage, and direct themſelues in their courſe.

The Iſland of Canno. The firſt ſight of Nueua Eſpanna.

They calke and trimme their ſhip at the Ile of Canno ouer againſt Nicaragua.

Sea-charts of the South ſea taken.

And ſo ſailing vntill the ſixt of Aprill, about euening they diſcouered a ſhippe that held two leagues to ſeaward from the land: and before the next day in the morning they were hard by her, and ſuddenly fell vpon her while her men ſlept, and preſently made the men enter into their ſhip, among the which was one Don Franciſco Xarate. Which done, they followed on their courſe with the ſayd ſhip, out of the which they tooke certaine packes and other wares, but I know not what it was. They likewiſe tooke a Negro out of it, and three dayes after they both let the ſhip and men goe whether they woulde, ſetting therein the two ſaylers that ſhould goe for China, which they had taken in the frigate, keeping onely one ſailer to ſhewe them where they ſhould find freſh water, to the which ende they tooke the emptie veſſels with them to fill with water, and ſo kept on their courſe to the hauen of Guatulco, where they put in, being vpon Munday the thirteenth of Aprill, and hauing ankered, they ſtayed there till the ſixe and twentie of Aprill: and about three or foure houres within the night, they ſet ſayle, holding their courſe Weſtward, and an houre or two before they let Nuno da Silua goe, putting him into another ſhip, that lay in the hauen of Guatulco.

They arriue at Guatulco. Aprill 13. ſtilo nouo.

Nuno da Silua ſet on land.

From thence forward the Engliſhmen paſſed on their voyage, to the Iſlands of Malucos, and from thence they paſſed by the Cape de Buena Eſperança, and ſo to England, as it is well knowen, ſo that this is onely the deſcription of the voyage that they made, while the ſaid pilote Nuno da Silua was with them.

Hereafter followeth the copie of a letter written by ſir Francis Drake (being in the South ſea of New Spaine, in his ſhip called The Pellican or the golden Hinde with the ſhip of Sant Iohn de Anton, which hee had taken) to his companions in the other ſhippes that were of his company, and by foule weather ſeparated from him, as I ſaid before: The contents whereof were theſe:

Maſter *Winter*, if it pleaſeth God that you ſhould chance to meete with this ſhip of Sant *Iohn de Anton*, I pray you vſe him well, according to my word and promiſe giuen vnto them, and if you want any thing that is in this ſhip of *Sant Iohn de Anton*, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will ſatisfie againe, and command your men not to doe her any hurt: and what compoſition or agreement we haue made, at my returne into *England* I will by Gods helpe perfourme, although I am in doubt that this letter will neuer come to your hands: notwithſtanding I am the man I haue promiſed to be: Beſeeching God, the Sauiour of all the world, to haue vs in his keeping, to whom onely I giue all honour, praiſe and glory. What I haue written, is not only to you M. *Winter*, but alſo to M. *Thomas*, M. *Charles*, M. *Caube*, and M. *Anthonie*, with all our other good friendes, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed vs, and am in good hope, that we ſhal be in no more trouble, but that he will helpe vs in aduerſitie, deſiring you for the Paſſion of Chriſt, if you fall into any danger, that you will not deſpaire of Gods mercy, for hee will defend you and preſerue you from all danger, and bring vs to our deſired hauen, to whom bee all honour, glory, and praiſe for euer and euer. Amen. Your ſorowfull Captaine, whoſe heart is heauy for you: *Francis Drake.*

The voyage of M. *Iohn VVinter* into the South ſea by the Streight of *Magellan*, in conſort with M. *Francis Drake*, begun in the yeere 1577. By which Streight alſo he returned ſafely into *England* the ſecond of Iune 1579. contrary to the falſe reports of the Spaniards which gaue out, that the ſaid paſſage was not repaſſeable: Written by *Edward Cliffe* Mariner.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1577. the 19. of September there went out of the riuer of Thamis ouer the landsende one good and newe ſhip called the Elizabeth, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company whereof went alſo a ſmall pinneſſe being 12 tunnes in burthen called the Benedict. The ſayd ſhip with her pinneſſe arriued at Plimmouth: in which hauen were three ſhips more, one called the Pellican in burthen 120. tunnes, being Admirall of the fleete: a barke called the Marigold in burthen thirty tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. Theſe ſhips had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furniſhed with all kind of neceſſary prouiſion to make a voyage into the South ſea. Wee ſet ſayle the 15 of Nouember, but were put into Falmouth by contrary windes: and afterward were conſtrained to put backe againe to Plimmouth to repaire the great hurt which diuers of our fleete had ſuſtained in that tempeſt: and at length the 13 of December wee ſet forward from thence vpon our voyage.

They ſet forward from Plimmouth the 13. of December.

Cape Cantin. Aſaphi.

Mogador an Iſland on the coaſt of Barbary.

The fiue and twentie of December we had ſight of Cape Cantin: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32. degrees and 30. minutes vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, neere to a towne called Aſaphi. The land all along this coaſt is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the ſayd Cape Southſouthweſt about 18 leagues, wee found a little Iſland called Mogador an Engliſh mile diſtant from the maine, we ſent our boat to ſound the depth, and at the returne thereof we vnderſtood by our men that the hauen was without danger, hauing fiue fathomes of water faſt by the rocks entring in vpon the poynt of the Iſland: wherefore wee entred in with our whole fleete the 27 of December. The Moores that were on the maine ſeeing our ſhips ride there, came from the mountaines to beholde vs: whom our Generall M. Francis Drake eſpying, ſhewed to them a white flagge in token of friendſhip, and ſent his boat to ſhore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captiue in the countrey, and partly vnderſtoode their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to ſhore, the ſayd man went on land to them: to whom they ſhewed many tokens of friendſhip, caſting vp their eyes to heauen, and after looking downe vpon the ground, as though they had ſworne by heauen and earth, promiſing peace. That done two of them came aboord to our Generall, and our man ſtayed on ſhore for a pledge.

Theſe two Moores, after they had made good cheere, and receiued certaine gifts of our Generall went to ſhore againe, and our man came aboord alſo. But the craftie ſlaues hauing deuiſed to betray vs, came the next day along the ſea ſide with certain camels as though they had brought ſome merchandize to traffique with vs: to whom our General ſent certaine of our men in the boat to learne what they had brought, giuing charge that none of them ſhould goe on land. But the boate being neere the ſhore one of our men more haſtie then wiſe lept to ſhore: whom the Moores immediatly tooke by force, and ſetting him on horſebacke caried him away into the mountaines, ſo that we ſaw him no more after that time. In the meane time wee ſet vp a Pinneſſe in the iſland, whereof wee brought 4 looſe out of England: which being finiſhed, the laſt of December wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the iſland, the ſame way that wee came in: for the South chanel is dangerous, hauing but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This iſland ſtandeth in 31 degrees ½ of latitude, being one league in circuite, not inhabited; and hath infinite number of doues vpon it.

Foure looſe Pinniſſes brought out of England.

Mogador in 31 degrees and an halfe.

At Sea wee met with a contrary winde, ſo that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Ianuarie 1578, at which time a more fauourable winde began to blowe at Northeaſt, and then wee ſet our courſe Southſouthweſt, till on the 7 of Ianuarie wee came as high as Cape de Guer, which ſtandeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our new Pinneſſe tooke 3 Spaniſh fiſher-boates, called Cantars. From thence wee ran Southweſt and Southſouthweſt, carying the ſayd Cantars along with vs, till the 10 of the ſayd moneth, at which time wee found our ſelues in 27 degrees 4 min. being 10 leagues Weſtſouthweſt from Cape Bojador, which lieth on the maine land of Africa. From thence we ran South and by Weſt, vntill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had ſight of Rio del Oro, where our Pinneſſe tooke a Portugall carauel. The 15, the Marigold took a carauel about Cape de las Barbas. And thence we ran along the coaſt being low ſandie land, till wee arriued at Cape Blanco. This Cape ſheweth it ſelfe like the corner of a wall vpright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes: where the North pole is eleuated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers being the guards of the South pole, be raiſed 9 degrees 30 min. The ſaid Crociers be 4 ſtarres, repreſenting the forme of a croſſe, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole: and the loweſt ſtarre of the ſayd Crociers is to be taken, when it is directly vnder the vppermoſt; and being ſo taken as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, ſo many you are to the Northwards of the the Equinoctial: and as many degrees as be more then 30, ſo many degrees you are to the Southwards of the Equinoctial. And if you finde it to be iuſt 30 then you be directly vnder the line.

Cape de Guer in 30 degrees.

Cape Bojador in 27 degrees. 4. min.

Cape de las Barbas.

Cape Blanco in 20 degrees. 30. min.

Within the ſayd Cape Blanco wee tooke one ſhip more, all the men being fled away, ſaue two. We brought this ſhip with all the reſt which wee had taken before, into our harbour, 5 leagues within the Cape, where we waſhed and trimmed our ſhips, and went to ſea againe the 22 of Ianuarie, leauing all the Spaniards there with their ſhips, ſauing one Cantar, for which our Generall gaue them the Benedict. In which courſe wee ran continually to the Southweſt, vntill the 26 day, when wee found the North pole rayſed 15 degrees 15 min. hauing the winde Northeaſt or Eaſtnortheaſt, which is common on that coaſt. For it doeth blow for the moſt part continually from the ſhore: and we kept the ſayd courſe, vntill wee came neere the iſland Bonauiſta, within 2 leagues off the ſhore; ſo that wee haled off againe Northweſt, the ſpace of one houre, and then ran Southweſt againe, till day light the 27 of Ianuarie: from which time wee ran Southſouthweſt, vntill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approched neere the iſland of Mayo, being high and hilly land, ſauing that the North part of the iſland ſtretcheth out it ſelfe, a league into the ſea very lowe. Wee came to anker vnder the Weſt part of this iſland the 28 day of Ianuarie, and ſtayed there vntill the 30 of the ſame. During which time, our General appointed M. Iohn Winter and M. Thomas Doughtie, to goe ouer to the Eaſt part of the iſland with 70 men, to get ſome freſh victuals. And as wee marched through the iſland, about the middeſt thereof, we found one houſe hauing a garden belonging to it, in which wee found ripe grapes, alſo ripe gourds, and melons, in the moſt dead time of our Winter. Wee found alſo a tree which beareth the fruite Cocos, which is bigger then a mans head, hauing within the vtter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certaine nut as bigge as two fiſts, and hath within a white ſubſtance, cleauing faſt to the ſhell, which is halfe an inche thick, very pleaſant to taſte, and within that a certaine hollowneſſe or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure and pleaſant water in taſte, and as ſome thinke, marueilous comfortable. As we paſſed through this iſland the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, ſo that we could haue no talke with them.

The iſle of Maio.

Ripe grapes in Ianuarie.

The Cocos tree.

But we vnderſtood by the Portugals which came with vs, that they were but ſeruants to thoſe of S. Iago, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentifull in this iſland: but we found them ſo wilde, that we could take none ſauing ſome yong kiddes; wherefore wee returned backe againe to our ſhippes. The Portugals had ſalted their Welles neere to the ſea, ſo that we could not water.

Then our Generall commanded euery man aboord: afterward we weighed, and ranne ouer to Saint Iago the ſame night, being 10 leagues diſtant from thence: which ſeemed to bee a fruitefull iſland and well peopled. For wee ſawe 3 townes on the ſhore: two of which ſhot at vs, as we paſſed along. Our General made a ſhot at one of them againe. And ſayling along the ſhore, at the South part of the iſland, wee tooke a Portugal ſhippe laden with wine and other commodities, This iſland hath 15 degrees in latitude.

The iſle of Fogo.

Braua.

From hence wee ran Southſouthweſt to the iſle of Fogo, ſo called, becauſe it caſteth continually flames of fire and ſmoake out of the top thereof, all the whole iſland being one high mountaine. Two leagues Weſt from the iſle of Fogo, is another iſland called Braua, where the ſea is aboue 120 fathoms deepe neere to the ſhore, ſo that we could not anker for the depth of the ſea, by reaſon whereof we were conſtrained to depart without water. Here the Generall diſcharged the Portugals, giuing vnto them our Pimeſſe which we built at Mogador: with wine, breade, and fiſh, and ſo diſmiſſed them the firſt of Februarie, taking one of there companie along with him, called Nonnez de Silua. The 2 of February wee ſet off from Braua, and directed our courſe Southſoutheaſt, running ſo vntill the 9 of February, being within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lightning, notwithſtanding calme with extreme heate, and diuers times great ſhowers of raine.

Nonnez de Silua.

The 17 day wee were right vnder the line, which is the moſt feruent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middeſt of February we ſuſteined ſuch heat, with often thunder and lightnings, that wee did ſweate for the moſt part continually, as though wee had bene in a ſtoue, or hote-houſe. Here we ſaw flying fiſhes in great abundance, ſome a foote long, ſome leſſe. Their fynnes wherewith they flye be as long as their bodies. They be greatly purſued by the Dolphine and Bonitoes, whom as ſoone as the flying fiſhes eſpie, immediatly they mount out of the ſea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyſt: and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the ſea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial, vntill we were ſo much paſt it, no day did paſſe without great ſtore of raine.

Flying fiſhes.

Continuall raine at certaine ſeaſons neere the Equinoctial.

From hence wee directed our courſe towards the Southſouthweſt vntill the 5 of Aprill: at which time, wee had a very ſweet ſmell from the land. The ſame day at noone wee ſounded, and found the ſea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being ſoft oaze: and ſhortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the Equinoctial, towarde the South pole: and wee had ſight of the land about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone the ſame day. This land is very lowe neere the ſea; and hie mountaines vp within the countrie.

Land in 31 degrees. 30 min. to the South of the Equinoctial.

From hence we ran towardes the Southſouthweſt, vntill the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little iſland, lying neere the maine land of Cape Sant Marie, by which is the enterance into the riuer of Plate, being in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude. Frō this iſland wee ran 7 or 8 leagues along the maine, where we came to an anker vnder a Cape, which our General called Cape Ioy, Here euery ſhip tooke in freſh water. Then we departed, and ran about 15 leagues towards the Weſtſouthweſt, where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long rocke, not far from the maine: which rocke ſo breaketh the force of the ſea, that ſhippes may ride commodiouſly vnder the ſame for Southerly windes. Hither came all our fleete to anker, the 19 of Aprill, and roade there vntill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed ſome ſeales. And from thence wee ran about 20 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and freſh, and wee ran in ſo farre that we had but 3 fathomes water. Here wee tooke in freſh water, and ranne ouer to the Southward, and fell with the land which lyeth on the South part of the riuer of Plate, the 27 day. This land lyeth Southſouthweſt and Northnortheaſt, and is ſhold 3 or 4 leagues into the ſea. Here our fly-boat loſt our companie in the night.

Cape Sant Marie at the mouth of the Riuer of Plate.

From hence we ran toward the Southweſt, hauing much foule weather and contrary windes, vntill the 12 of May: and then wee ſounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke ſande and ſmall ſtones, and had ſight of the land the ſame morning about 10 of the clocke. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, Cape Hope. We came to anker there, about 3 leagues from the ſhore the ſame night. The next morning our General, went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the Marigold had not weighed, and ran in with the ſhore, and ſo tooke vp the boate and men: for there aroſe ſuch foule weather, with a thicke myſt and a Southeaſt winde, that they were not able to recouer their ſhippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to ſea. The Prize weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: the other ſtayed vntill the 14 in the morning and then ran to ſea, not being able to ride.

Cape of Hope in 47 degrees.

In the meane time while the Marigold rode vnder the ſhore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they ſaw two naked men, ſauing that they had a certaine ſkinne wrapt about their ſhoulders and rowles vpon their heades. To whom our General ſhewed a white cloth, in ſigne of friendſhip, who with certaine geſtures of their bodies and handes, ſhewed the like to him againe, ſpeaking likewiſe and making a noyſe, which our men could not vnderſtand, but they would in no caſe come neere our men. Our Generall went the next day to the ſame place againe: but hee had no ſight of the foreſaid men or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine foules, as Oſtriches, and other ſea foules, which the ſayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpoſe. There was alſo a certaine bagge with litle ſtones of diuers colours, which together with the victuals our General brought aboord, and then weighed, and came to ſea the 15 of the ſayd moneth: where all the reſt of the fleet mette with him, ſaue the Prize, and the fly-boat. The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of Cape Hope, where we roade al that night. The next morning our Generall weighed, & ran without the cape to the Northwardes, & ſent the Elizabeth towards the South to looke for the Prize: leauing the Marigold and the Canter to ſearch if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ſhips. The ſame day being the 14 of May, our General met with the fly-boat (which loſt vs the 27 of April) and brought her into ſaide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ſhips, that they had found a ſafe harbour and we weighed and ran in, the ſame day being Whitſunday. The Elizabeth weighed & put forth again to ſea, the 20 day, to looke for the Prize, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our General diſcharged the fly-boat, and ran her vpon the maine, where we broke her vp for fire-wood. In the meane while there came about 30 of the countrey people downe to the ſea ſide: and when they were within 100 paſes of our men, they ſet themſelues in array very orderly caſting their companie into the forme of a ring, euery man hauing his bow and arrowes: who (when they had pight a ſtaffe on the ground, with certeine glaſſes, beads, and other trifles) returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and afterward approched neerer to our men, ſhewing themſelues very pleaſant, inſomuch that M. Winter daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the ſound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane ſtature, wel limmed, and of a duſkiſh, tawnie, or browne colour. Some of them hauing their faces ſpotted with diuers colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a certaine ſkinne (wherein they wrap themſelues) not reaching ſo low as to couer their priuy members, all the reſt of their bodies be naked, ſauing that they weare certaine roules vpon their heads, whoſe ends hang ouer their ſhoulders. Euery one beareth his bow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, hauing heads, framed very ſtrangly & cunningly of a flint ſtone. They be much giuen to mirth and iollity, and are very ſly, and ready to ſteale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them ſnatched our Generals cap from his head (as he ſtouped) being of ſkarlet with a golden band: yet he would ſuffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe fleſh, for we found ſeales bones, the raw fleſh whereof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with ſeales: for there is ſuch plentie that we ſlew aboue 200 in the ſpace of one houre vpon a litle iſland.

Oſtriches and ſea foules.

The deſcription of certaine Sauages.

The 3 of Iune we departed from thence, and being at ſea we were put backe againe to Cape Hope, where we diſcharged our Canter and let her float in the ſea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and ſo turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the ſhore, we met with our Prize the 19 of Iune, which we loſt the 13 of May. The day following we found a harbour, into the which we entred with all our fleet the ſame day. This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I ſuppoſe it to be the ſame which Magellan named Port S. Iulian: for we found a gybbet on an hil, whereupon they were executed that did conſpire againſt Magellan, and certaine bones alſo of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to ſhore vpon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the Patagons hauing bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our mē making them ſignes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there preſent, and hauing a bowe and arrowes, made a ſhot to the end to ſhew them the force our bowes, with the which ſhot his ſtring broke: whereupon the Patagons preſumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes firſt at our M. Gunner, who had a caliuer ready bent to ſhot at them but it would not take fire: and as he leuelled his peece one of them ſhot him through the breſt, and out at the backe, wherewith he fell downe ſtarke dead. Alſo the gentleman that ſhot the arrow was ſo wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after and with the other was buryed in a litle iſland lying in the ſaid port. Our men left the ſlaine man on ſhore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the Patagons had ſtript him of all his clothes, and viewed his body laying his clothes vnder his head, and ſo left him vntouched, ſauing that they had ſtucke the Engliſh arrow in his left eye. Theſe men be of no ſuch ſtature as the Spaniardes report, being but of the height of Engliſh men: for I haue ſeene men in England taller then I could ſee any of them. But peraduenture the Spaniard did not thinke that any Engliſh men would haue

The port of Sant Iulian.

Two of our men ſlaine by the Patagons.

come thither ſo ſoone to haue diſproued them in this & diuers others of their notorious lies: wherefore they preſumed more boldly to abuſe the world.

The execution of M. Thomas Doughtie.

The laſt of Iune M. Thomas Doughty was brought to his anſwere, was accuſed, and conuicted of certaine articles, and by M. Drake condemned. He was beheaded the 2 of Iuly 1578, whoſe body was buried in the ſaid iſland, neer to them which were ſlaine. We wintered in this port 2 moneths, during which time we had ſuch weather as is commonly in England in the depth of winter, or rather colder. After we had trimmed vp our ſhips, and made prouiſion of fewell and freſh water, we departed thence with 3 ſhips the 17 of Auguſt about noone. And the 20 of the ſaid moneth we ſeazed Cape Victorie, by the which Cape is the way into the South ſea, called The ſtreights of Magellan, the firſt diſcouerer thereof.

The entrance of the ſtreight of Magellan.

Wee found the mouth of the ſtreights to be 52 degrees ⅓ Southward of Equinoctial. In this ſtreight, we found the ſea to haue no ſuch current as ſome do imagine, (following the courſe of the primum mobile from Eaſt to Weſt) but to eb and flow as ordinarily as vpō other coaſts, riſing 5 fathoms vpright.

Ordinarie flood and ebbe in the ſtreight.

The flood riſeth out of the Eaſt ocean, and ſtretcheth it ſelfe ſo far into the ſtreights, that it meeteth the flood of the South ſea neere about the midſt of the ſtreights, where it bendeth like an elbow, tending to the Weſt-north-weſt into the South Sea, whereas the Eaſt part from the mouth of the ſtreights to this elbow lyeth South-weſt and by Weſt, or South-weſt to 53 degrees and ⅓. 30 leagues within the ſtreights there be 3 iſlands.

Abundance of Sea-foules on S. Georges iſland in the ſtreight of Magellan.

To the greateſt our general gaue the name of Elizabeth: to the 2 Bartholomew, becauſe we found it on S. Bartholomews day: the 3 he named S. Georges iſland. Here we ſtaied one day & victualled our ſelues with a kinde of foule which is plentifull in that iſle, and whoſe fleſh is not farre vnlike a fat gooſe here in England: they haue no wings, but ſhort pineons which ſerue their turne in ſwimming. Their colour is ſomewhat blacke mixt with white ſpots vnder their belly, and about their necke. They walke ſo vpright, that a farre off a man would take them to be litle children. If a man aproch any thing neere them, they run into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the iſland is full. So that to take them, we had ſtaues with hookes faſt to the ends, wherewith ſome of our men pulled them out, and others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head, for they bite ſo cruellie with their crooked bils, that none of vs was able to handle them aliue.

High hils on both ſides of the ſtreight.

The land on both parts is very high: but eſpecially toward the South ſea, monſtrous high hils and craggy rocks do exalt themſelues, whoſe tops be all hoary with ſnowe, in the moneths of Auguſt, September, and October. Notwithſtanding the lower partes of the hilles are repleniſhed and beautified with impenetrable thicke woods of ſtrange and vnknowen trees, flouriſhing all the yere long.

Cape Deſeado: where they entred into the South ſea. They were driuē to 57 degrees Southward.

Here we made prouiſion of fewel and freſh water, and paſſed by Cape Deſeado into the South ſea the 6 of September. And running along towards the North-weſt about 70 leagues, the winde turned directly againſt vs, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haile, ſnow, and thicke fogs which continued ſo more thē 3 weeks, that we could beare no ſaile, at which time we were driuen 57 degr. to the ſouth pole. The 15 of September the moone was there ecclipſed, & began to be darkned preſently after the ſetting of the ſunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then Equinoctial vernal in that countrey. The ſaid ecclipſe happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in England, which is about ſixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the Meridian of England towards the Weſt. The laſt of September being a very foule night, and the ſeas ſore growne, we loſt the Marigold, the Generals ſhippe and the Elizabeth running to the Eaſt-ward to get the ſhore, whereof we had ſight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay full of rocks: and there we loſt company of M. Drake the ſame night.

They looſe M. Drakes company.

The next day very hardly eſcaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the ſtreights againe, where we ankered in an open bay for the ſpace of 2 dayes, and made great fiers on the ſhore, to the end that if M. Drake ſhould come into the ſtreights, hee might finde vs. After wee went into a ſound, where we ſtayed for the ſpace of 3 weekes, and named it The port of Health, for the moſt part of our men being very ſicke with long watching, wet, cold, and euill diet, did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recouer their health in ſhort ſpace. Here we had very great muſcles (ſome being 20 inches long) very pleaſant meate, and many of them full of ſeed-pearles.

The voyage giuen ouer.

We came out of this harbour the firſt of Nouember, giuing ouer our voiage by M. Winters compulſion (full ſore againſt the mariners minds) who alleged he ſtood in diſpaire, as well to haue winds to ſerue his turne for Peru, as alſo of M. Drakes ſafetie. So we came backe againe through the ſtreights to S. Georges Iſland, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed.

They returned out of the ſtreight the 11 of Nouember, hauing entred into the ſouth ſea the 6 of September.

And thus wee paſſed by Cape Victorie out of the ſtreights the 11 of Nouember, directing our courſe to the North-eaſt, till the laſt of this moneth. What time wee arriued at an iſland which lyeth at the mouth of the riuer of Plate. Vpon this iſland there is ſuch an infinite number of ſeales, as may ſeeme incredible to any man that hath not bene there, ſome of them being 16 foote long, not fearing the preſence of men; for the moſt of our men were vpon the iſland, for the ſpace of 15 dayes to ſet vp a Pinneſſe, during which time the ſeales would come and ſlepe by them, and rather reſiſt our men, then giue place, vnleſſe mortall blowes forced them to yeelde.

When our Pinneſſe was built, we went to another iſland, where wee did water, and afterward departed the firſt of Ianuarie 1579, and ran towards the North till the 20 of the ſaid moneth, and then we arriued at an iſland which lieth on the coaſt of Braſil, neere to a towne called ſant Vincent inhabited by the Portugals. The ſayd towne lyeth 24 degrees Southwarde, almoſt vnder the Tropicke of Capricorne. Here, by reaſon of fowle weather we loſt our Pinneſſe, and 8 men in her, and neuer ſaw them ſince. Here alſo our ſhip was in great danger, by the meanes of a ſtrong current, which had almoſt caſt vs vpon the ſhore before wee were aware, inſomuch that we were conſtrained to anker in the open ſea, and brake our cable and loſt an anker, and preſently let fal another anker; in weighing whereof our men were ſore ſpoiled. For the capſtan ranne about ſo violently with the riſing of the ſhippe in the ſea, that it threwe the men from the barres, and brake out the braines of one man: one other had his legge broken, and diuers others were ſore hurt. At laſt wee gote vp our anker and ſet ſayle, and ran into a place called Tanay, where we roade vnder an iſland and tooke in wood and water.

Sant Vincent in Braſil in 24 degrees.

A dangerous current.

Tanay a place in Braſil.

And while we ſtayed here, there came 3 Portugals aboord vs in a canoa, to knowe what wee would haue, or of what countrey we were. To whom our Captaine made anſwere: that we were Engliſhmen, and had brought commodities for their countrey, if they would trafficke with vs: whereat they greatly marueiled. For they ſaide that they neuer heard of any Engliſh ſhip to haue bene in that countrey before; and ſo they went to land againe, hauing one of our men with them to ſpeake with the Gouernour of the towne, and we kept one of them for a pledge. Shortly after there came another canoa aboord vs with one Portugal and al the reſt naked men of the countrey: of whom wee had two ſmall Oxen, one yong Hogge, with certaine hennes: alſo Pome-cytrons, limons, oranges, and other fruites of the countrey. For the which our Captaine gaue to them, linnen cloth, combes, kniues, and other trifles. In the meane time the Gouernour of the towne, ſent word that we ſhould haue nothing, vnleſſe we would bring our ſhippe into the hauen. Whereunto our Captaine would in no caſe conſent: for all their practiſe was to haue gotten vs within their danger, neuertheles we came ſomewhat neere the towne with our ſhip, as though wee would haue gone in; but we neuer meant it.

Here we tooke in our man; and ſet the Portugal pledge on land. After that we went to an iſland called the iſle of Sant Sebaſtian; where wee tooke fiſh. Here the Portugals had betrayed vs, if a Braſilian one of their ſlaues had not bene. For he ſtole from them, & ſhewed vnto vs by ſignes, that the Portugals were comming with their canoas to take vs, as it fell out in deed: for the next morning they ſhewed themſelues with 12 or 16 canoas, ſome of them hauing 40 men in them. The ſame night two of our men ran away with our boat to the Portugals. And thus wee came away from thence toward our owne countrey the 17 of March: and had ſight of the Cape of ſant Auguſtine, lying in 8 degrees to the Southward of the line. After that we had ſight of an iſland lying within 3 degrees of the Equinoctial, called the iſle of Fernando de Loronha. We croſſed the Equinoctial the 13 of April, and had ſight of the North ſtarre the 19 of the ſayd moneth.

The iſle of Sant Sebaſtian about the Tropicke of Capricorne.

Cape Sant Auguſtine.

The iſle of Fernando de Loronha.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of May, wee ſayled through the ſea of Weedes, about the ſpace of 100 leagues, being vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. From whence wee kept our courſe towards the North-eaſt, vntill wee had the pole rayſed 47 degrees. The 22 of May we ranne Eaſtnortheaſt.

The ſea of Weedes, neere the Tropicke of Cancer.

The 29 we ſounded and had 70 fathomes with white oaze; hauing the North pole rayſed 51 degrees. The 30 of May wee had ſight of S. Iues on the North ſide of Corne-wall, and the 2 of Iune 1579 we arriued at Ilfoord-combe in Deuon-ſhire.

Their arriuall at Ilfoord-combe in Deuonſhire.

And thus after our manifold troubles and great dangers in hauing paſſed The ſtreights of Magellan into the South Sea with our Generall M. Francis Drake, and hauing bene driuen with him downe to the Southerly latitude of 57 degrees, and afterward paſſing backe by the ſame ſtreights againe, it pleaſed God to bring vs ſafe into our owne natiue countrey to enioy the preſence of our deare friendes and kinſefolkes, to whom bee prayſe, honour, and glory, for euer and euer. Amen.

EDVVARD CLIFFE,

Mariner.

Inſtructions giuen by the right honourable the Lordes of the Counſell, to M. *Edward Fenton* Eſquire, for the order to be obſerued in the voyage recommended to him for the *East Indies* and *Cathay*. Aprill 9. 1582.

First you ſhall enter as Captaine Generall, into the charge and gouernment of theſe ſhippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonauenture, the Barke Francis, and the ſmall Frigate or Pinneſſe.

2 Item you ſhall appoint for the furniſhing of the veſſels in the whole, to the number of 200 able perſons, accompting in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Miniſters, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which ſayd number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be ſea-men; and ſhal diſtribute them into euery veſſel, as by aduiſe here before your going ſhal be thought meete: Prouided that you ſhall not receiue vnder your charge and gouernment, any diſordered or mutinous perſon, but that vpon knowledge had, you ſhall remoue him before your departure hence, or by the way as ſoone as you can conueniently auoide him, and receiue better in his place.

3 Item, for the more and better circumſpect execution, and determination in any waightie cauſes incident in this voyage, we will that you ſhall take vnto you for aſſiſtants, Captaine Hawkins, captain Ward, M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, M. Euans, Randolph Shaw, Matthew Talboys, with whom you ſhall conſult and conferre in all cauſes, matters, and actions of importance, not prouided for in theſe inſtructions touching this ſeruice now in hand. And in all ſuch matters, ſo handled, argued, and debated, wee thinke that conuenient alwayes to be executed, which you ſhall thinke meeteſt with the aſſent alſo of any 4 of them, the matter hauing bene debated, and ſo aſſented vnto, in the preſence of your ſaid aſſiſtants. And in caſe that ſuch conference and debating the opinions of the aforeſaid Aſſiſtants be found in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all ſuch matters ſo argued vpon, ſhall reſt to bee put in execution in ſuch ſort as you ſhal thinke moſt meeteſt, hauing the aſſent of any 4 of them, as aforeſaid. And if any of theſe Aſſiſtants ſhal die, then the number of the one halfe of the Suruiuours to ioyne with the Generall captaine for conſent in all things aforeſaid.

4 Of all which your aſſemblies and conſultations, for the matters aforeſaid, we thinke it very conuenient, that a particular and true note ſhould be kept, for which cauſe we appoint maſter Maddox miniſter, and if he ſhould deceaſe, then the Generall with halfe the Aſſiſtants Suruiuours, to name one to keepe a booke of all ſuch matters as ſhall bee brought in conſultation, and of all ſuch reaſons as ſhall be propounded by any perſon, either on the one ſide, or on the other: what was reſolued on, and by whoſe conſent, who diſſented there from, and for what cauſes. In which book he ſhall in the beginning of the note of euery ſuch aſſembly, ſet downe particularly the day, and the place, if it may be, the names of the perſons then preſent, and vpon what occaſion the ſayd conſultation was appointed or holden, and ſhall haue to euery acte, the handes of the Generall, and of all, or ſo many of the ſaid Aſſiſtants as will ſubſcribe: which booke the ſaid maſter Maddox, or the other vpon his deceaſe appointed in his place ſhall keepe ſecrete, and in good order to bee exhibited vnto vs, at your returne home.

5 Item, if there happen any perſon or perſons imployed in this ſeruice, of what calling or condition, hee or they ſhall be, ſhould conſpire, or attempt priuatly or publikely, any treaſon, mutinie, or other diſcord, either touching the taking away of your owne life, or any other of authoritie vnder you, whereby her Maieſties ſeruice in this voiage might bee ouerthrowne, or impugned: we will therefore, that vpon iuſt proofe made of any ſuch treaſon, mutinie, or any other diſcord attempted as aforeſaid the ſame ſhalbe puniſhed by you, or your Lieuetenant according to the qualitie and enormitie of the fact. Prouided alwayes, and it ſhall not bee lawfull neither for you, nor for your Lieuetenant to proceede to the puniſhment of any perſon by loſſe of life or lim, vnleſſe the partie ſhall be iudged to haue deſerued it by the reſt of your Aſſiſtants, as is before expreſſed, or at the leaſt by foure of them. And that which ſhall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelue men of the company employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpoſe, with the obſeruation of the forme of our countrey lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Prouided, if it ſhall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, ſhall miniſter cauſe to increaſe the facte of the offender, then it were better to conuince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12 indifferent perſons, and to commit him to hard impriſonment, vntill the returne. And aſwell of the factes committed by any, as alſo of the proofe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Aſſiſtants, and the maner of the puniſhment, the Regiſter ſhall make a particular and true note, in the booke of your conſultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item, you ſhall not remooue Captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, maſter Captaine Luke Ward your viceadmiral, or captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, whom we will not to refuſe any ſuch ſeruice as ſhall be appointed to him by the Generall and the councill, nor any captaine of other veſſels from their charges, but vpon iuſt cauſe duely prooued, and by conſent of your Aſſiſtants, or of foure of them at the leaſt.

M. Carliſle vpon occaſion was not in this voyage.

7 Item, for the ſucceſſion of the Generall, gouernour of this whole voyage, if it ſhould pleaſe God to take him away, it is thought meete that there ſhould bee the names of ſuch Gentlemen ſecretly ſet downe to ſucceede in his place one after the other, which are ſeuerally written in parchment, included in bals of waxe, ſealed with her Maieſties ſignet, put into two coffers locked with three ſeuerall locks, whereof one key is to bee in the cuſtodie of captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of maſter Maddox the Miniſter, and the ſame two coffers to bee put into two ſeuerall ſhippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the cuſtodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonauenture in the cuſtodie of the Viceadmirall: the ſame two coffers vpon any ſuch caſualtie of the Generals death by conſent of the Aſſiſtants which ſhall ouerliue, to bee opened, and the partie therein named to ſucceede in the place, who ſhall thereupon take vpon him the charge in the ſaid voiage according to theſe inſtructions, in ſuch ſort as if they had bene ſpecially directed vnto him, and the reſt of the companie ſo to take and repute him in euery reſpect, as they will anſwer to the contrary. But if it ſhall ſo fall out, (as we hope it will) that there ſhall bee no ſuch neede, but that the Generall doe continue ſtill, then ſhall you at your returne deliuer backe the ſayd coffers and bals of waxe ſealed in ſuch ſort as they be, without opening them, vnleſſe it be in the caſe aforeſayd.

8 You ſhall make a iuſt and true inuentorie in euery ſhip and veſſell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their ſetting foorth hence, and of all the prouiſions whatſoeuer, and one copie thereof vnder your hand, and vnder the hands of your Viceadmirall and lieutenant, to be deliuered to the Earle of Leiceſter, and the other to the gouernour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to bee done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the ſayd ſhips and veſſels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the ſame ſhall haue bene ſpent or loſt.

The gouernour of this companie.

9 Item, you ſhall vſe all diligence poſſible to depart from Southampton with your ſayd ſhips and veſſels before the laſt of this preſent moneth of Aprill, and ſo goe on your courſe by Cape de buena Eſperança, not paſſing by the ſtreight of Magellan either going or returning, except vpon great occaſion incident, that ſhall bee thought otherwiſe good to you, by the aduiſe and conſent of your ſayd Aſſiſtants, or foure of them at the leaſt.

They are inioyned to go by the Cape of Buena Eſperanza.

10 Item, you ſhall not paſſe to the Northeaſtward of the 40 degree of latitude at the moſt, but ſhall take your right courſe to the Iles of the Malucos for the better diſcouery of the Northweſt paſſage, if without hinderance of your trade, & within the ſame degree you can get any knowledge touching that paſſage, whereof you ſhall do wel to be inquiſitiue, as occaſion in this ſort may ſerue.

11 Item, you ſhall haue ſpeciall regard after your departure from the coaſt of England, ſo to order your courſe, as that your ſhips and veſſels loſe not one another, but keepe companie together both outward and homeward. And leſt if they happen to ſeuer the one from the other by tempeſt or otherwiſe, it ſhall not bee amiſſe that you appoint to the Captaines and Maſters certaine places, wherein you will ſtay certaine dayes. And euery ſhip paſſing aforehand, and not knowing what is become of the other ſhips, to leaue vpon euery Promontorie or Cape a token to ſtand in ſight, with a writing lapped in leade to declare the day of their paſſage. And if any wilfulneſſe or negligence in this behalfe ſhall appeare in any perſon or perſons that ſhall haue charge of any of the ſhips or veſſels aforeſayd, or if they or any of them ſhall doe otherwiſe then to them appertaineth, you ſhall puniſh ſuch offenders ſharpely to the example of others.

12 Item, we do ſtraightly enioine you, and conſequently all the reſt imployed in this voyage in any wiſe, and as you and they will anſwere the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarrying abroad, nor returning, you doe ſpoyle or take any thing from any of the Queenes Maieſties friends or allies, or any Chriſtians, without paying iuſtly for the ſame, nor that you vſe any maner of violence or force againſt any ſuch, except in your owne defence, if you ſhall be ſet vpon, or otherwiſe be forced for your owne ſafegard to do it.

13 Item, wee will that you deale altogether in this voyage like good and honeſt merchants, traffiquing and exchanging ware for ware, with all courteſie to the nations you ſhall deale with, as well Ethniks as others, and for that cauſe you ſhall inſtruct all thoſe that ſhall goe with you, that whenſoeuer you or any of you ſhall happen to come in any place to conference with the people of thoſe parts, that in all your doings and theirs, you and they ſo behaue your ſelues towards

the ſayd people, as may rather procure their friendſhip and good liking toward you by courteſie, then to moue them to offence or miſliking, and eſpecially you ſhall haue great care of the performance of your word and promiſe to them.

Strange people to be brought home.

14 Item wee will, that by the aduiſe of your Aſſiſtants, in places where you and they ſhall thinke moſt fit, you ſettle if you can a beginning of a further trade to bee had hereafter: and from ſuch places doe bring ouer with you ſome fewe men and women if you may, and doe alſo leaue ſome one or two, or more, as to you and your Aſſiſtants ſhall ſeeme conuenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue and ſecrets of the countreys, hauing diligent care that in deliuering and taking of hoſtages, you deliuer not perſonages of more value then you receiue, but rather deliuer meane perſons vnder colour of men of value, as the [illegible] do for the moſt part vſe. Prouided that you ſtay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then ſhall be expedient for good exchange of the wares preſently carried with you.

15 Item you ſhall haue care, and giue generall warning, that no perſon of what calling ſoeuer hee be, ſhall take vp, or keepe to himſelfe or his priuate vſe, any ſtone, pearle, golde, ſiluer, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you ſhall come, but hee the ſaid perſon ſo ſeaſed of ſuch ſtone, pearle, golde, ſiluer, or other matter of commoditie, ſhall with all ſpeede, or ſo ſoone as he can, detect the ſame, and make deliuerie thereof to your ſelfe, or you Viceadmirall, or Lieutenant, and the Factor appointed for this voyage, vpon paine of forfeiture of all the recompenſe he is to haue for his ſeruice in this voyage by ſhare or otherwiſe: and further to receiue ſuch puniſhment, as to you & your Aſſiſtants, or the more part of them ſhal ſeeme good, and otherwiſe to be puniſhed here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence it ſhalbe thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants or any other, ſhall haue any apparell, iewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatſoeuer, which may bee deſired in countreys where they ſhall traffique, that it ſhall not bee lawfull for them or any of them to traffique, or ſell any thing thereof for their priuate accompt: but the ſame ſhall bee prized by the moſt part of thoſe that ſhall bee in commiſſion in the places where the ſame may be ſo required, rated at ſuch value, as it may bee reaſonably worth in England, and then ſolde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in aduenture for thoſe to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your ſelfe ſhall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Factors appointed for the ſame ſhippe another, wherein ſhall bee a iuſt accompt kept, aſwell of the marchandiſe carried hence, as of thoſe you ſhall bring home. And aſwell at your ſetting foorth, as from time to time, as exchange ſhalbe made, you ſhall ſet your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order ſhal you ſee that the Captaine and the Factors in the Edward Bonauenture ſhall vſe in their ſhip, and the other Captaines and Factors in each other veſſell.

18 Item you ſhall giue ſtraight order to reſtraine, that none ſhall make any charts or deſcriptions of the ſayd voyage, but ſuch as ſhall bee deputed by you the Generall, which ſayd charts and deſcriptions, wee thinke meete that you the Generall ſhall take into your hands at your returne to this our coaſt of England, leauing with them no copie, and to preſent them vnto vs at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any charts or maps in thoſe countreys.

19 Item you ſhall at your returne ſo direct your courſe, that all the ſhips vnder your gouernment may come home together, and arriue here in the riuer of Thames, if it may conueniently be. And whereſoeuer in this Realme you, or any of the ſhippes ſhall arriue, you ſhall giue ſpeciall and ſtraight order, that no perſon of what condition ſoeuer he be, ſhall vnlade, or bring on land, or forth of the veſſels in which he came, any part or parcel of marchandize, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the ſayd veſſels, vntill we being certified of your or their arriuall, ſhall giue further order and direction therein, vnder the penalties and forfeitures expreſſed in the fifteenth article, againſt ſuch as ſhall retaine any thing to their priuate vſe, as in the ſayd article is further expreſſed.

20 Item, to the intent that all ſuch perſons as ſhall go with you in this voyage, may better vnderſtand what they ought to do, and what to auoid, wee thinke it requiſite, that aſwell out of theſe, as otherwiſe with the aduiſe of your Aſſiſtants and Maſters of the ſhips, you ſhall cauſe ſome conuenient order to bee ſet downe in writing for their better gouernment both at ſea and land, if they ſhall happen to goe on lande any where: and the ſame to bee openly read and made knowen vnto them, to the intent they may vnderſtand how to behaue themſelues, and vpon any fault committed, not to haue any excuſe to pretend ignorance, and ſo to auoid ſuch puniſhment as it is requiſite to haue miniſtred for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may bleſſe this voyage with happi[illegible] proſperous ſucceſſe, you ſhall haue an eſpeciall care to ſee that reuerence and reſpect bee had to the Miniſters appointed to accompanie you in this voyage, as appertaineth to their place and calling, and to ſee ſuch good order

as by them ſhall be ſet downe for reformation of life and maners, duely obeyed and performed, by cauſing the tranſgreſſours and contemners of the ſame to be ſeuerely puniſhed, and the Miniſters to remoue ſometime from one veſſell to another.

22 Prouided alwayes, that the whole direction and gouernment of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the fift article, and the courſe of this voyage, ſhall bee wholly at your diſpoſition, except in the courſe by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your paſſage by the Northward of 40 degrees in latitude, wherein you ſhall follow directions ſet downe in the nine and ten articles, as alſo in the diſplacing of the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and other captaines, wherin you ſhall followe the order appointed in the ſixt article: Prouided that wee meane not by this article to derogate any thing from the authoritie of your aſſiſtants eſtabliſhed in the third article, or in any other article of theſe inſtructions.

23 Item, in all occaſions and enterpriſes that may fall out to bee vpon the lande, wee will that Captaine Carlile ſhall haue the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

M. Carlile vpon occaſion was not in this voyage.

24 And finally wee require you and euery of you to haue a due regard to the obſeruation and accompliſhment of theſe our inſtructions, and of all ſuch other things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this ſeruice committed to your charge.

The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. *Edward Fenton* was appointed Generall: Written by M. *Luke Ward* his Viceadmiral, and Captaine of the *Edward Bonauenture,* begun *Anno Dom.* 1582.

The ſecond of April I departed with the Edward Bonauenture from Blackwall, and the 19 of the ſame arriued in Nettle roade at Hampton, where I found riding the Gallion Leiceſter: and ſo remaining there till the firſt of May, wee ſet ſaile thence in the forenoone, being of vs in the whole fleete foure ſaile.

1 The Gallion Leiceſter of 400 tunnes Admirall, whereof was Generall Captaine Edward Fenton, and William Hawkins the yonger lieutenant Generall in her, and Chriſtopher Hall, Maſter.

2 The Edward Bonauenture of 300 tunnes Viceadmirall, whereof was Captaine Luke Ward, and Thomas Perrie Maſter.

3 The Francis of fortie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Iohn Drake, and William Markam Maſter.

4 The Elizabeth of fiftie tunnes, whereof was Captaine Thomas Skeuington and Ralph Crane Maſter.

We ſpent by meanes partly of buſineſſe, and partly of contrary windes, the moneth of May vpon the coaſt, and then leauing the land wee put off to ſea, and proceeded on our voyage intended by the grace of God for China: vntill the moneth of Auguſt following, nothing fell out much worthy the knowledge of the worlde, which is not common to all nauigants, but about the beginning of Auguſt aforeſayd, being ſomewhat neere the coaſt of Guinie, vpon the ſhooting off a peece and the putting out of a flag in the Admiral, I went on boord, and M. Walker, M. Shaw, M. Geffreis, our Maſter & Pilot with me, where the generall counſel was aſſembled to conſider of two points, viz.

The firſt, whether it were neceſſarie to water preſently or not, which was thought very needful of all men, and ſo concluded.

The ſecond, where the beſt and apteſt place was to water in, which was thought of the greater number to be at Sierra leona on the coaſt of Guinie, which was alſo concluded, and by the Maſter and Pilots agreed to goe hence Southeaſt, which determined, wee returned aboord.

The 3 day wee went Southeaſt and Eaſtſoutheaſt, till ſixe a clocke at night that wee ſawe the lande of Guinie, which bare Northeaſt of vs about 12 leagues off, which ſeene, wee ſounded, and had no ground: then went I and our Maſter and Pilot aboord the Admirall, and after many debatements concluded to run in Northeaſt by Eaſt, and at eleuen at night wee came aboord againe, and went all night Northeaſt by Eaſt.

The 4 at eight a clocke in the forenoone wee were within 2 leagues of the lande, which bare off vs Northeaſt, which roſe like a hill full of woods, and on each ſide low land: wee being perſwaded by our pilots that it was the entrance into Sierra leona, went Northeaſt vntill wee were within an halfe league of the ſhoar, and had brought the South point Southeaſt by Eaſt off vs. At eleuen a clocke finding it a bay and not Sierra leona, wee brought our tacks aboord, and ſtoode along Weſt by North and Weſt larboord tacked.

In this time our Admirals pinneſſe rowed in, and went on land vpon the South ſide of the bay, and the Elizabeths boate with her. They found houſes of boughes, and in one of the houſes the tongue of a beaſt, and a bullocks tongue freſh killed; alſo a lake with plentie of freſh water, and freſh-water-fiſh in it hard by the ſea ſide: they found drie pomegranates, and peaſe like nuts, with other vnknowen fruites vnder the trees. The Elizabeth ranne in, and brought the South point South by Weſt of her, and ankered within Faulcon ſhot of the ſhore in ſeuen fathom oaze, where they tooke fiſh with hookes, while hee ſtayed for the boates.

The 4 all the afternoone wee ran along the coaſt (which lyeth Northweſt and by North, and Southeaſt by South) Weſt, and within a point one way or the other, ſeeing the lande vnder our lee three or foure leagues off, and all night likewiſe.

They arriue in the riuer of Sierra leona.

The 9 at three a clock in the morning our Admiral ſhot off a peece, and at foure wee weyed and went hence Northeaſt. At fiue in the morning wee ſaw the land along, and the Iſland which wee ſaw the night before, and diuers other Iſlands about it, & ſo ran in Northeaſt vntil we had brought our ſelues thwart of the riuer, and then ran in Eaſt about ſixe at night, being a league within the riuer. Our Admirall ſhot off a peece, and there wee ankered in eight fathem ſand. Being at anker, I manned our boate and would haue gone aboord the Admirall, but could not, the flood was bent ſo ſtrong, and ſhe rode halfe a mile beneath vs in the tyde, but we had no tyde.

The 10 in the morning at fiue a clocke I ſent our ſkiffe with our pilot in her to find a roade, and a watring place: in the meane time at ſixe a clocke we ſet ſaile with our ſhip, and being calme wee towed with our boat vntill ten, and then ankered a mile ſhort of the watering place. After dinner I went on land with my ſkiffe to finde timber to fiſh our maſte, and ſearching along the ſhoare we found a good watring place: and further ſeeking in the wood, which all the countrey is full of, and of diuers ſorts, wee found Limmon trees full of fruits: alſo trees growing by the water ſide with the ſtalkes hung full of oyſters and great periwinkles, and crabs amongſt them: wee found drie pomegranates with many other fruits vnknowen to vs. In the meane time our Admirall and the Edward with the barkes, hauing a gale at Weſt, ſet ſaile, and ran vp and ankered in the rode before the accuſtomed watering place.

Trees hung with oyſters.

Their trafique here with the Portugals.

The 22 day certaine Portugals which had bene with vs before, came down and brought ſome other Portugals and Negros with them in a ſhippe-boate, wherein they brought vs 80 mewes of rice, 500 and odde weight of Elephants teeth, and a Negro boy, which boy they gaue the Generall, and the rice and teeth for the Elizabeth, which wee ſolde them, with all her tackle and ſailes, hauing neede of the rice, becauſe our meale which wee brought out of England was decayed and naught, whereof wee had into the Edward 30 buſhels, which is a mewe and a halfe: the Francis had 5 buſhels, and the Gallion had the reſt. And wee had 200 weight of Elephants teeth, and the Gallion 300 and a halfe, and ſixe pound. During this time we ſent our ſkiffe with the Admiralls pinneſſe vp the riuer to meete with a Gundall, which the Portugals had ſent for freſh victuals for vs: who not finding her, returned at night: All this day I with M. Walker remained aboord with the Admirall, and after their dinner and ſupper wee ended our buſineſſe, and returned aboord, hauing had many good ſpeaches with the Portugals.

The 26 day being Sunday, Captaine Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Banniſter, Captaine Drake, M. Euans, M. Hoode, and others came aboord and heard the Sermon, and dined with me: after dinner wee went on ſhoare to the lower point where we followed the footing of an Elephant, but ſaw him not, and ſo ſpent the time to and fro till ſupper time, and then came aboord, and ſupped together, which done, each man departed to his abode.

Sickeneſſe by eating ſome fruite in Guinea.

This night I was very ſicke, (and ſo were all they that were on ſhoare with mee,) with eating of a fruite of the countrey, which wee found on trees, like nuts: whereof ſome did eate foure, ſome fiue, ſome ſixe, and more, but wee vomitted and ſcoured vpon it without reaſon.

The 27 day in the afternoone the olde Greeke Franciſco came aboord to me, with requeſt that hee might haue the Francis boate to goe vp for his owne boate which was not come downe, with whom I talked of this Countrey and Countrey-people, vntill fiue of the clocke at night that the flood was come, and then I went aboorde to the Admirall, and got his conſent, and ſent themſelues in her: viz. Ferdinando the Portugall Maſter, and his Negro: In the meane time I ſent foure of my men to watch in the Elizabeth all night.

The 28 day in the morning at foure a clocke I ſent my ſkiffe with the Admirals pinneſſe down to the Weſt point to fiſh, who came aboorde againe at one in the afternoone, and brought as much fiſh as all our companies could eate.

The Portugals preſents.

During the time that our boates were a fiſhing, came downe the riuer a canoa and the Portugals former boate, with hennes, orenges, plantans, which they preſented the Generall and mee with: and alſo the reſt of the rice due to vs for the payment of the Elizabeth. For the partitions whereof I went aboord the Admirall, where I dined. After dinner M. Euans began to barter away certaine of the ſhips commodities with the Negros, without acquainting the Generall or any other vntill hee had done, whereof grewe more wordes then profite, as by the bookes of marchandiſe appeareth. Which done I came aboord, and had two of the Portugals to ſupper with mee. About two of the clocke in the morning we had a Ternado, and much raine.

M. Euans one of our marchants.

The 29 about 4 a clocke in the morning, I in my ſkiffe, and Captaine Parker in his pinneſſe, went downe to the Weſt point, and there wee landed with 11 men in all well furniſhed, and ſearched the woods, plaines and plaſhes, after an Elephant, finding the haunt, footing, and ſoyle of many newly done, yet wee ſaw none of them. Wee ſaw hogs, goates or fawnes, and diuers ſorts of fowles very wilde: and hauing traualled about 2 leagues, about noone wee returned to the point, where wee landed, and met our boates which had beene at ſea, and taken plentie of good fiſh: there wee refreſhed our ſelues with ſuch victuals as wee had, and came aboord our ſeuerall ſhips, where I found the Portugals and Negros, who had dined, and after ſupped aboord with mee.

They ſearch the countrey.

The 2 of September we ſet ſaile at ſixe of the clock in the morning, & went out Weſt betweene 7 and 10 fathom, with a prettie gale at Eaſt til 8, then it waxed calme, wee being ſhot out of the harbour a league and a halfe. It continued calme this day till one in the afternoone, and then it blewe vp at Weſtſouthweſt a good gale, ſo wee ſtood off Northnorthweſt, and Northweſt till 5 in the afternoone, then wee ankered in 12 fathom, being 6 leagues off the point Weſt by North.

The 3 day about eight a clocke in the forenoone, the Generall came aboord to mee, complaining that his maine croſſe-trees were broken, and therefore determined to goe into Sierra leona againe when the winde blewe: at 12 at noone wee ſet ſaile, and went in Eaſtſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt, and Southſoutheaſt, being carried to the Northward with the flood. And at 7 at night wee ankered in eight fathom three leagues off the entrance, Weſtnorthweſt.

They returne to Sierra leona againe.

The 12 day came downe the riuer a boate with three other Portugals, with whom the Generall bargained, to let them haue 3 barrels of ſalt for 5 barrels of rice, and after that rate to exchange for 40 barrels, which hee acquainted mee with: afterwards I dined among the Portugals with him: after dinner I went on ſhoare to the ouen, and to the carpenters. After I had bene on ſhoare and ſeene the worke there, I returned aboord, & there ſupped with mee the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and ſeuen Portugals: after ſupper each man returned to his place.

Traffique with 3 other Portugals, viz.
1 Lewis Henriques a dweller here aboue 20 yeeres.
2 Matthew Fernandos Captaine.
3 Pedro Vaz pilot.

The 13 in the afternoone, the Portugals came againe aboord me, and brake their faſt with me: after I ſent by them vp the riuer in my ſkiffe 12 barrels of ſalt, and gaue them a bottell of wine for one of the ſauage Queenes.

The 15 after dinner, the Maſter, M. Walker, and I, accompanied with 12 other trauelled ouer a great deale of ground to finde ſome cattell, but found none: and comming home thorow the Oyſter bay, I found of my company and of the Admirals together roſting of oyſters: and going from them, Thomas Ruſſell one of my companie ſawe a ſtrange fiſh named Vtclif, which had fought with a crocodile, and being hurt came neere the ſhoare, where hee waded in, and by the taile drew him a lande, and there ſlewe him, and ſent the Generall the hinder halfe of him: the head part I kept, in whoſe noſe is a bone of two foot long like a ſword, with three and twentie pricks of a ſide, ſharpe and ſtrange: The bodie wee did eate, and it was like a Sharke.

They enter vp to ſearch the countrey.

A ſwordfiſh killed.

The 30 and laſt day of September the Francis cooke came aboord about ſeuen a clocke in the forenoone from fiſhing with my net, and brought among other fiſh, a Sea calfe (as wee called it) with haire and lympits, and barnacles vpon him, being ſeuen foote long, foure foote nine inches about: which to ſee I ſent for the Generall, and ſuch as pleaſed to come ſee it out of the Admirall, who came and brought with him M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, and moſt part of his companie, who hauing viewed the beaſt, which was ougly being aliue, it being flayed, opened, and dreſſed, prooued an excellent, faire, and good meate, broyled, roſted, ſodde and baked, and ſufficed all our companies for that day.

A ſtrange fiſh taken.

The firſt day of October in the morning, wee tooke in to make vp our full complement of rice twentie barrels for the twelue barrels of ſalt, deliuered the Portugall Lewis Henriques before.

The 2 day about ſixe a clocke in the morning, wee ſet ſaile hauing little winde: the Captaine with the Maſter, and other of their companie of the Portugals came aboord me, complaining that the carſey by them receiued for the foure Negros of the Generall, was not ſufficient for their payment, whereupon I gaue them ſcarlet caps, and other things to their content, who finding themſelues well pleaſed, departed away in the Gundall, and we hauing little winde, got downe thwart of the fiſhing bay, and there came to anker about nine a clocke the ſame forenoone.

The third day about two a clocke in the morning wee ſet ſaile, and went hence Southweſt by Weſt till two in the afternoone then being little wind: at fiue wee ankered ſixe leagues Eaſtſoutheaſt of the Southermoſt part of the land in fifteene fathom, and there wee rode till eight a clocke at night, and ſet ſaile with a ſtiffe gale at Northeaſt, which ſometime blewe, and ſometime was little winde, and ſo continued all night.

The firſt day of Nouember in the forenoone, wee tooke in our maine ſaile to mend it: in the meane time, the Admirall came vp by vs, and deſiring mee with my Maſter, and M. Blackcoller to come aboord to him about certaine conference, hee ſent his boate for vs, where by him was propounded, whether it were beſt for vs to ſtand on with the coaſt of Braſil as wee did, or elſe to ſtand about ſtarboord tacked to the Eaſtwards: whereupon diuers of their charts and reckonings were ſhewed: by ſome it appeared, wee were a hundred and fifteene leagues, by ſome a hundred and fiftie leagues, by ſome a hundred and fortie leagues, and ſome a great deale further ſhort of Braſil, next hand Northeaſt of vs: but all agreed to bee within twentie minutes of the line, ſome to the North, ſome to the South of the line.

After many debatements, it was agreed by moſt conſent to ſtand on for the coaſt of Braſil, except the wind changed, and there to doe, as weather ſhould compell vs. In this conſultation wee had ſpeaches of courſes, and places of meeting, if by miſfortune wee ſhould bee ſeparated, wherein was no full order concluded, but that we ſhould ſpeake euery night with the Admirall, if wee conueniently might, and ſo to appoint our courſe from time to time, if wee loſt companie, to ſtay fifteene dayes in the riuer of Plate, and from thence to go for the ſtreights, and there to ride, and water, and trimme our ſhips.

The 12 in the afternoone M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Banniſter, and others came aboord to viſite M. Walker. After a time of abode with him, they returned to the gallion all againe, except M. Maddox, who remained with M. Walker here aboord.

This night M. Maddox and I, beheld many conſtellations in the firmament, and ſet downe certaine newe ſtarres raiſed to the Southwards. All day and night wee went South, and South by Eaſt among.

19 degrees of Southerly latitude.

The ſeuenteenth day in the afternoone wee ſhot off three peeces of ordinance in honour of our Queenes Maieſtie. This day after dinner came maſter Maddox, and Captaine Drake with others to take their leaue of maſter Walker, as I with all my company had done before, ſuppoſing him paſt hope of recouerie. At foure of the clocke, finding our ſelues in nineteene degrees to the Southwards of the line, and cleare of the ſhoalds called by vs Powles, wee went hence Southſouthweſt all night following.

The 18 day being Sunday, after dinner the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Parker, and many other came aboord, and viſited M. Walker: which done, they dranke, and departed aboord againe. All this day and night, we went our courſe Southweſt by South, with a franke gale.

Cold euenings

The 19 day about noone, the Sun was in our Zenith, being declined to the Southwards 21 degrees, and 33 minutes, where wee found the aire freſh and temperate, as in England in Iune when a freſh gale of winde doeth blow in the heate of the day, but the euening, the night, and the morning are more freſh and colder here, then it is in England either in Iune or Iulie.

Diuers Iſlands.

The latitude of 27 degrees, 50 minutes.

The firſt of December, about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, wee ſawe lande on the coaſt of Braſil, in the height of 28 degrees or there abouts, which bare Northweſt, and was eight leagues from vs very high land. Wee ſtood in with it, being much winde, and comming neere, found diuers Iſlands: and ſeeing the Francis would not come roome nor run ahead vs, wee ſtood in with the ſhore, and ſounded in 30 fathom oaze three leagues off the lande, bearing from the Weſtnorthweſt to the Northnorthweſt of vs, and ſo ſtoode ſtill till it ſhoalded orderly into ſeuen fathem, within a mile of a headland: then perceiuing a breach ouer our bowe, and no hope of a good harbour, in that place, wee bare vp roome, and our Admirall after vs, whom wee haled: then hee tolde vs hee would ſeeke harbour to leewards, requiring me to go ahead. Then ſeeing the barke was aſterne, I hoiſed out my ſkiffe, and ſet her maſte and ſaile, taking her ging, and Tobias one of my Maſters mates with mee, and ranne before the ſhippe, ſounding in 15 fathom faire ſand, leauing a ledge of rockes aſea-boord of vs: ſo the ſhips and the barke looffed vp vnder a headland, and ankered in eight fathom, halfe a mile off the lande, hauing brought the headland which lyeth in 27 degrees 50 minutes Southſoutheaſt off them, and the North land Northeaſt off them.

I ſtoode on with the ſkiffe, hoping to finde a better harbour to leeward three leagues, but it prooued not ſo: wherefore I returned, and in my way aboord I met with a rocke in the ſea, where we landed, and killed good ſtore of fowle, and after I went aboord the Admirall, where I preſented him with fowle, and returned aboord to ſupper.

In this time our boates had beene aland, and found water, ballaſte, and two decayed houſes, as they told me, and our men aboord hooked freſh-fiſh. This night wee rode quietly.

A bay.

The ſecond, being Sunday, our maſters moared our ſhips further into the bay. We brought the South point Southeaſt off vs, and the North land Northeaſt: and ſo rid.

Wels made by our men.

After dinner captaine Parker, with my boat, and company, went a land, and there placed pipes, and made three wels. In the meane time, I accompanied with M. Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Cotton, and diuers of mine owne people, landed farther within the bay, and found two riuers of freſh water, and a good fiſhing place. Preſently I ſent aboord for my net, with which at one draught we drew 600 great mullets, and 5 great baſſes; the like draught was neuer ſeene with ſo ſmall a net: with which we went aboord, giuing to the admirall 240, to the Francis 80, and the reſt our company ſpent, and gaue almighty God thanks for his great goodneſſe.

An exceeding great draught of fiſh.

All this while was captaine Parker and others gone into the land, and fired the woods; which burned extremely.

The woods ſet on fire by our men.

The third day in the morning our carpenter calked without boord, and the maſter and others tooke vp all the merchandize in the ſtearne ſheets to the keele, and there put downe a boats loding of ſtone: and ſeeing the merchandize well conditioned, ſtowed the ſame againe. In the meane time, my ſelfe, and others in our boats, ſcraped off the wormes, and waſhed the rudder, and part of one ſide of our ſhip.

After dinner, the maſter, pilot, and I, went aſhore, and obſerued the Sunne at noone, which being paſt, with our net we drew plenty of diuers ſorts of fiſhes, and went from that bay to the watering place: from thence, aboord the generall, which had taken phyſicke, and gaue them and the Francis fiſh for their companies, and ſo went aboord, where our company had romaged afore-maſt; ſo that this afternoone we tooke in two boats more lading of ſtones afore maſt.

A ſaile ſeene and taken.

The ſixt day in the morning, before ſixe of the clocke, we ſaw a ſaile which went towards the Southwards, the admirall not hauing knowledge thereof. I went aboord, and certified him; who appointed me to goe and bring her in, and to take captaine Parker and ſome of the gallions men into the Francis, and the admirals ſkiffe with vs: ſo we gaue her chaſe, and tooke her ſixe leagues to the leewards of the place we rode in. Then not being able to fetch the rode againe, we ankered in the ſea. I intending to come away in the pinneſſe, and leaue the Francis, and the prize together, being ready to depart, the winde blew at South a ſtout gale, and raine; ſo that about ſixe of the clocke, we ankered in the rode, where our ſhips rid.

After we had taken them, and that captaine Parker and I were aboord, we had much talke with them before they came to the ſhips; and being ankered there, the chiefe men were caried aboord the general, which was a gentleman, named Don Franciſco de Torre Vedra, nephew to the gouernour of the riuer of Plate, named Don Iohn de Torre Vedra.

Richard Carter an Engliſhman taken in the prize.

We found and Engliſhman, named Richard Carter borne in Limehouſe, who had bene out of England foure and twenty yeres, and hath bene nere twelue yeres dwelling in the riuer of Plate, at a towne named Aſcenſion, three hundred leagues vp in the riuer, whither they were now determined to go & inhabit, hauing two women, and two yong children, ſeuen friers, the reſt boyes, and ſailers, to the number of one and twenty perſons.

The number of 21 in the prize.

The olde frier was had in great reuerence among the reſt: inſomuch that they called him the Holy father. He was abiding in no place; but as viſitour he went viſiting from monaſtery to monaſtery.

The ſubſtance of all the ſpeeches was, that the Spaniſh fleet was before the ſtreights of Magellan, as they thought; for they were departed ſixe weeks paſt from the riuer of Ienero, where they had beene ſeuen moneths to refreſh and Winter, and that theſe were not of that company; but came out of Spaine the 26 of May 1582 in a barke of foureſcore tun, and foureſcore perſons, of purpoſe for the riuer of Plate. The friers being eighteene in number, could not agree, and their barke was a ground at Spirito ſanto, like to be loſt: therefore the old frier bought this ſmall barke of 46 tun, at a port named Spirito ſanto, in Braſill; and ſo diuided themſelues: and comming from thence, loſt company at ſea: but they thought they were before at the riuer of Plate. After his ſpeeches, I went and appointed (by the generals order) men to remaine aboord the prize with captaine Parker, and brought one of the Portugals ſailes away with me, and came aboord, where I found that our men had filled water all day.

The 7 day in the morning the generall ſent for me; where he ſhewed me and M. Maddox certeine articles which the friers and mariners Spaniards were examined of; which tended altogether to the knowledge of the Spaniſh fleets intent, and of the meanes whereby we might be diſcouered by the way of the riuer of Plate by land to Peru. In this time came the reſt: after whoſe comming it was debated, whether it were beſt to take the boat & people with vs or not. Which was not determined; but referred till further examination.

Then was it determined to paſſe by the ſtreights, not withſtanding the Spaniards were there, but not to ſet vp forge, nor to build pinneſſe, but water, and ſo thorow.

The Spaniſh barke diſmiſſed.

The eight day afore noone M. Walker and I went aboord the admirall to dinner, where was determined to diſcharge the Spaniſh barke, named Our lady of pity, and all the men, except Richard Carter the Engliſh man, and Iohn Pinto a Portugall, which dwelled at the riuer of Plate. After dinner, the generall appointed mee and captaine Hawkins to ſee them all ſet aboord their ſhip, and to receiue from them certeine neceſſaries, which willingly they imparted with vs, and to leaue them ſatiſfied. Which done, I returned aboord.

The 9 day, being Sunday, in the morning, I ſent M. Shaw and M. Geffries aboord the admirall, to peruſe the Spaniards letters; wherein they found the eſtate of the fleet which was in the ſtreights of Magellan, as by the note thereof appeareth.

Spaniſh preſents.

About ten of the clocke the generall, M. Maddox, captaine Hawkins, and captaine Parker, came aboord of me. The generall began to reprooue my quarter maſter for grudging of victuall for the Francis. Which was anſwered: and he well ſatiſfied. Then ſent I for the olde frier and Don Franciſco; who all dined with me: and after dinner, the Spaniards hauing receiued the canoa, which was ſuncke, aland, and ſtones to ballaſt them, which my boat caried them, and all other things to their liking and content, they departed from me. The generall alſo departed, and his company, who being gone, I diuided the ſugar and ginger among my people, which the Spaniards gaue vs: and after ſpent the day in ordinary buſineſſe.

The 10 day in the morning, our ſkiffe went a fiſhing, wherof we eat as much to ſupper as ſerued the company: the reſt we ſalted for ſtore, and to proue if they would take ſalt or not.

Things found in the iſland.

The 11 day, betimes in the morning, our ſkiffe went againe to fiſh, and tooke great plentie. About ſeuen of the clocke I went aland, taking with me the maſter, and others of our beſt men, to the number of 22 perſons, & trauelled to the place where our people before had found many great iars of earth, and decayed habitations of the Indians, and trees, being dead and withered, of ſweet wood. From that place we ſaw ouer the tops of a narrow wood, a faire plaine, which at the requeſt of the maſter and the reſt, I went with them to ſee. We paſſed thorow a thicke and perillous wood, before we came to the ſuppoſed plaine: and when we came to it, we found the loweſt part thereof higher then any of our heads, and ſo moſſy vnder foot, that we ſlipped to the knees many ſteps, which ſo wearied vs, that for my part, I was very ſicke, and ſo haſted aboord, leauing the maſter with 15 men, which cut a tree of ſweet wood, and brought many pieces thereof aboord.

About 3 afternoone, M. Walker and many of our men being aſhore, the winde came faire, and we layed out a warpe to the Northeaſt, and began to winde ahead. After we layed out another warpe with a bend, and wound to the plat, and ſo rid by it with one anker all night.

They leaue the harbour in 27 degrees and 30 min.

The 12 day about fiue a clocke in the morning, we ſet ſaile, and as we ran out betwixt the ledge of rocks and the maine, in eight fadom water, as we were catting our anker, the cattrope, ſtopper, and all brake; ſo that we were glad to let ſlip all the cable, and caſt off our boat and ſkiffe to wey the ſame. After we had ſtood out a good way, the admirall was vnder ſaile: then caſt we about and went roome with the admirall which weaued vs, who ſent in his pinneſſe and the Francis to helpe out our boats; ſo by the helpe of the admirals pinneſſe, with her ſaile, we had our boat the ſooner, and about 12 a clocke at noone had taken in the anker, cable, our long boat, ſkiffe, & all, and put out all our ſailes bearing after the admirall, which went hence South by eaſt. About ſixe a clocke at night, being thicke weather, we loſt ſight of the land, being foure leagues off or thereabout. All night it was but little winde: yet went we our courſe South by weſt.

The 13 day about ſeuen afore noon, the wind blew at Southſoutheaſt, & was very foggy; with which gale we ſtood in larboord tacked Weſt, till ten a clocke the ſame forenoone. Then had we ſight of the land ahead, all along (for it waxed cleere weather) it ſheweth a farre off like white cliffes, but is all ſandy hilles, and bayes along the ſea ſide. At one a clocke after noone we were in 16 fadome water, and within halfe a league of the ſhore, where we ſaw ſeuerall fires made by the Indians to giue warning to the other people within the land, as we ſuppoſed. Then we caſt about, and ſtood off Southeaſt by eaſt till midnight, that the winde came large: then went we our courſe South by weſt till next morning.

The 14 day we went our courſe South by weſt, hauing ſight of the land at ſixe a clocke in the morning about ſeuen leagues off: and ſo went till ſixe at night, that wee ſaw land againe ſeuen leagues off Weſt, and the winde ſhifted to the South. Then we caſt about, and ſtood off Eaſtſoutheaſt at ſeuen at night for a while: then came vp the winde at Northweſt, and blew agood.

The 15 day in the morning, the admirall was ahead, as farre as we could almoſt ſee her, by whoſe default I know not; and being little winde, we could not get to her till foure of the clocke after noone: then we hayled her, and ſtood in betweene the Southſouthweſt and the Southweſt till ſixe at night, that the winde was variable, and foule weather. Then we caſt about, and ſounded in 23 fadome ſoft oaze, and ſtood off a while Northeaſt; and preſently caſt about againe, and went South by Eaſt larboord tacked, and Southſoutheaſt among all night: finding at foure in the morning 15 fadome ſand.

The 20 day, about ten a clocke afore noone, we went aboord the admirall; viz. M. Walker, the maſter, the pilot, the two merchants, and my ſelfe, being directed ſo to doe by the Generall. Upon our comming the generall was going to dinner, where wee alſo dined with him. Hauing dined, the generall called vs his aſſiſtants into his cabbin, and there deliuered to vs in writing two demands, to be by vs conſidered vpon, and he to haue our opinions therein.

The effects of the demands were theſe.

1 Whether it was beſt for vs to aduenture our ſelues to paſſe the ſtreights of Magellan or not; conſidering the force of the enemy, which we knew to be there before vs: and alſo that our determination was there to ſet vp our pinneſſe, make yron hoops, carene our ſhips, and do all our neceſſary buſineſſes for the full accompliſhment of our voyage.

2 If that courſe were not thought beſt, which way were meeteſt for vs to take.

To the firſt we were of opinion, that it were good to heare the opinions of captaine Hawkins, captaine Drake, and the two pilots, which had paſſed the ſtreights, and knew the harbours, and likeſt places to be fortified, and inhabited or not, who were called, & the three maſters with them. Their opinions were as diuers as their names; & as much differed, as before this time they were wont vſually to doe: onely they all agreed in this one point, that it was impoſſible for vs to paſſe the ſtreights without ſeeing, and incountring with the ſhips, although the fortification of the Iland did not annoy vs: which being long and thorowly debated, and their opinions with the three maſters demanded, which accorded not ſcant any one with other, they were diſmiſſed.

Then the generall receiued the opinions of vs his aſſiſtants, beginning with the yongeſt in authority firſt: which when he had heard them all ouer, and being ſet downe in writing vnder our hands, he tooke deliberation till after ſupper to giue his determination.

When we had all ſupped, then he ſent for vs downe into his cabbin, and deliuered in writing his determination, (which was) to victuall, and furniſh our ſelues on this coaſt, before he proceeded any further; and named two places, The riuer of Plate, or S. Vincent, to be choſen.

For the better deciphering of the riuer of Plate, & the commodities thereof, was called before vs, Richard Carter, which doth dwell there; who could not aſſure vs of any wine, except we could ſtay foure moneths for it: but other victuals plenty. The riuer is ſhoale and dangerous, the road ſeuen leagues from any towne, or place of commodity: which conſidered, with the trechery that might from thence be vſed, into the ſtreights by ſea, and into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited with Portugals, and where in honeſt ſort we might conueniently haue all our buſineſſe done.

Richard Carter the Engliſh man taken in the prize, caried along with them.

With this reſolution we tooke our leaues about eight a clocke at night, & being come aboord, preſently bare vp, and went roome, hauing all the day before beat vp the winde larboord-tacked Eaſtſoutheaſt till at night: after it was a little winde all night, we went North next hand.

They returne in the latitude of 33.

The 21 day, after ſeruice, I declared vnto my company the intent of our returne to the port of S. Vincent, wherewith they were well ſatiſfied, being before doubtfull that we ſhould not proceed, but returne without performance of our voyage. It continued calme all day till ſix at night, then we went Northweſt by weſt till eight at night, and then we caſt about, and ſtood off Eaſtſoutheaſt, and Eaſt by ſouth all night with a good gale.

The 22 day in the morning we miſſed the Francis, which by all preſumption went roome in the beginning of the night.

John Drake in ẏ Francis went to the riuer of Plate, wherein his ſhip was caſt away, but the men gat to land, and liued 15 moneths among the Sauages.

The 25 day, being Chriſtmaſſe day, it was little winde in the forenoone till ten a clocke; then it blew a freſh gale, with which wee went our courſe Northnortheaſt. In the afternoone it was leſſe wind: yet went we our courſe North by eaſt, and Northnortheaſt, and North, and North by weſt, till midnight. Then being in ſhoaled water, wee caſt about, and lay Southſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt by ſouth, an houre; and ſeeing our admirall came not after vs, we caſt about backe againe, and preſently met him: ſo we went both together next hand Southſoutheaſt all the reſt of the night. This afternoone we ſaw the ſkim of fiſhes ſo thicke in the ſea, that it ſeemed a water troubled with trampling of horſes; which was thicke, and ſlimy: for we had taken vp ſome of it.

Infinite number of fiſh.

The 17 day of January, about ſeuen a clocke, the maſter, M. Blaccoller, and I went in our ſkiffe, and rowed, and ſounded round about an ile, and found 16 fadoms within a ſtones caſt hard aboord the ſhore, and faire ground: after we landed, and found nothing but woods and buſhes, A ſmall iſland which our mē called Faulcon iſle.

and ſtrange wormes: we ſaw a faulcon, and one other ſmall bird, and therefore named it Faulcon ile: it is a mile about, with a rocke on the Eaſt ſide, which lieth cloſe to it, and it is in ſight without danger. After we came aboord, and dined; at two a clocke we ſet ſaile with winde Southeaſt, and ran in Northeaſt a while, till the winde ſcanted: then we went in Northnortheaſt, till we were in ſeuen fadome and a halfe of water, within a league of ſhore: then we caſt about, and ſtood off Southſoutheaſt all night, till ſixe a clocke the next morning.

The 18 day about three a clocke, afore day, we ſaw our admirall againe, and kept her companpany till day.

Citron iſle.

The 19 day, being within a league of the Citron ile, about eight a clocke afore noone, we went aboord the general, viz. M. Walker, the maſter, the pilot, and my ſelfe, reioycing of our good meeting, who tolde me of their euill road, where they loſt an anker, a cable, and a hauſer, and how the day before, their pinneſſe was aſhore on the ſame iland, and found fowle, and water there, whither now they had ſent their boat and pinneſſe for more water, where I know they had ſmall ſtore.

I alſo taking captaine Parker, the maſter, and M. Wilks with me, went aſhore, and trauelled to the top of the ile, which is wooded, and high graſſe, but euill water, and little on it, but yoong fowle plenty, and dangerous comming to them. By this time (I hauing ſet the iſles, and headlands about in ſight with a compaſſe) came a ſmall gale at Southſoutheaſt; then our admirall ſhot off a piece for the boats, and hence I went, and dined aboord with him, and came after aboord, and went in Northnortheaſt and Northeaſt till morning: at which time wee were within a league of the iſle, entring before S. Vincent, but knew not how much water was vpon the barre to go out.

Their arriuall at S. Vincent.

The 20 day in the morning, being calme, the generals pinneſſe came in to the ſhore, with intent to ſound the entrance, but ſeeing three canoas, with ech at the leaſt twenty men, whereof the greater part were naked Indians, which rowed, the reſt Portugals, they returned aboord again. The canoas came with a flag of truce within, calling of our ſhip, and we ſhewed them the like, aſking what we were, and of what nation: at length one Portugall went aboord the admirall, by whom the generall ſent a letter to the gouernour, crauing a pilot to bring in our ſhip of courteſie, and to haue traffique. About noone, hauing the winde at South, we bare in Northweſt, and ſo to the Northeaſt, as the chanell trended: but comming into ſeuen fadome water, we ankered, vntill our boats had ſounded the barre. During which time, I went aboord the admirall, to conferre with him about our proceedings.

Three canoas of Portugals & Indians.

After I had ſtayed a while aboord the admirall, the generall came aboord with me, where we publiſhed vnto all my company very good rules for their behauiour and profit, to their great ſatiſfaction: after he went downe into my cabbin, where with all his aſſiſtants he conferred of diuers particulars of our voyage: by which time the boat being returned from ſounding, we departed, and ſet ſaile, following our ſkiffes, and with our ſhips got within the barre into ſeuen fadome: then being becalmed, we ankered againe before a ſandy bay, wherein ſtands a caſtle and houſes: we rid within musket ſhot of it: and ankered about foure a clocke afternoone.

A caſtle.

Then went I forwards with my ſkiffe vnto a further point, ſounding along. Before my returne, the generall had ſent for me to ſupper; and thither I went: but being ready to ſit downe, there came out to vs a canoa, wherein were ten Indians and two Chriſtians; the one an ancient Genouois, the other a Portugall; who came aboord, and there receiued a ſmall banket, declaring their comming was to vnderſtand our intents, and what we ſought: who being ſatiſfied, departed with a farewell of three great pieces from ech ſhip.

A canoa with ten Indians and two Chriſtians, whereof one was an old Genouois.

Iohn Whitall an Engliſhmā which dwelleth at Santos, hath married this Ioſeph Dories daughter.

The 21 day about three a clocke afternoone, came a canoa, with the old Genouois named Ioſeph Dory, a Fleming named Paul Badeues, and Steuen Repoſe a Portugall, and brought a letter from the gouernor, and withall, anſwere of feare and doubts of vs, &c. After many ſpeeches and requeſts, a banket was made them, and the generall in his pinneſſe with his muſicke, & trumpets; and I in my ſkiffe with trumpets, drum and fife, and tabor and pipe, accompanied them a mile vp the riuer: at going off, we ſaluted them with a volley of three great pieces out of ech ſhip: and after vs came captaine Parker with the admirals long boat, and certeine ſhot in the ſame, to attend on the generall.

The 22 day betimes in the morning, I went aboord the admirall to conferre about the ſending of ſome token and preſent to the gouernor, which was by all the aſſiſtants determined to ſend him three yards of fine ſkarlet, & three yards of fine murry-cloth; and to Ioſeph Dory the old Genouois, Steuen Repoſe the Portugall, and to Paul Badeues the Fleming, ech of them three yards of fine blacke cloth, which our merchants went vp to Santos withall in the admirals ſkiffe, about nine a clocke aforenoone.

Santos.

Alſo this forenoone, we being minded to goe vp higher with our ſhips into harbour, I aduiſed them to goe view the place, and ſound the road before we went vp; which we did: where were found the place both vnconuenient, and the road woorſe: and ſo we returned, and left the firſt determination. This day we tooke downe our main-tops, and top-maſt, and all the ſhrowds.

About two a clocke after noone our merchants returned with their preſents, not hauing beene at the towne, becauſe Steuen Repoſe by the way met them on the riuer, and aduiſed them to ſtay vntill there had beene word ſent to the gouernour, who was vnwilling to ſpeake with them yet, but ſhortly would ſend their anſwere.

The reſt of this forenoone we ſpent in communication about the appointing of a purſer for the Edward. Alſo we ſigned an aſſent for comming to this place: about which thing grew foule ſpeeches betweene the generall and his lieutenant, after the olde cuſtome.

Then went wee to ſupper: and being at ſupper, certaine Indians came aboord, and brought the generall a ſtrange crow, and potatos, and ſugar canes, to whom he gaue looking glaſſes, great pinns, and biſcuit: and ſo we departed, being late. Alſo this afternoone I ran ouer towards S. Vincent, and ſounded the bay a league ouer, and found the chanell and flats, and returned aboord againe within two houres, hauing a good gale of winde.

The Indians preſents.

The chanell of S. Vincent ſounded.

The 23 day our ſkiffe went aſhore to fiſh, and tooke prety ſtore: we ſent our main-top aſhore to be mended, and many of our men to waſh their clothes; alſo I went my ſelfe with them aland, to take order that no man ſhould any wayes offend the Indians. In the meane time the generall with all the reſt of the chiefeſt gentlemen, came aſhore, and viewed the place, and appointed out the fitteſt roome to ſet vp our ſmithes forge, and ouens to bake our biſcuit, and place for our coopers to trim our water caſke.

Portable ouens to bake in.

The 24 day at foure of the clocke, before day, we heard one call for a boat on the North ſhore, to whom I ſent my ſkiffe, who brought aboord one named Iohn Whithall, an Engliſh man, which is maried here in this place, and with him two of his Indians; whom I enterteined vntill I ſent word to the generall to prepare himſelfe to receiue him: in which time he and I talked of many ſeuerall particulars.

Iohn Whithall.

About ſixe a clocke I conueyed him aboord the admirall: there he diſcouered vnto vs what had bene done at the towne, as fortification, and ſending their wiues away, &c. aduiſing vs to receiue no more delayes, but to come vp preſently before the towne with our ſhips.

Good counſell by the foreſayd Engliſhman giuen to our men.

About ten a clocke came a canoa, and brought downe Ioſeph Dory and Steuen Repoſe, who tolde vs that on Saturday the gouernour would meet our generall, and talke with him, praying vs in the meane time to vſe our ordinary buſineſſe of cooperage, carpenters worke, filling water, fiſhing, and waſhing, &c. but not to ſet vp forge, nor ouen, vntill ſpeech had with the gouernour. After this anſwere, we dined together aboord the gallion: after dinner we left the meſſengers ſitting in the cabbin, and went vpon the poope; where the generall demanded the aduice of his aſſiſtants, whether it were not beſt to ſtay theſe men while we had them or not, or whether it were beſt to go vp with our ſhips to the towne or no.

Whereunto ech man pauſed to make anſwere: wherefore I deliuered my opinion; which was, that we were forbidden to vſe violence to any nation for trade.

Secondly, I conſidered that diuers of our nation, worſhipfull merchants, and now aduenturers in this voyage, had ſet out the Minion hither, and begun a trade, which with our forcible dealing might be ſpoiled, and our nation brought in hatred.

The Minion of London ſometime in Braſill for traffique.

Laſtly, that with force we were not like to atteine ſo much commodity, as we were in poſſibility to haue with courteſie.

Heereupon all was concluded, and they ſuffered to paſſe away: to whom the generall gaue the three cloake-clothes, to Ioſeph Dory, to Paul Baudeueſe, and to Steuen Repoſe, to ech of them one, which were before cut out for them: and ſo friendly we and they departed about two a clocke after noone.

About foure of the clocke this afternoone we ſaw three ſaile of ſhips come bearing in about the point, which aſſoone as they ſaw vs, ankered vpon the barre, and put themſelues in readineſſe, ſending from one ſhip to another with their boats, and blowing off their ordinance, meaning to take vs: and we before night, getting our men and other neceſſaries from the ſhore, which were buſie on land, armed our ſhips to defend our ſelues. Then went I aboord the admirall to know what he meant to do: who determined to ſet his watch in warlike ſort; and ſo he did: for after the trumpets and drum had ſounded, he ſhot off a great piece, as they before had done; and preſently the viceadmirall ſhot at me, whom I anſwered with another, and ſo ceaſed. We then ſet vp our main-top, and top-maſt, rigged before eleuen of the clocke the ſame night. In the meane while they let ſlip their ankers and cables, and came driuing and towing with their boats in vpon vs,

Three Spaniſh ſhips diſcouered.

meaning to haue borded vs : and being neere our admirall, he halled them; who refuſed to tell of whence they were, thinking by ſpending of time to get abord of him : to whom I called ſtill to beware, and to ſhoot at them in time. At length he let flie at them, yet was glad to let an anker and cable ſlip to auoid them : then came they all driuing downe thwart my haulſe, ſo that I was faine to let ſlip an anker and cable to ſhun the gallion. All this while the ordinance and ſmall ſhot plied of all parts, and I was faine to ſend the gallion my ſkiffe with a haulſer to ride by, for ſhee was looſe, and with the flood draue vp within me. Then was the viceadmirall on my broad ſide, who was well payed before, yet I left not galling of him, til I thought our powder ſpent in vaine to ſhoot at him, he was ſo torne, and broken downe by vs. About foure of the clocke it rained ſo faſt, that we could ſcant diſcerne one the other, the Moone being gone downe, yet rid the admirall, and the rereadmirall, but a little ahead of vs : during which time, we pauſed, and made ready all our munition.

The fight betwixt the Engliſh & Spaniſh ſhips at S. Vincent.

The Spaniſh viceadmirall ſunke by the Engliſh.

The 25 day, by day-light, we ſaw the viceadmirall ſunke hard by vs, ſo that his yards which were hoiſed acroſſe, and his tops, and that ouer head, was aboue water : moſt of their men were gotten away in their boats, ſauing about fourtie perſons which hung in the ſhrowds, and toppes, whom I aduiſed our generall to ſend for away, and had made ready, and well manned our pinneſſes; but being vpon the way going, the generall called them backe, and would not ſuffer them to goe. There were three of their boats alſo going for them from their ſhips; at whom I ſhot, and made them to retire, and leaue them vpon the ſhrowds. At length our generall ſent for two of the men away : which his pinneſſe brought to him; the one was heaued ouer bord, becauſe he was ſore hurt, not like to liue; and he was a Marſillian; the other was a Greeke, borne in Zante, boatſwaine of the viceadmirall : the reſt of the men, ſome ſwam away vpon rafts, ſome were drowned, and ſome remained ſtill hanging on her. By this time it was faire day-light, and I called to our generall to wey, and driue downe to them, who required mee to goe firſt and anker on their quarter, and he would follow, and anker on their bowes. I weyed, and went downe, and ankered by them; yet not ſo nere as I meant, for the ebbe put me off to the Northwards. There rid I alone, ſpending ſhot at them, and they both at me, foure houres, before our admirals anker would come vp : during which time, I had ſome ſpoile done; but when our admirall came, ſhe had her part, and eaſed me very well.

This Greeke tolde the Generall ẏ there were 600 and odde in the 3 Spaniſh ſhips.

At length our admirall began to warpe away, and being come without me, ſet ſaile, and began to ſtand out into the ſea : I went abord of him to know his pleaſure. Who determined to get out of ſhot; but could not, becauſe the winde ſcanted on them. The Edward before ſhe could get vp her ankers, endured many more ſhot, after the gallion was further off a good way then ſhe, and ſometime the gallion had two or three. Thus we ended about two of the clocke after noone : the reſt of this day and part of the night, we ſpent in mending, fitting, and putting our ordinance and furniture in order for the next morning, thinking they would haue bene with vs.

The 26 day in the morning we could not ſee them, becauſe they were gone vp the riuer : wee manned our boats and pinneſſes, and weyed two ankers and one cable, that they let ſlip the night before : as our men were weying the third anker, the bwoy-rope brake, and ſo we loſt that anker. Our admirall had an anker of twelue hundred, and a good cable of eleuen inches, and we had an anker about ſixe hundred, with a piece of a baſſe cable, and bwoy-rope nothing worth.

After dinner I went abord the admirall, to confer with him, who determined to go off to ſea, and thither I caried Sennor Pinto to interpret the Indian language, with an Indian named Peter, which fled from the bay where we rid in a canoa, and brought with him a Spaniards caliuer, flaſke, and touchboxe, to goe with vs, whom our admirals boat met, and brought him abord to the admirall. Hee tolde vs that the Spaniards had brought many dead men on land, and buried them, and alſo landed many hurt men in their bay, and that there were certeine Spaniards gone ouer thorow the woods to looke after vs. Then the Generall, captaine Hawkins, and maſter Maddox came abord of mee to viewe my hurt men, and harmes of my ſhippe, both men, ſhippe, and tackle; and I alſo went abord him to peruſe his hurts, who had but one man, a sailer, ſlaine.

The 28 day in the morning died Lancelot Aſhe, of a hurt; who departed very godly. This day we ſtood to the Northwards : and in getting in our ankers and ſkiffe, we were put 3 leagues to leeward of Fiddle ile, but the gallion rid ſtill.

Here the gallion and the Edward Bonauenture were ſeuered, and neuer met afterward

The 29 day in the morning, ſeeing my ſelfe put to ſea from the admirall, I aſſembled maſter Walker, maſter Shawe, maſter Ieffries, the maſter, the maſters mate, and the pilot, to whom I ſhewed that I was deſirous to goe backe to ſeeke our admirall, whereunto the maſter, pilot, and maſters mate anſwered directly, that wee could not fetch the ile where wee left them, and to meete them in going backe it was very vnlikely and to vs dangerous many wayes, aſwell for falling into the laps of the Spaniards, as to be put on a lee ſhoare: whereupon all the reſt aduiſed me to ſtand off into the ſea, whereunto I aſſented, remembring withal, that time ſpent conſumed victuall, and howe long wee had beaten vp and downe in the ſame bay before, to get in with calmes and contrary windes.

Thus wee concluded that M. Walker ſhould ſet downe each mans opinion, and wee ſet to our handes, and from henceforth hee to keepe a Regiſter of all our proceeding, as M. Maddox did aboord the Admirall.

The firſt day of February, wee went Eaſt by ſouth, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt with a ſtoute gale: and went the ſame courſe the 3.4. and 5. dayes following.

The 5. day about 10. a clocke in the forenoone M. Walker died, who had bene weake and ſicke of the bloodie flixe 6. dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and priſed them, and heaued him ouer boord, and ſhot a peece for his knell.

M. Walker the preacher dieth.

The 14. day I called into my cabbin the two marchants, the Maſter and the Pilot, ſhewing them our wants of victuals and other neceſſaries: whereupon they and I concluded, that it was beſt for vs to returne to our countrey, with as litle loſſe of time and expenſe of victuals as might be, being without hope of reliefe vpon this coaſt, and yet to keepe the coaſt of Braſil to friend for feare of extremitie.

The 17. day in the morning hauing much raine, wee ſaued aboue two tunne of water, of which we were very glad.

The 18. day I obſerued the variation of the compaſſe, which varied one point, and a halfe to the Southwards, by our ordinary compaſſe of London.

Variation of the Compaſſe.

The ſecond day of March the Maſter, Pilot, & I agreed to fetch the yle of Fernando Loronha.

From the 3. day to the 10. day we went Weſt, and by South, and ran in for the ſhoare.

The 10. day we ſaw the land, which was ſandie hilles with woods on it.

The 11. day ſeeking to goe a ſhoare, wee ſawe foure men, which weaued to vs with a white ſhirt, and we weaued to them with a flagge of truce: At length one of them ſwamme to our boats ſide, and there lay in the Sea talking with vs, almoſt an houre: in the ende, being partly perſwaded by Pinto, who talked with them in the Indian-tongue, and partly entiſed with ſuch trifles as I ſhewed him, hee came into our Skiffe, and called to his companions on ſhoare, who came aboord ſwimming: wee deliuered them certaine barricos to fetch vs them full of freſh water: after, there came downe 40. Indians, boyes, women, and men, and with them a French boy, but the former Indians deceiued vs of our barricos. Whereupon Pinto and Ruſſell ſwamme a ſhoare to ſeeke water, but found none.

The ſame day wee ſailed to a place where boats might land, & I went a land in my Skiffe, and found the Indians, and Frenchman which were with mee the day before, and they brought our three barricos full of freſh water: for which I rewarded them with ſome trifles. In the meane time our boat went aſhoare, and our men with ſome of the Indians brought vs twentie barricos more of freſh water, and I my ſelfe went to ſhoare and brought 23. hennes of India.

The 12. day betimes in the morning, wee manned our boat and Skiffe, and tooke ſome trifling things to ſhoare, and barricos: at our firſt arriuall the rude Indians flocked together, wading to the Skiffe wherein I was, begging, and wondering about vs: Firſt I cauſed them to fetch 27. barricos of water, whom I rewarded with ſmall bells, &c. In the meane time they brought hens to me, wading to the Skiffe, for I kept my ſelfe alwayes afloat, and for their hens I gaue them a knife, and a ſmal looking glaſſe. All this while M. Blackcoller our Pilot, Thomas Ruſſel, Marke Thawghts were ſtill on ſhoare, and would not tarry aboord: In the ende, fearing ſome treacherie, becauſe all the Indians were ſlipped on ſhoare from mee, I called our men away, and ſuddenly they layed handes on our men aſhoare, and with their bowes ſhot thicke at vs in the boats, and waded into the water to vs, laying hands on our Skiffe, yet God of his mercie deliuered vs from their hands, with the loſſe of fiue men ſlaine, and others hurt.

Treaſon of the Indians.

Thus we got aboord with 40. hens, ducks, turkies, and parrats, and three hogſheads of water: and I caried a Frenchman aboord with mee, named Iaques Humfrey, who was by chance in the boat with me when this fray began.

Iaques Humfrey a Frenchman ſaued.

The 17. day we tooke three ſharks in the morning.

From that day to the firſt of April, wee went our courſe, ſometime with raine, and ſometime with variable windes, & ſo til the 4. of April: which day we ſaw 4. birds with long tailes, which houered about the ſhip, and in the afternoone we ſaw and tooke vp many weedes which draue thicke in the ſea, which we iudged to be driuen with the Eaſt windes from the yles of Cape verde.

From this day till the 11. day we went our courſe ſometime Northeaſt, ſometime Northweſt according to the winds: vpon this 11. day George Coxe one of our Carpenters, hauing the night before broken vp the hold, and ſtolne wine, and drunken himſelfe drunke, being taken in the roome, lept ouerbord out of the beake head, and ſo drowned himſelfe.

A deſperate act.

The 12. day wee ſpied our foremaſt to be periſhed in the townes, and durſt not beare our foretop ſaile vpon it, but went hence with our ſailes, next hand, North all day and night.

From hence to the 20. day we went Northeaſt and by North. This day I obſerued the variation of the compaſſe: and I noted that the South point of the compaſſe caried more then halfe a point to the Weſtwards.

Variation of the Compaſſe.

The 25. day of May wee went betweene the Eaſt northeaſt, and the Northeaſt with a ſmall gale till fiue a clocke in the afternoone: then had we ſight of land, which roſe ragged to the Northwards like broken land, we being about fiue leagues off: that yle bare Northeaſt by North of vs, and the Northermoſt part bare North by Eaſt of vs, with a rocke a ſea bord: we then ſounded, and had fiftie and fiue fadome grey ſand, and maze great ſtore in it: ſo wee ſtood in Northeaſt till eight a clocke, and then beheld it againe being within foure leagues of it, bearing as before, but wee could not make it, for ſome thought it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, ſome iudged it the yle of Vſſant: then we ſounded againe in 55. fadome browne ſand, and little maze in it: at eight a clocke at night we went about, and ſtoode off South ſouthweſt one watch, then the wind ſhrinked to the Southweſt, that we could lye but South ſouthweſt ſixe glaſſes, ſo that at three a clocke wee caſt about, and lay Northweſt ſixe glaſſes, and North northweſt a watch being then eight a clocke the next day.

The 26. day wee lay as nigh as wee could betweene the North and the North northeaſt, and ſaw the ſame land againe, and made it to bee the foreland of Fontenay, and the ragges to bee the Seames, which bare now Eaſt Northeaſt of vs: and wee ſtoode on till tenne a clocke, then being within two leagues of the rockes and leſſe, wee caſt about and ſtoode off Southweſt, becauſe wee could not double the vttermoſt rockes: when we were about we draue to the Southwards very faſte, for the ebbe ſet vs Weſt ſouthweſt, and being ſpring tides, it horſed vs a pace to leewards, for the ſpace of one houre: then with the flood which was come, we draue againe to windewards: at twelue at noone it was calme till 6. afternoone, then wee ſtoode about larbord tacked, South ſouthweſt one watch, then at midnight wee caſt about and ſtoode ouer North till foure afornoone.

The yle of Sylly.

The 27. day hauing brought the land Eaſt ſoutheaſt of vs, we made it to be Sylly being before deceiued, and went hence Eaſt by North to double Grimsbie, leauing The biſhop and his clearks to the Southweſtwards, which we before tooke to be The Seames.

At 7. a clocke in the afternoone we ſawe the lands end of England, which bare Eaſt by North off vs, and is 7. leagues off from Sylly.

The 29. day at ſixe a clocke beforenoone we had brought the Ramhead North of vs, and were within a league of it, and went in Northeaſt next hand, being thicke and foggie, and little windes ſo that at eleuen a clocke we got in within the yland, and there by miſtaking of a ſounding, our ſhip came aground betweene the yle and the maine, and there ſate till 4. a clocke in the afternoone that it was halfe flood.

We came to Plimmouth.

The 30. day about 9. a clocke, with much adoe I furniſhed away P. Ieffries, M. Symberbe, and William Towreſon with letters, after dined at M. Blaccollers, and made many ſalutations with diuers gentlemen.

1583. The 31. I wrought abord all day, and put our ſhip, and things in order: Afternoone I hauing pitie of ſome poore men of Milbrooke, which were robbed the night before by a pirate named Purſer, which rid in Cawſon bay, I conſented to goe out with the Edward in company of a ſmall ſhippe which they had furniſhed to bee their Maſter, ſo about fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, came a hundreth men of theirs abord of mee: About twelue a clocke wee ſet ſaile, and by three afore day wee were gotten to the windwards of him, then hee ſet ſaile, and went hence to the Eaſtwards, and outſailed vs, becauſe our conſort would not come neere him: after a ſmall chaſe which we gaue him to no effect, wee returned into our old road, and there moared the ſhip about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and hence went all the Milbrooke men againe aſhore from mee. And thus I ended a troubleſome voyage.

The voyage ſet out by the right honourable the Earle of *Cumberland*, in the yere 1586. intended for *the South ſea*, but performed no farther then the latitude of 44 degrees to the South of the *Equinoctial*, Written by M. *Iohn Sarracoll* marchant in the ſame voyage.

The 26. day of Iune, in the yeere 1586. and in the 28. yeere of the Queenes maieſties raigne, wee departed from Grauesend in two ſhips; the Admirall called The red dragon, and the other The barke Clifford, the one of the burden of [illegible]o. tunnes, with 130. men, and the other of the burden of 130. tunnes, with [illegible] men: the Captaine of the Admirall was M. Robert Withrington, Of the vice-admirall M. Chriſtopher Liſter, both being furniſhed out at the coſts and charges of the right honorable the Erle of Cumberland, hauing for their maſters two brethren, the one Iohn Anthonie, and the other William Anthonie.

The 24. of Iuly wee came into the ſound of Plimmouth, and being there conſtrained by Weſterly winds, to ſtay till the 17. of Auguſt, wee then departed with another ſhip alſo for our Rear-admirall called the Roe, whereof M. Hawes was Captaine, and a fine pinneſſe alſo called the Dorothie, which was ſir Walter Raleghs. We foure being out in the ſea, met the 20. of Auguſt, with 16. ſailes of hulkes in the Sleeue, who named themſelues to bee men of Hamborough, laden and come from Lisbone. Our Admirall hailed their Admirall with courteous ſpeeches, willing him to ſtrike his ſailes, and to come aboord to him onely to know ſome newes of the countrey, but hee refuſed to do ſo, onely ſtroke his flag & tooke it in. The vice-admiral of the hulkes being a head, would neither ſtrike flagge nor ſaile, but paſſed on without budging, whereupon our Admirall ſent him a piece of Ordinance, which they repayed double, ſo that we grew to ſome little quarel, whereupon one of the ſternemoſt hulkes, being as I ſuppoſe more afraide then hurt, ſtroke amaine, our Admirall being neere him, laid him aboord, and entred with certaine of his men, how many I know not, for that we were giuing chaſe to the Windermoſt men, thinking our Admirall would haue come vp againe to vs, to haue made them all to haue ſtroke: but the weather growing to be very thicke and foggie, with ſmall raine, he came not vp but kept with another of the hulkes which Captaine Hawes had borded and kept all night, and tooke out of her ſome prouiſion that that they beſt liked. They learned of the men that were in the hulke, that there were 7. hulkes laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods, and becauſe their lading was very rich, they were determined to go about Ireland, and ſo they let her goe againe like a gooſe with a broken wing.

The next day after being the 21. day, wee eſpied 5. ſailes more, which lay along to the Eaſtwards, but by reaſon of the night which then was neere at hand, wee could hardly come to them. Yet at laſt we hailed one of the biggeſt of them, & they tolde vs that they were al of Hamborough: but another ſaide ſhee was of Denmarke, ſo that indeede they knew neither what to ſay, nor what to do. Our Admirall being more deſirous to folow his courſe, then to linger by chaſing the hulks, called vs from purſuing them with his trumpet, and a piece of Ordinance, or els wee would haue ſeene what they had bene, and wherewith they had bene laden.

The 22. day becauſe of contrary winde wee put into Dartmouth all 4. of vs, and taried there ſeuen dayes.

The 29. we departed thence and put out to Sea, and began our voyage, thinking at the firſt to haue runne along the coaſt of Spaine, to ſee if wee could haue mette with ſome good prize to haue ſent home to my Lord: but our Captaine thought it not the beſt courſe at the laſt, but rather kept off in the ſea from the coaſt. And vpon Saturday the 17. of September wee fell with the coaſt of Barbarie, and the 18. halled in with the roade of Santa Cruz. The 21. day wee fell with one of the ylands of the Canaries, called Forteuentura. In running alongſt this yland, we eſpied vpon a hill by the water ſide, one wauing with a white flagge, whereupon wee manned both our boates, and ſent them towards the ſhoare, to vnderſtand what newes. They found them to bee two ragged knaues and one horſeman, and they tolde vs that Lanzarota was taken, and ſpoyled in Auguſt by the Turkes: when we ſaw they had nothing elſe to ſay, we left them, and proceeded on our courſe, and fell againe with the coaſt of Barbarie.

Lanzarota ſpoiled by the men of Algier.

The 25. day of September about 10. of the clocke we fell with Rio del Oro, ſtanding iuſt vnder our Tropike: we anckered in the mouth of it in 8. fadom, the entrance of it is about 2. leagues ouer. And the next day our Captaine with the boate ſearched the riuer, and found it to be as broad 14. or 15. leagues vp, as at the entrie of it, but found no towne nor habitation, ſauing that there came downe two poore men, and one of them ſpake good Spaniſh, and told our Captaine, that certaine Frenchmen vſed to come thither, and laded ſome oxe hides, and goats hides, but other commoditie

Rio del Oro, in 23. degrees and a halfe.

Trade of the Frenchmen in Rio del Oro.

moditie there was none. We departed thence the 27 day, & the laſt day of the moneth being calme we went abord our General, & there conſented to goe for Sierra Leona, to wood and water. From thence till the 10. of October wee were much becalmed with extreeme hot weather, much lightning, and great ſtore of raine. This 10. day we ſounded, finding a great current as we ſuppoſed by the ripling water, which after wee found to bee an ordinary tide, the flood ſetting to the Northweſt, and the ebb Southeaſt, and here we had but 18. fathome water, and no lande to bee ſeene: it was on the Southermoſt part of the ſhowles that lie in about 11. degrees, but halling South off againe, it preſently deeped vnto 50. fathome, and after halling Southeaſt and by Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, we ſounded, but had no ground in 120. fathome.

Sierra Leona.

The 21. of October wee fell with land vpon the coaſt of Guinea, in the height of 8. degrees, a very high land, but of no great length: it was the high land ouer Sierra Leona. Wee drew in to the land, and found neere the ſhoare more water then in the offing: at the Northren end of the high land we anckered about a mile, and ſome what more from the ſhoare in 11. fathome. To goe into the harbor of Sierra Leona we did borrow vpon the South ſide, hauing no ground in 10. fathome, halfe a mile from the ſhoare.

Upon the Northſide of this harbour is very ſhoale water, but on the Southſide no feare, more then is to be ſeene.

A towne of the Negros.

The 23. day being Sunday wee came to an ancker in the bay of freſh water, and going aſhoare with our boate, wee ſpake with a Portugal, who tolde vs that not farre off there were Negros inhabiting, and that in giuing to the king a Botija of wine, and ſome linnen cloth, hee would ſuffer vs to water and wood at our pleaſure. But our Captaines thinking it not good to giue any thing for that which they might take freely, landed, and certaine of our men with them, whereupon the Portugall and the Negros ranne all away into the woods. Then wee returned againe into our boates, and preſently went and landed in another place, thinking to haue fetcht a walke, and ſo to come to our boats againe. But wandering through a little wood, we were ſuddenly and vnawares vpon a towne of the Negros, whereupon they ſtrooke vp their drumme, giuing withall a great ſhowt, and off went their arrowes as thicke as haile. Wee were in number about 30. caleeuers, and 20. with our weapons, which wee alſo let flie into the woods among them, and what hurt we did, we know not.

A ſtrange monſter.

Then wee returned to our boates, and tooke wood and water at our pleaſure, and reaſonable ſtore of fiſh, and amongſt the reſt we halled vp a great foule monſter, whoſe head and backe were ſo hard, that no ſword could enter it: but being thruſt in vnder the belly in diuers places, and much wounded, hee bowed a ſword in his mouth, as a man would do a girdle of leather about his hande, and likewiſe the yron of a boare ſpeare. He was in length about nine foote, and had nothing in his belly, but a certaine quantitie of ſmall ſtones, to the value of a pottell.

Another great and fine towne of the Negros.

The fourth of Nouember wee went on ſhore to a towne of the Negros, which ſtoode on the Southeaſt ſide of the harbour, about a Sacar ſhot from the roade, which we found to be but lately built: it was of about two hundreth houſes, and walled about with mightie great trees, and ſtakes ſo thicke, that a rat could hardly get in or out. But as it chanced, wee came directly vpon a port which was not ſhut vp, where we entred with ſuch fierceneſſe, that the people fled all out of the towne, which we found to bee finely built after their faſhion, and the ſtreetes of it ſo intricate, that it was difficult for vs to finde the way out, that we came in at. Wee found their houſes and ſtreets ſo finely and cleanly kept, that it was an admiration to vs all, for that neither in the houſes nor ſtreets was ſo much duſt to bee found, as would fill an egge ſhell. Wee found little in their houſes, except ſome matts, goards, and ſome earthen pots. Our men at their departure ſet the towne on fire, and it was burnt (for the moſt part of it) in a quarter of an houre, the houſes being couered with reed and ſtraw.

A towne burnt.

Rice in ſtacks.

After this wee ſearched the countrey about it, where wee found in diuers plaines good ſtore of rice in ſtacks, which our men did beate out, and brought abord in the huſke, to the quantitie of 14. or 15. tunnes in both our ſhips.

Idoles.

The 17. day of Nouember wee departed from Sierra Leona, directing our courſe for the Straights of Magellan. In this harbour diuers of our men fell ſicke of a diſeaſe in the belly, which for the time was extreeme, but (God bee thanked) it was but of ſmall continuance. Wee founde alſo in diuers places of the woods, images ſet vpon pinnes, with diuers things before them, as eggs, meale, rice, round ſhot of ſtones, and diuers other things, ſuch as the barbarous people had to offer vp.

When we came neere to the Line, wee found it nothing ſo hot as it is at Sierra Leona, by reaſon of the great winde and raine.

About the 24. day of Nouember one or two of our men died, and others alſo were ſicke of a Calentura.

The ſecond day of January we had a little ſight of land, being about the height of 28. degrees to the Southward of the Line.

The 4. day wee fell with the ſhoare high and bold, being in 30. degrees, and a terſe, little more or leſſe. All of it to the Northward was a high land, but to the Southward it did preſently faile, and was a very low land, and all ſandie. About ſixe leagues from the ſhoare wee ſounded, and had about fifteene or ſixteene fathome water, and blacke ſandie oze. We thought to haue gone to the ſhoare, and to haue watered, but we could not diſcerne any good harbour, and therefore we caſt off to ſeaward againe.

They fall with an high land in 30. degrees

The 12. day wee found our ſelues in 32. degrees and 27. minutes. From the day of the Natiuitie of Chriſt, till the 13. day of this moneth, although the Sunne was very neere vnto vs, yet we found no want of winds but variable as in England, & not ſo hot but that a mans ſhoulders might well digeſt a frize gowne, and his bellie the beſt Chriſtmas cheere in England, yet wee for our parts had no want, but ſuch as might content honeſt men.

The tenth day being about 8. leagues from the ſhoare, and a little ſhort of the Riuer of Plate, it was my good happe to eſpie a ſaile, which was a ſmall Portugal bound for the Riuer to a towne called Santa Fee: and from thence by horſe and carts, the marchants, and part of their goods were to bee tranſported into Peru. This ſhippe being about the burthen of 45. or 50. tunnes, wee tooke that day about three of the clocke, wherein there was for Maſter or Pilote an Engliſhman called Abraham Cocke borne in Lee. We examined him and the reſt concerning the ſtate of the Riuer, and they told vs that there were in the Riuer fiue townes, ſome of 70. houſholds, and ſome of more. The firſt towne was about 50. leagues vp the Riuer called Buenos Ayres, the reſt ſome 40. ſome 50. leagues one from another, ſo that the vppermoſt towne called Tucaman is 230. leagues from the entrance of the Riuer. In theſe townes is great ſtore of corne, cattell, wine, and ſundry fruits, but no money of gold or ſiluer: they make a certaine kinde of ſlight cloth, which they giue in trucke of ſugar, rice, Marmalade, and Sucket, which were the commodities that this ſhippe had.

A Portugal ſhip taken, wherein was for Pilot Abraham Cocke an Engliſhman, left there before by the Minion of London 1581.

Fiue townes vpon the riuer of Plate.

They had abord alſo 45. Negros, whereof euery one in Peru yeeldeth 400. duckets a piece, and beſides theſe, there were as paſſengers in her, two Portugal women and a childe.

The 11. day wee eſpied another ſaile, which was the conſort of this Portugall, and to him alſo we gaue chaſe, and tooke him the ſame day: Hee was of the burthen of the other, and had in him good ſtore of ſugar, Marmalade, and Succats, with diuers other things, which we noted downe our booke. In this ſhip alſo we found about 35. Negro women, and foure or fiue friers, of which one was an Iriſh man, of the age of three or foure and twentie yeeres, and two Portugal women alſo, which were borne in the riuer of Ienero. Both theſe ſhips were bought in Braſil, by a yong man which was Factor for the biſhop of Tucaman, and the friers were ſent for by that biſhop to poſſeſſe a new Monaſterie, which the biſhop was then a building. The bookes, beads, and pictures in her, coſt (as one of the Portugals confeſſed) aboue 1000. duckats.

Another Portugal ſhip taken.

An Iriſh frier taken.

The biſhop of Tucaman in the riuer of Plate.

Of theſe ſhips we learned, that M. Iohn Drake, who went in conſort with M. Fenton, had his Barke caſt away a little ſhort of the Riuer of Plate, where they were taken captiues by the Sauages, all ſauing them which were ſlaine in the taking: the Sauages kept them for a time, and vſed them very hardly, yet at the laſt Iohn Drake and Richard Faireweather, and two or three more of their company with them got a Canoa, and eſcaped, and came to the firſt towne of the Spaniards. Faireweather is maried in one of the townes, but Iohn Drake was carried to Tucaman by the Pilot of this ſhip, and was liuing, and in good health the laſt yeere. Concerning this voyage of the Portugals they tolde vs that it was the third voyage that was made into the Riuer of Plate theſe 30. yeeres.

The newes of M. Iohn Drake.

Richard Faireweather.

The 12. of January wee came to Seale yland, and the 14. day to the Greene yland, where going in we found hard abord the maine 8. fathome, 7. and 6. and neuer leſſe then fiue fathome. There lies a ledge of rocks in the faire way, betwixt the yland and the maine, ſo that you muſt bee ſure to borrow hard abord the maine, and leaue the ledge on the larbord ſide.

Seale-yland and Greene-yland.

One of the Portugals which wee caried along with vs in our ſhippe ſeemed to bee a man of experience, and I entred into ſpeach with him concerning the ſtate of the Riuer: hee tolde mee that the towne of Buenos Ayres is from the Greene yland about ſeuentie leagues, ſtanding on the Southſide of the Riuer, and from thence to Santa Fee is 100. leagues, ſtanding on the ſame ſide alſo. At which towne their ſhippes doe diſcharge all their goods into ſmall Barkes, which rowe and towe vp the Riuer to another towne called Aſcenſion, which is from Santa Fee 150.

Buenos Ayres.

Santa Fee.

leagues, where the boats diſcharge on ſhoare, and ſo paſſe all the goods by carts and horſes to Tucaman, which is in Peru.

The towne of Aſcenſion ſtands in a very fertile place, reaping corne twiſe in the yeere, with abundance of wine, cattell, and fruits. In the townes of Aſcenſion and Tucaman a rapier of 20. rials of plate is worth 30. duckats, a boxe of Marmalade 20. duckats; a looking glaſſe a foote ouer is worth 30.li. pictures in tables of 14. inches, 30. and 40.li. a piece.

The 16. day wee went from Greene yland to the watering place, which is about a league to the Weſtward, where wee tooke in about 18. tunnes of water, and the 22. day came againe to Seale yland to make prouiſion of Seales, where a ſtorme aroſe, which put vs in ſome danger, by the breaking of our anckers and cables, and the winde blew ſo colde, that wee much marueiled at it, conſidering the height of the place. I muſt neede in this place finde fault with our ſelues and the whole company, that riding in this Riuer 16. dayes, the chanell was not ſounded, nor the way made perfect.

The 29. day wee tooke into our ſhip one Miles Philips, which was left in the Weſt Indies by M. Hawkins.

The firſt of February I tooke the Sunne in 38. degrees. And the 3. day of I tooke it againe and found it to be in 41. degrees.

The 7. day of February our Captaine maſter Liſter being in one of the prizes, hoyſed ouer bord his Gundelo, and went abord the Admirall, and being there they ſent their Gundelo abord vs, for our Maſter, maſter Collins, and my ſelfe, & at our comming we were called into the Captaines cabbin, where were ſet in counſell for matters touching the ſtate of our voyage, theſe men whoſe names are vnder written.

Maſter Robert Withrington Captaine of the Admirall.
Maſter Chriſtopher Liſter Captaine of The barke Clifford.
Iohn Anthonie, Maſter of the Admirall.
Thomas Hood Pilot for the Streights.
William Anthonie, Maſter of the barke Clifford.
Dauid Collins. Triſtram Gennings.
Maſter William Withrington.
Maſter Beumond Withrington.
Maſter Waſnes. Maſter Norton.
Maſter Wilkes. Maſter Harris.
Thomas Anthonie.
Nicholas Porter.
The maſter Gunner:
And Alexander Gundie, his mate.
Iohn Sarracol.

M. Iohn Anthonie.

This company being all aſſembled together, the Maſter of the Admiral declared that the cauſe of our aſſembly was to determine after good aduice, what courſe or way were beſt and moſt likely to all mens iudgements to be taken. Firſt for the good preferment of my Lords voyage, then the health of our men, and laſtly the ſafegard of our ſhippes, and further ſhewed his minde to vs all in theſe wordes, as neere as I could cary them away.

MY maſters, my Lords determination touching this our voyage is not vnknowen vnto you ll, hauing appointed it to be made, and by the grace of God to be performed by vs for the ea. But for as much as wee doe all ſee the time of the yeere to bee farre ſpent, as alſo the hang contrary, the weather drawes on colder and colder, the nights longer and longer, d ſo conſumed that we haue not left aboue two moneths biſket, our drinke in a maner all t, ſo that we haue nothing but water, which in ſo cold a countrey as the Streights, if we ſhould get in, and bee forced there to winter, would no doubt be a great weakening to our men, and a hazard of the ouerthrow of the voyage: Theſe things conſidered, both our Captaine, Maſter Hood, and I, doe rather thinke it good for the wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and ſafetie of our ſhips, to goe roome with the coaſt of Braſill, where by Gods grace wee ſhall well victuall our ſelues, both with wine which is our greateſt want, and other neceſſaries.

Beſides, it is giuen vs here to vnderſtand by the Portugals which we haue taken, that there is no doubt, but that by Gods helpe and our endeuour, wee ſhall bee able to take the towne of Baya, at our pleaſure, which if wee doe put in practiſe, and doe not performe it, being ſomewhat adniſed by them, they offer to looſe their liues. And hauing by this meanes victualled our ſelues, wee may there ſpend vpon the coaſt ſome three or foure moneths, except in the meane time wee may happen vpon ſome good thing to content my Lord, and to purchaſe our owne credits: otherwiſe, wee may take the Spring of the yeere, and ſo proceede, according to my lords directions. And aſſure your ſelues (by the aſſiſtance of God) wee will not returne without ſuch benefite by this voyage, as may redound to my lords profite, and the honour of our countrey. Nowe if there bee any of you that can giue better courſe and aduiſe, then this which I haue deliuered, let him ſpeake, and wee will not onely heare him, but thanke him for his counſell, and followe it.

A reſolute and worthy ſpeech of captaine Liſter.

To this ſpeech of M. Anthony, M. Liſter our captaine anſwered in this ſort: M. Withrington, & M. Anthony both, you know, that the laſt words that my lord had with vs in ſuch a chamber were, that in any caſe we ſhould follow our voyage only for the South ſea, except by the way, we might perchance meete with ſuch a purchaſe, as that wee might returne with 6000 pounds: and therefore I ſee no ſafetie, howe wee may dare offer to goe backe againe, being ſo neere the Streights as we are: for my part I neither dare nor wil conſent vnto it, except we be further forced, then yet wee are. My accompt is this, that he that dieth for this yeere is excuſed for the next, and I rather chooſe death, then to returne in diſgrace with my lord.

Hereunto both the captaine and maſter of the Admirall replied that they were all of that mind: yet notwithſtanding, that in going roome the voyage was in better poſſibilitie to bee performed, then in wintring either in the Streights, or at Port S. Iulian, all things conſidered. And ſo agreeing, and concluding all in one, they were determined preſently to beare vp.

The next day being the 8 of February, there fell out many and diuers ſpeeches on each part concerning the altering of our courſe, ſome would continue for the Streights, and other ſome would not. Whereupon a viewe was taken in both ſhips of victuals, and reaſonable ſtore was found for both companies: and the winde withall comming to the North, we determined to take out of the prizes the beſt neceſſaries that were in them, and ſo caſt them off, and to plie for the Streights.

They returne being in the latitude of 44 degrees.

All this time wee held on our courſe, and the 15 day wee found our ſelues in the height of 44 degrees, but then the winde came to the South, with much raine, wind, cold, and other vntemperate weather, continuing in that ſort fiue or ſixe dayes, in which time we hulled backe againe into the height of 42 degrees.

Sunday being the 20 of February, our Admirall being ſomething to the leeward of vs, and the ſtorme ſomewhat ceaſed, put aboord his flag in the mizen ſhrowds, as a token that hee would ſpeake with vs, and thereupon wee bare roome with him, and hauing halled one another, captaine Withrington ſhewed the diſpoſition of all his company, which was rather to goe roome with the coaſt of Braſil, then to lie after that ſort in the ſea with foule weather, and contrary winds. Our captaine on the other ſide ſhewed the contrary diſpoſition of his men, and company, willing notwithſtanding to proceede: but in the ende, both the ſhippes fell aſunder, and our captaine ſayd, Seeing then there is no remedie, I muſt be content, though againſt my will.

The 21 day the weather grew faire, and the wind good at the South for the Streights, yet our Admirall bare roome ſtill, we ſuppoſing hee would haue taken the benefit of the time: whereupon our whole company began to thinke of the inconueniences that would ariſe by deuiding our ſelues, and loſing our Admirall, being very willing to continue their courſe, and yet not without the company of the Admiral. And then wee began to caſt about after him, and at the laſt bare with him, and he tolde vs, that vpon a ſecond viewe of the victuals, hee found their ſtore ſo ſlender, and their want ſo great, that there was no remedy for them but to ſeeke ſome meanes to be relieued, which was the onely cauſe that hee bare Northward. This ſpeech made vs of the barke to enter into a new conſultation: and we found many of our men weake, and all our caliuers not ſeruiceable, and the Smiths that ſhould mend them to be in the Admiral. We conſidered alſo, that by breaking of company, eche ſhip ſhould be the more weakened: wee continued in this conſultation til the foure and twentieth day, and in all that time found maſter captaine Liſter moſt deſirous to accompliſh, and to fulfill the voyage, and not willing in any caſe to turne his ſhip, but that the deſire which we all had to continue in conſort with our Admirall, made vs to thinke well of his company, and in fine, an agreement and concluſion was thus made on all ſides, to follow the Admiral, without any more talke of the Streights till the Spring.

A final reſolution to returne

March.

The 10 day of March, it fell out ſo vnfortunately, that Samuel Teller our Maſters mate, fell ouerboord, and ſo periſhed, we being not able by any meanes to recouer him.

The eight and twentieth day being in the height of one and twenty degrees, wee eſpied a ſaile, which wee iudged came out of the Streights, and had rich lading, but the night being at hand, we loſt her very vnluckily, and the next day could haue no ſight of her.

The fift day of April we fel with the land of Braſilia, in the height, as I iudge, of ſixteen degrees and a tierce, and our Captaine went then abord the Admirall, where they concluded to ſende the pinneſſe and our boate on ſhore for freſh water, becauſe wee ſtoode in neede of it, which did ſo with eighteene good men, and three or foure tunne of water caſke. They were from vs till the eighth day in the morning, at which time we eſpied them againe, and that day we came all together into the roade of Camana, where there came a Canoa abord vs, and one of the chiefeſt Portugals that belonged to the place. Here wee tooke in beefes, hogs, water and wood at our pleaſure, hauing almoſt no man able to reſiſt vs, but ſome of our Portugals ſtole from vs in the Canoa.

The rode of Camana.

They come into the riuer of Baya.

The 11 day wee entred into the hauen of Baya, where wee were receiued at the point comming in, with two great pieces of Ordinance, which diſcharged bullets at vs fiue times a piece, but they loſt ſhot and powder, and did vs no harme. After wee had paſſed the point, wee halled in for the roade as cloſe as the wind would permit vs, but could not come ſo neere as we deſired, and therefore we came to an ankor a faire birth off the towne, not without great ſtore of ſhotte from thence, but yet our harme was none at all for ought they could doe.

At our comming in, wee found in the road eight ſhips and one carauel, of the which one was a hulke or double flieboat of the burden of two hundred and fifty tunnes, hauing in her 24 pieces of good Ordinance: ſhee with the reſt of the ſhips, together with the towne, gaue vs ſhot, and ſhot, but not one touched ſo much as any of our ſayles. And leaſt wee ſhould ſeeme in the meane time to be idle, we repayed for euery ſhot of theirs, two or three ſometimes at the ſhips and the towne together.

The next day at night wee thought to haue halled in with the ſhips, and to haue fetched out ſome of them: but the wind blew then off the ſhore, ſo that wee could not poſſiblie doe it. And againe the next day at night we concluded to goe with our owne two boates, and two other boats of the countrey which we had taken before, which went with carauel-ſailes, into the roade, and accordingly performed the ſame, notwithſtanding the ſhot of the enemie. The Moone did ſhine, and gaue very good light, and in we went with our carauels and boates, and the ſhot came about our eares as thicke as haile: but the Portugals and the reſt perceiuing vs no whit at all to ſhrinke or be diſmayed, forſooke their ſhips, & began to prouide to ſaue themſelues, ſome with their boats, ſome by ſwimming, and ſo wee entred the ſhips with a great ſhowte, and found few to reſiſt vs: but yet the ſhore not being a cables length from vs, they did ſo plie both their great and ſmall ordinance at vs, that it much annoyed vs: But yet for all that we made light of their ſhot, and our men of the barke Clifford entred the Admirall and Viceadmirall, and our Admirals men entred two other ſhips of the like burden, and preſently euery one cut the cables in the hauſe, and ſo by the helpe of God in deſpite of them all, wee brought away foure of them. The leaſt whereof was of the burthen of 130 tunnes.

They take 4 ſhips out of the harbour of Baya, notwithſtanding the ſhot of the enemie.

In this broile the hulke ſhotte at vs many times, but did no hurt at all: but at the laſt comming by the hulke towing our new prizes, we halled them and demanded whence they were, they anſwered vs of Fluſhing, and then we commanded him to wey ankor, and to come after vs: And not daring to refuſe it, he did ſo, and brought with him a carauel with fortie or fifty buts of wine in her, and another ſmall barke which had little or nothing in her: and rode by vs as one of our company, and was a ſhip of the burden of two hundreth and fifty tunnes. Our hard happe was to find no great matter, either of marchandize or victuals in theſe ſhips, ſauing in one of them we found foure buts of wine, in another two, in another one, and ſome fiſh, and all the reſt of their lading was on ſhore.

A hulke of Fluſhing.

All this was done vpon Eaſter eeue, and we gaue thanks to God, that we had ſped ſo well: and that very night there came a boate from the towne, with a Dutch merchant, and one Portugal, to offer ſome ranſome for the ſhips, as they ſayd, but as I iudge rather to eſpie our ſtrength: we kept them that night abord, and the next day we ſent them to our Admiral.

The next day being Eaſter day aroſe a very great ſtorme, inſomuch that our carauel which we firſt tooke brake from vs, and one of our new prizes alſo, by meanes of the breaking of her cable, ſlipt away: whereupon, although the winde was great, and the ſea troubleſome, yet wee ſent certaine of our men in our boat, to recouer them if they might, but we feare, that the rage of the weather hath cauſed vs to leeſe both our men and prizes.

In the middeſt of this ſtorme, our two Spaniards which wee tooke in the riuer of Plate, ſeeing vs all buſie about our prizes, beganne to thinke howe they might eſcape our handes, and ſuddenly ſlipt both out of one of the cabbins windowes, and by ſwimming got a ſhoare, a thing which ſeemed to vs impoſſible, conſidering the outrage of the weather.

This ſtorme continued long, and preuented vs of making our intended attempt againſt the towne, hauing as much to doe as poſſibly we might, in keeping our ſhips and prizes from running aſhore, and falling into the hands of thoſe that ſtood gaping greedily for our ruine.

The 19 day the ſtorme being a little ceaſed, wee all weyed and came to an Iſland that lyeth next Northweſt from the bay, and the twentieth day we went on ſhore, and our carpenters ſet vp our pinneſſe.

The 23 day the people of the countrey came downe amaine vpon vs, and beſet vs round, and ſhot at vs with their bowes and arrowes, but in ſhort time wee cauſed them to retire, and many of them were caried away by the helpe of their fellowes, although wee had ſome of our men hurt with ſome of their arrowes.

The 24 day we receiued out of the carauel twelue buts of wine, and foure barels of oyle, and halfe a quarter.

The 26 of April our pinneſſe was lanched: and the ſame day came downe vnto vs a great number of Portugals and Indians, with whom we ſkirmiſhed the ſpace of two houres to their coſt.

The ſecond day of May the Admirals boate went a ſhore with 14 men to fill water, and preſently being on ſhore, they were intrapped with two or three hundred Indians which aſſaulted thẽ, and ſlew one or two of our men, but the reſt eſcaped notwithſtanding the number of the enemie, and came ſafe againe with water to the ſhip. We ſuffered this loſſe by meere negligence, & want of circumſpection.

Groſſe negligence.

The 5 day the captaine of the Admiral himſelfe tooke a ſmall barke, his owne little carauel, our pinneſſe and the Dutchmans boate, and at night went on ſhore to get victuals, amongſt the bullocks which were in the fields: and in the morning they were gone ſo farre, that they were out of ſight. Which being perceiued by the enemie, they preſently made ready their galley for Admiral, with foure carauels, with as many men in them as poſſibly could thruſt in & ſtand one by another: and they bare ouer with the North ſhore to meete with our pinneſſe and boats: whereupon our men fell into great danger, although M. Liſter our captaine diſſwaded M. Withrington from that attempt, by laying before him the danger both of himſelfe and vs alſo, being ſo far one from the other. But being once gone, there was no remedie but they were to abide whatſoeuer might happen: we in the barke Clifford, although wee were weakely left, yet perceiuing the Galley to make after our men, weyed and purſued the galley, as neere the ſhore as we could conueniently come for want of water: the hulke alſo weyed and came after vs to follow the enemie, but the enemie with his oares got ſight of our pinneſſe and boats before wee could, and bare directly with them: which being eſpied of our men, and they ſeeing no way to auoide them, made themſelues ready (notwithſtanding the great oddes) to fight it out like men, and to liue and die together. The courſe that they tooke for their beſt aduantage vpon the ſudden, was this: they went all into the pinneſſe, and made faſt the Dutchmans boate to one ſide, and the ſmall carauel to the other ſide, and ſo waited the comming of the enemie, giuing them firſt of all a piece of Ordinance for their welcome, which they preſently repaied againe with a piece out of the prowe of the galley, and preſently after, with three or foure ſmall braſſe pieces, charged with haileſhot, and ſo giuing a mighty ſhoute, came all aboord together, crying, entrad, entrad: but our men receiued them ſo hotely, with ſmall ſhot and pikes, that they killed them like dogs. And thus they continued aboord them almoſt a quarter of an hour, thinking to haue deuoured our men, pinneſſe and all. And ſurely to mans iudgement, no other thing was likely in regard of their great number, and the fewnes of our men, and they at the firſt thought all was their owne: but God, who is the giuer of all victories, ſo bleſſed our ſmall company, and ſo ſtrengthened their armes and mindes to fight, that the enemie hauing receiued a mighty foyle, was glad to ridde himſelfe from their handes: and whereas at their entrance, wee eſteemed them to bee no leſſe then betwixt two hundred and three hundred men in the galley, we could ſcarſe perceiue twenty men at their departure ſtand on their legs, but the greater part of them was ſlaine, many deadly wounded, their oares broken, & ſhe departed from our men, hanging vpon one ſide, (as a Sowe that hath loſt her left eare) with the number of dead and wounded men that lay one vpon another. And whereas their comming aboord was in a great brauado, with drumme, ſhouting, and crying, they departed without either noiſe of drumme or ſpeech.

A galley at Bays.

A marueilous defeate of the Portugals by a few of our men.

We loſt in this conflict of our men, three onely, which were Alexander the Maſter Gunners mate, Laurence Gambrel a proper yoong man of Hampton, and another that was maſter Benmans man. Some alſo were hurt with the arrowes of the enemie, but the wounds were curable: and thus it pleaſed Almighty God, of his great goodnes, to giue victory to 50 or 60 Engliſhmen, againſt ſixe or ſeuen hundreth Portugals and Indians, for which we ceaſed not to giue ſuch dutifull thanks to his Maieſtie, as ſo miraculous a victory required.

Now touching the purpoſe of our men, who made that attempt for freſh victuals, their labour was nothing loſt, but in deſpite of the enemie they brought to our ſhips 16 or 17 yong bullockes, which was to our great comforts and refreſhing. As for vs that were in our ſhip, we could not come neere them by two miles, or more, to giue them any aid, yet we ſuppoſe that the countenance of our ſhips was an incouragement to our men, and ſome maner of feare to the enemie.

Now wheras our opinion concerning the number of the Portugals and Indians, which were ſlaine, as aforeſayd, was grounded at that time vpon our probable coniecture, not being able otherwiſe to come to the knowledge thereof: you ſhall vnderſtand that the next night after the fight, there came aboord vs two Indians vpon a Gyngatho, who were runne away from their maſters; and they told vs for a very good trueth, that the gallie went out from the towne with About 360 Portugals & Indians ſlain. foure hundreth men in her, but there came not backe to the towne again aliue aboue thirty of them all: and I amongſt the reſt being deſirous to know of one of them, what the newes was at the towne, he anſwered me with great laughter: Todo eſta cacado en Tierra.

The twelfth day I was ſent for to come aboord the admirall, about the hulke: where vpon the complaint of the Dutchmen, maſter Withrington entred into bond to them for the paiment of their fraight, but how my lord would like that bond of debt at our returne, I knowe not. I gaue him my aduiſe and counſell to get his bond againe into his hands.

The thirteenth day our captaine ſent out of our ſhip certaine victuals vnto the Admirall, as one butte of dight riſe, two cheſts of cleane riſe, one barrell of oatemeale, one barrell of peaſon, and one barrell of oile, becauſe they were ſomewhat ſcanted of victuals, and we at this time were to haue out of the Admirall our part of fiue and twenty cheſts of fine ſugar, and more, of eight cheſts, and ſixe cheſts that were taken in the Bay of Todos Santos, at the Ingenios, more of one hundreth and thirty hats, and other diuers pillages, which were taken in the prizes, and at the ſhore.

The fourteenth day being Monday, it was concluded amongſt vs all, not to leaue the towne of Baya ſo, but notwithſtanding the time that they had to ſtrengthen themſelues and the towne, yet to giue an attempt for the winning of it: and therefore wee prouided our pinneſſes, carauels, and boates for the enterpriſe: and as we were departing from our ſhippes, the winde turned directly contrary to our courſe, ſo that our determination for that time was broken, and wee returned againe to our ſhips: and to ſay the trueth, if the weather and winde had ſerued, our attempt had bene very deſperate, conſidering the number of Portugals and Indians which were then gathered together, to the number of ſeuen or eight thouſand, and their artillery vpon the ſhore, playing vpon vs: but neuertheleſſe we had proceeded, if the winds had fauoured vs.

The 16 day we went to certaine Ingenios of the Portugals, where we found the people fled and we entred their houſes without reſiſtance. We found in their purging houſe 1000 pots of ſugar, ſome halfe purged, ſome a quarter, and ſome newly put into the pots: ſo that euery man tooke his pot of ſugar for their prouiſion, and ſet all the reſt on fire.

The 17 day wee all weyed to goe to another Ingenio, to ſee if wee could find there better ſugar, and in the way we met with a prize, which was a carauel, which wee found driuing with the weather, and entred her, and had in her onely three Faulcons of yron, which our pinneſſe brought away, and ſet the ſhip on fire. Dalamor in the ſmall prize ran ſo farre in, that hee brought his ſhip on ground, where ſhee lay three or foure houres, till ſuch time as there came from the towne fiue carauels full of men, which being perceiued of vs, our captaine with our men went to him to ayde him. The carauels came within Faulcon ſhot of vs, but durſt come no neerer, leſt they might haue taſted of the like banket, that they receiued the laſt time. About halfe flood came the galley againe, and three carauels more, but before they came, the barke was afloate, and ſet ſayle: and then they all went to gard their Ingenios, which we had purpoſed to viſit: but the night comming on, perſwaded vs to the contrary.

They returne againe to Baya. The 19 day we ſet ſayle to goe into the roade of Baya againe, with our pinneſſes, and a flag of truce, to ſee if we could recouer our foure men, which remained aliue of thoſe ten, that periſhed in our boate, of whom we ſpake before, which foure were vnfortunately fallen into their hands: but they at our approching neere the towne, ſhot at vs, and wee as ready as they, gaue them in all 27 ſhot, and ſo ankored a little from the towne, to ſee what they would doe.

The 20 day riding ſtill before the towne, our Admirall ſent a Negro aſhore, with letters from the Portugals, that wee had priſoners aboord: the effect of which letters was, that if we might haue our men releaſed and deliuered vs, they ſhould haue theirs from our ſhips.

The next day in the morning, in ſtead of their bloody flagge, they put vp two white flagges, and ſent a Gingatho off to vs with two Indians, with letters of anſwere from the Gouernour: but they would not conſent in any caſe that we ſhould haue our men, and willed their Portugals to take their captiuitie patiently, for they would not redeeme them: a motion they made in their letters, to buy againe one of their prizes, which we had taken out of the rode: but our admirall anſwered them, no, ſeeing they detained our men, wee would keepe both their men, and ſhips too. The ſame euening we weyed, and came out of the hauen, halfe a league to ſeaward.

The 22 we ſet ſaile to ſea, and the 23 came to an Iſland twelue leagues to the Southward of Baya, to wood, and water.

An Iſland 12 leagues to the South of Baia.

The 24 day being aboord with our pinneſſes, we met with a Canoa, wherein was one Portugall, and ſixe Indians: we ſhot at the Canoa, and killed an Indian, and tooke the Portugall, and one of the Indians, and brought them aboord our ſhippes: we there examined them, and the Portugal confeſſed that there was a ſhippe laden with meale, and other victuals, bound for Fernambuck, but put into a creeke, becauſe ſhe durſt not goe along the coaſt, hearing of our ſhippes. Whereupon we manned both our pinneſſes, and tooke the Portugal with vs, to goe and ſeeke the ſame ſhip, but that night we could not find her.

The 26 day we went againe, and found her, being halled vp into a creeke, where a man would haue thought a ſhippe boate could not haue entred: wee found her indeede laden with meale principally: but ſhe had alſo in her fourteene cheſts of ſugar, of which two were in powder, and twelue in loaues. This ſhip was of the burden of one hundred and twenty tunnes, and a new ſhip, this being the firſt voyage that euer ſhe made, and as the Portugall confeſſed, ſhee was fraighted for Fernambuck, but the men of Baya hauing great want of bread, bought both the ſhip and her lading, and ſo thought to ſtay her in this creeke, till we were gone off the coaſt: but it was our good hap to diſappoint their pretenſe, and to fetch her from thence, where they thought her as ſafe as if ſhe had bene at Lisbon.

A new Portugal ſhip taken in a creeke.

The 28 day we deuided the meale amongſt vs, according to the want of euery ſhip.

The 30 day, 16 or 17 Dutchmen went with their boate from the hulke to ſhoare, to fill water: and vpon a ſudden they were aſſaulted with fifty or ſixty Portugals, and ſo many more Indians armed with ſhot and other weapons, and they ſlew their Maſter and Purſer, and the reſt were hurt, but yet eſcaped with their liues: a good warning for vs to bee circumſpect, and carefull in our landing.

A good warning for vs to be circumſpect in landing.

The laſt day of May wee caſt off one of our prizes, which wee called the George, and our Admirall and the hulke tooke the men and other neceſſaries out of her, into them. The ſame day the Portugals which had hurt the Dutchmen came to the ſhore, and dared vs to come on land: whereupon wee went into our pinneſſes with fortie ſhot: but the cowardly villanes ranne all away to the hils, from the water ſide: but maſter Liſter with nine men followed them, and they fled ſtill before them, and durſt not ſtay their approch: ſo they came backe againe, and wee filled water quietly, and at our pleaſure.

Iune.

The third day of Iune our captaine maſter Liſter, hauing a great deſire for the performance of this voyage, according to my Lords direction, went to our admirall, and requeſted him to giue him ſixe buts of wine, one barrell of oile, three or foure barrels of fleſh, and to haue Thomas Hood and ſeuen or eight ſeamen for ſome of our landmen, and by Gods help, he with the barke Clifford, would alone proceede for the South ſea: but the admirall mightily withſtoode his motion, and would grant no iote of his particular requeſts.

An offer of captaine Liſter to go with his one ſhip onely for the South ſea.

The 7 of Iune, hauing no vſe at all of our prizes, we burnt one, and caſt off another, and filled our owne ſhips with the neceſſaries of them.

The 8 day wee put off to ſea, but yet with much adoe came againe to our ankoring place, becauſe of the weather.

The 10 day the admirall ſent for vs to come aboord him, and being come, hee opened a Carde before all the company, and tolde vs that my lords voyage for the South ſea was ouerthrowen for want of able men, and victuals, and that therefore hee thought it beſt to plie for ſome of the Iſlands of the Weſt India, or the Açores, to ſee if they could meete with ſome good purchaſe, that might ſatiſfie my lord. Theſe wordes were taken heauily of all the company, and no man would anſwere him, but kept ſilence, for very griefe to ſee my lords hope thus deceiued, and his great expenſes and coſts caſt away. The common ſort ſeeing no other remedie, were contented to returne as well as he.

The 16 day wee eſpied a ſayle, whereupon our pinneſſe, and Dalamor gaue her chaſe, and put her aſhore vpon the Iſland, where the men forſooke her, and ran away with ſuch things as they

Another pinneſſe taken.

could conueniently carie: our pinneſſe boorded her, and found little in her: they tooke out of her nine cheſts of ſugar, and one hogge, and 35 pieces of pewter, and ſo left her vpon the ſands.

Iuly.
Then returned Northward.

From this time forward we began to plie Northwards, and the firſt of Iuly fell with the land againe, where we fiſhed, and found reaſonable good ſtore. I tooke the latitude that day, and found our ſelues in 10 degrees and 22 minutes.

The 7 day we determined to fall with Fernambuck, and wee came ſo neere it, that Dalamor (as he told vs) eſpied ſome of the ſhips that were in the harbour: yet notwithſtanding we all fell to leeward of the riuer, & could not after that, by any meanes recouer the height of it againe: but we ceaſed not on all parts to endeuour the beſt we could, & oftentimes loſt company for a day or two, one of another, but there was no remedie, but patience, for to Fernambuck we could not come, hauing ſo much ouerſhot it to the Northward, and the wind keeping at the South and Southweſt.

Fernambuck in the Southerly latitude of 7 deg. 50 min.

The 20 day I tooke the Sunne in 5 degrees 50 minuts, which was 2 degrees to the Northward of Fernambuck, and the further wee went, the more vntowardly did the reſt of our ſhips worke, either to come into hauen, or to keepe company one with another. And truely I ſuppoſe, that by reaſon of the froward courſe of the Admirall, he meant of purpoſe to loſe vs: for I know not how the neerer we endeuoured to be to him, the further off would he beare from vs, and wee ſeeing that, kept on our owne courſe, and lookt to our ſelues as well as we could.

The 24 day our whole company was called together to conſultation, for our beſt courſe: ſome would goe for the Weſt India, ſome directly North for England; and in concluſion, the greater part was bent to plie for our owne countrey, conſidering our neceſſities of victuals, and freſh water, and yet if any place were offered vs in the way, not to omit it, to ſeeke to fill water.

A lowe Iſland in 3 degrees & 49 minutes.

The 26 day in the morning, we eſpied a lowe Iſland, but we loſt it againe, and could deſcrie it no more. This day we found our ſelues in 3 degrees and 49 minutes.

The 27 day we ſearched what water we had left vs, and found but nine buts onely, ſo that our captaine allowed but a pinte of water for a man a day, to preſerue it as much as might be, wherewith euery man was content, and we were then in number fiftie men and boyes.

Auguſt.

The firſt of Auguſt we found our ſelues 5 degrees to the Northward of the line, all which moneth we continued our courſe homeward, without touching any where: toward the end whereof, a ſorrowfull accident fell out in our hulke, which being deuided from vs in a calme, fell afire by ſome great negligence, and periſhed by that meanes in the ſeas, wee being not able any wayes to helpe the ſhip, or to ſaue the men.

The hulke of Fluſhing burnt with all the men by negligence.

The 4 day of September, we had brought our ſelues into the height of 41 degrees & 20 minutes, ſomwhat to the Northwards of the Ilands of the Açores: and thus bulting vp and downe with contrary winds, the 29 of the ſame moneth, we reached the coaſt of England, and ſo made an end of the voyage.

A diſcourſe of the Weſt Indies and South ſea written by *Lopez Vaz* a Portugal, borne in the citie of *Eluas*, continued vnto the yere 1587.

Wherein among diuers rare things not hitherto deliuered by any other writer, certaine voyages of our Engliſhmen are truely reported: which was intercepted with the author thereof at the riuer of *Plate*, by Captaine *Withrington* and Captaine *Chriſtopher Liſter*, in the fleete ſet foorth by the right Honorable the Erle of *Cumberland* for the South ſea in the yeere 1586.

This voyage was made in the yeere 1572.

FRancis Drake an Engliſhman being on the ſea, and hauing knowledge of the ſmall ſtrength of the towne of Nombre de Dios, came into the harborough on a night with foure pinneſſes, and landed an hundreth and fifty men: and leauing one halfe of his men with a trumpet in a fort which was there, hee with the reſt entred the towne without doing any harme till hee came at the market place: and there his company diſcharging their calieuers, and ſounding their trumpets (which made a great noyſe in the towne) were anſwered by their fellowes in the forte, who diſcharged and ſounded in like maner. This attempt put the towneſmen in ſuch extreme feare, that leauing their houſes, they fled into the mountaines, and there bethought themſelues what the matter ſhould be in the towne, remaining as men amazed at ſo ſudden an alarme. But the Spaniards being men for the moſt part of good diſcretion ioyned fourteene or fifteene of them together with their pieces, to ſee who was in the towne: and getting to a corner of the market-place they diſcouered the Engliſhmen, and perceiuing that they were but a few, diſcharged their pieces at them; and their fortune was ſuch, that they ſlew the trumpetter, and ſhot the captaine (whoſe name was Francis Drake) into the legge: who feeling himſelfe hurt retired toward the Fort, where he had left the reſt of his men: but they in the Fort ſounded their trumpet, and being not anſwered againe, and hearing the calieuers diſcharged in the towne, thought that their fellowes in the towne had bene ſlaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinneſſes. Now Francis Drake (whom his men carried becauſe of his hurt) when he came to the fort where he left his men and ſaw them fled, he and the reſt of his company were in ſo great feare, that leauing their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hoſe, they ſwamme & waded all to their Pinneſſes, and departed forth of the harbour, ſo that if the Spaniards had followed them, they might haue ſlaine them all. Thus Captaine Drake did no more harme at Nombre de Dios, neither was there in this ſkirmiſh any more then one Spaniarde ſlaine, and of the Engliſhmen onely their Trumpetter, whom they left behind with his trumpet in his hand.

From hence the coaſt lieth all along till you come to Cartagena. Betweene Nombre de Dios and Cartagena is a great ſound or gulfe, where the firſt Spaniardes that euer dwelt vpon the firme land built and inhabited the towne of Dariene: howbeit they abode not long there, becauſe of the vnholeſomeneſſe of the place.

But Captaine Drake being diſcontent with the repulſe that the men of Nombre de Dios gaue him, went with his Pinneſſes into the ſaid bay or ſound of Dariene, where hauing conference with certaine Negros which were ranne away from their maſters of Panamá and Nombre de Dios, he was informed that at the very ſame time many mules were comming from Panamá to Nombre de Dios laden with gold and ſiluer. Upon this newes Francis Drake taking with him an hundred ſhot, and the ſaid Negros, ſtayed in the way till the treaſure came by, accompanied and guarded onely by thoſe that droue the mules, who miſtruſted nothing at all. When captaine Drake met with them, he tooke away their golde: but the ſiluer he left behinde, becauſe he could not carrie it ouer the mountaines. And two dayes after this he went to The houſe of croſſes called by the Spaniards Venta de Cruzes, where all the merchants leaue their goods, where hee ſlew ſixe or ſeuen of the marchants, but found neither gold nor ſiluer, but great ſtore of marchandize: and ſo he fired the ſaid houſe, with all the goods, which were iudged to be worth aboue two hundred thouſand ducats. Thus not finding golde in this houſe to ſatiſfie his minde, hee burned the marchants goods, and foorthwith recouered his Pinneſſes: where fortune ſo fauoured his proceedings, that he had not bene aboord halfe an houre, but there came to the ſea ſide aboue three hundred ſouldiers, which were ſent of purpoſe to take him: but God ſuffered him to eſcape their hands, to be a farther plague vnto the Spaniards.

Venta de cruzes.

Alſo another Engliſhman named Iohn Oxenham hearing what ſpoyle Captaine Drake had done vpon that coaſt, made a voyage thither to enterprize the like. His ſhip was of burthen about an hundred and twentie tunnes, and he was accompanied with ſeuentie perſons: he had conference alſo with the foreſaid Negros, but being aduertized that the treaſure was conducted by ſouldiers, he determined with himſelfe to doe that which neuer any man before durſt vndertake to doe. For being moſt reſolute of his purpoſe, and not looking nor forecaſting what danger might enſue of this bold enterprize, he landed his men in the ſame place where Captaine Drake was, and halling his ſhip to ſhore, cut downe boughes of trees, and couered his ſhip with them, and hid vp his great ordinance in the ground. Thus leauing not one man in his ſhip, he tooke two ſmall peeces of ordinance, and his calieuers, and good ſtore of victuals, with all other neceſſaries for his intended voyage. And he went with the Negros aboue twelue leagues vp into the maine land, vnto a riuer that runneth into the South ſea: and by this riuer in a wood he cut downe timber, and built a Pinneſſe, which was 45 foote long by the keele: which Pinneſſe being finiſhed, he went downe the riuer and paſſed into the South ſea, carrying ſixe Negros with him for his guides, and he arriued at the Iland of Pearles being 25 leagues diſtant from Panamá. This Iland lieth in the South ſea, as they ſaile from Peru to Panamá, and here he ſtayed ten dayes, before he could take any ſhipping, but at length there came a ſmall barke from a place called Quito in Peru: this barke he tooke, and found in her 60000 pezos of golde, with much wine and bread: and not being content with this, he ſtayed a long while, before he would ſende away his prize or any of his men. Shortly after he tooke another barke that came from Lima, wherein he found 100000 pezos of ſiluer in barres, which being all aboord his Pinneſſe, he ſhaped his courſe toward the riuer from whence he came: but before his departure he landed on the foreſaid Iland to finde pearles, and went to a ſmall towne of the Iland inhabited by Negros for the ſame purpoſe; where finding but ſmall ſtore, he returned to his Pinneſſe, and comming neere vnto the riuer he ſent away his two prizes, and with his Pinneſſe entered vp the riuer. The Negros of the Iland of perles, ſo ſoone as the Engliſhmē were departed, poſted in their Canoas to Panamá, to ſignifie

Iohn Oxenham anno 1575.

A riuer running into the South ſea.

vnto the Gouernour what they had done. Whereupon the Gouernour within two dayes after ſent out foure barkes and an hundred ſouldiers, and Negros to rowe, the captaine of which ſouldiers was called Iuan de Ortega; who went firſt to the Iland of pearles, & there had knowledge which way the Engliſhmen did take, and in purſuing them he met with the two prizes taken by the Engliſhmen, which tolde him that they were gone vp the riuer. But when he was come to the enterance of the riuer, he knew not which way to take, becauſe the riuer ranne into the ſea by three mouthes, and not all at one. Therefore being determined with himſelfe to paſſe vp the greateſt of the three, he ſaw comming downe with the ſtreame many feathers of hens out of one of the leſſer mouthes: which mouth he entered, and ſayling foure dayes vp the ſame, hee deſcryed the Engliſhmens pinneſſe lying vpon the ſand, and comming to boord her, they found in her no more but ſixe Engliſhmen, of which they killed one, and the other 5 fled, & hauing throughly ranſacked the ſaid pinneſſe, they could finde nought in her, but victuals. The Spaniards ſeeing this, determined to ſeeke out the Engliſhmen by land, and leauing about twentie men to keepe their barks they marched with eightie ſhot vp into the countrey, and halfe a league from the riuer they found a little houſe made with boughes, where the Engliſhmen had left all their treaſure; which the Spaniards tooke and carried backe to their barkes, meaning not to follow the Engliſhmen any further: but the Engliſh captaine with all his men, and aboue 200 Negros followed the Spaniards vnto the riuers ſide, and ſet vpon them with great fury: howbeit the Spaniards lying behind the buſhes did eaſily put the Engliſh to flight, and they tooke ſeuen of them aliue, and ſlewe eleuen and fiue Negros: ſo the Spaniards returned with the loſſe of two men and fiue or ſixe hurt. Then they aſked thoſe Engliſhmen which they had taken priſoners, why they departed not with their treaſure, hauing fifteene dayes libertie? They anſwered, that their captaine had commanded them to carry all that golde and ſiluer vnto the place where their ſhip was, and they were agreed to carry it, although they made three or foure iourneys, for he promiſed to giue them part of the treaſure beſide their wages, but the marriners would needes haue it by and by; whereat the captaine being angry, becauſe they put ſo ſmall truſt in his word, would not ſuffer his ſaylers to carrie it, but ſaid he would get Negros to ſerue his turne, and ſo theſe were the Negros aforeſaid, whom he had brought to carry away the golde and ſiluer: but by the way he met with the fiue Engliſhmen which fled from the pinneſſe, who told him of the Spaniards; and then he made friends with all his men, and got the Negros to take his part: but hauing the ouerthrow, and his beſt men being ſlaine and taken priſoners, he thought to haue returned to his ſhip, and ſo to haue gone for England. The Spaniſh captaine hauing heard this diſcourſe of the Engliſh priſoners, buried the dead bodies, embarking all things, and with the Engliſhmen and their pinneſſe returned backe vnto Panamá. Thus was the Engliſhmens voyage ouerthrowen.

Now ſo ſoone as the the foure barkes and the pinneſſe were arriued at Panamá, the Gouernour of that place ſent a meſſenger ouerland to Nombre de Dios, to aduertiſe the towneſmen, where the Engliſhmens ſhip lay: whereupon they of Nombre de Dios manned out foure ſhips and went into the bay of Dariene where the Engliſhmen had left their ſhip, which they tooke away with them to Nombre de Dios, with all her ordinance; ſo that the poore Engliſhmen were left in the mountaines very naked and deſtitute of all comfort: for the Spaniards had taken out of the foreſaid houſe of boughes all their tooles & other neceſſaries, ſo that they could by no meanes haue any ſuccour: whereas otherwiſe they might haue builded another pinneſſe, and prouided better for themſelues to haue returned for their owne countrey.

Theſe newes comming to the eares of the Viceroy of Peru, he thought it not conuenient to ſuffer thoſe fiftie Engliſhmen which were yet aliue, to continue in the mountaines among the ſaid Negros. Wherefore he ſent a ſeruant of his called Diego de Frees with 150 ſhot to ſeeke them, who at length found them making of Canoas to take ſome one ſmall barke or other that ſayled to and againe in the North ſea, whereby they might the better ſhift for themſelues: but before they had finiſhed their pretended worke, the Spaniſh ſouldiers ſet vpon them, and tooke fifteene of them that were ſicke: but the reſt fled, whom the Spaniards purſued among the mountaines, and in the end the Negros betraied them, and they were all taken and carried to Panamá. Where the Iuſtice aſked the Engliſh captaine, whither he had the Queenes licenſe, or the licenſe of any other Prince or Lord? And he anſwered that he had none, but that he came of his owne proper motion. Which being knowen to the Iuſtice, the Captaine and his companie were condemned and were all put to death at Panamá, ſauing the Captaine himſelfe, the Maſter, and the Pilot, and fiue boyes, which were caried to Lima, where the Captaine and the two other men were executed, but the boyes are yet liuing.

Warre made againſt the Negros.

The king of Spaine hauing intelligence of theſe matters, ſent 300 men of warre againſt thoſe

Negros who had aſſiſted the Engliſhmen, which Negros before were ſlaues vnto the Spaniards, and (as is aforeſaide) fled from their maſters into thoſe mountaines, and ſo ioyned themſelues to the Engliſhmen, thinking by that meanes to be reuenged of the Spaniards crueltie.

At the firſt comming of theſe three hundred ſouldiers they tooke many of the Negros, and did great iuſtice on them according to the qualitie of their offences. But after a ſeaſon the Negros grew wiſe and wary, and preuented the Spaniards ſo, that none of them could be taken. Whereof the king being aduertiſed by his Captaines, as alſo how the countrey was full of mountaines and riuers, and very vnhealthfull, inſomuch that his ſouldiers died, he wrote vnto his ſaid Captaines to make an agreement with thoſe Negros, to the ende the countrey might be in quiet. And ſo they came to agreement with the Captaines of the Negros, and all was appeaſed. Afterward the Negros inhabiting two places which the Spaniardes allotted vnto them, the kings pardon was proclaimed vnto all thoſe which before the day of the proclamation thereof had runne from their Maſters, vpon condition that from that day forward, whatſoeuer other fugitiue Negros ſhould reſort vnto them, they ſhould returne them home either dead or aliue, if not, that they ſhould pay for them. Vpon theſe conditions, and to make all quiet in the mountaines, all things were concluded and agreed vpon. So that now the Negros dwell in great townes, where they haue Spaniardes for their teachers, and a Spaniard for their Iudge, and with this they holde themſelues very well contented, and are obedient vnto their rulers.

The Spaniards ſince they conquered thoſe parts haue ſeene many Frenchmen on that coaſt, but neuer any Engliſhmen in that place, ſaue thoſe two onely which I haue before mentioned. And although the Frenchmen haue come ſtrong, yet durſt they neuer put foot on ſhore as the Engliſh did. But the king of Spaine hearing that Engliſhmen as well as Frenchmen beganne to haunt that coaſt, cauſed two gallies to be made and well appointed, to keepe the coaſt. The firſt yeere that they were made they tooke ſixe or ſeuen French ſhips. So ſoone as this was knowen there vſed fewe Engliſh or Frenchmen of warre to come on the coaſt, vntill this yeere 1586. when as the aforeſaid Francis Drake came with a ſtrong fleete of about foure and twentie ſhips, and did ſuch harme as is well knowen vnto all Chriſtendome. But (God ſparing the king of Spaine life) hee will ſufficiently prouide to keepe his ſubiectes from the inuaſions of other Nations.

Frenchmen.

Seuen french ſhips taken by the gallies.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage to S. Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and S. Auguſtine.

Now to go forward with our begunne diſcourſe, the next towne vpon this coaſt beyond Nombre de Dios is Cartagena: it ſtandeth in a more healthfull place, and is a greater towne then the other, bordering vpon a better countrey, which aboundeth with plentie of victuals, and hauing a very good port for the harbour of ſhips: and it is called Cartagena, becauſe it reſembleth very much the citie of Cartagena in Spaine. It containeth aboue foure hundred houſholds. It is very rich by reaſon of the ſhips ſtaying there, when they goe or come from Spaine. And if the ſhips chance to winter before they goe home into Spaine, then they lie at Cartagena. Alſo it is greatly enriched by the marchandize, which is there diſcharged to be carryed to the new kingdome of Granada, from which kingdome much golde is brought vnto Cartagena. This new kingdome of Granada is two hundred leagues within the land: neither can they trauel from Cartagena to this kingdome by land, becauſe of the mountaines and ſtanding waters, which lie in the way, ſo that they are faine to carry their goods vp a riuer called The great riuer of Magdalen. They can goe with their barkes but two hundred leagues vp this riuer; for although it be large and very deepe, yet there runneth ſo ſwift a current, that the barkes are conſtrained to diſcharge their goods at a place in the riuer called Branco de Malambo, into ſmall canoas which rowe cloſe by the ſhores ſide. In this riuer are great abundance of Crocodiles, ſo huge and terrible to behold, that ſuch as neuer ſawe them before are very fearefull at the firſt ſight of them, for if a man chance to put his hand or foote into the water, they will ſtreightway catch at them. In ſome places this riuer is very vnhealthfull and full of noyſome wormes; but the firſt place thereupon which the Spaniards doe inhabite called Mompox is exceeding healthfull. The countrey adioyning vpon this riuer they call The new kingdome of Granada, becauſe the captaine called Ceſada which firſt conquered the ſame, and inhabited there, was borne at Granada in Spaine: for it is the vſe of the Spaniſh captaines, when they haue conquered any Prouince of the Indies, to call it after the name of the place where they themſelues were borne. This new kingdome of Granada is very fruitfull, and bringeth forth much corne & other victuals, and hath many gold-mines, and great quantitie of emeralds, whereof they ſend ſo many into Spaine, that now they are become little worth: but before theſe countreys were found, they were in great eſtimation. Here are alſo dwelling many of the Indian people ſo meeke and gentle of nature, that they are called flies. This land is very plaine and holeſome, and the inhabitants are giuen to peace.

Cartagena.

Nueuo reyno de Granada.

Rio grande della Magdalena.

Branco de Malambo.

Mompox.

From

Popayan.

From this kingdome they trauell to another countrey called La gouernacion de Popayan; it is rich of golde, and withall very fruitfull, but fuller of mountaines then the new kingdome of Granada, and hath fewer Indians dwelling in it, but thoſe that are there are full of courage and very valiant, which cauſes the Spaniardes to make great warre before they could ouercome them. In this prouince there are 13 townes of Spaniards, and in The new kingdome of Granada there are nine townes of Spaniards.

Quito.

A paſſage ouer land from Cartagena to Peru.

From this countrey of Popayan they trauell along till they come to the firſt inhabitants of Peru dwelling in a towne which ioyneth vpon the South ſea called Quito. This towne I will leaue any further to ſpeake of till I come particularly to intreate of Peru. Onely I haue ſpoken of the two foreſaid Prouinces, to the intent you might know, that there is a paſſage by land from Cartagena to Peru, which is about fiue hundred leagues through; ſo that beſides the two hundred leagues which they goe vp the riuer, the other three hundred leagues is a countrey well inhabited and without danger to trauell in, inſomuch that oftentimes poſtes are ſent too and fro. But becauſe it is ſo long a iourney, marchants vſe not to trauell that way, but when they are inforced ſo to doe. If any forren Nation ſhould become Lordes of the South ſea, the king of Spaine might haue his treaſure conueyed vnto this towne of Cartagena from Peru, and ſo into Spaine. For in times paſt there being a rebellion in Peru made by the Spaniardes againſt their king, he ſent his power to ſuppreſſe them through theſe Prouinces. This I write onely for that I knowe ſome Engliſhmen haue thought, that in taking the South ſea, or Panamá or Nombre de Dios from the king of Spaine, his treaſure of Peru could not be conueyed vnto him, and that the king could not ſuccour Peru, if it wanted helpe. Howbeit I doe here moſt certainely aſſure you, that there be many wayes to Peru.

Santa Martha.

A mightie ridge of mountaines.

The rich valley of Tagrona.

But now I will returne to my former diſcourſe. Vpon the ſeacoaſt of Tierra firma Eaſtward from Cartagena ſtandeth a little towne called Santa Martha, betweene which towne and Cartagena the mightie riuer of Magdalen before named falleth into the ſea with ſuch a ſtrong current, that by reaſon thereof it is knowen 20 leagues from the ſhore. Santa Martha is a very poore towne, becauſe it hath often bene robbed by the Frenchmen, and hath no trade but with a fewe Indians that dwell thereabout. Here beginneth that wonderfull long ridge of high mountaines couered with Snow, which ſtreatching through many countreys, runneth along the kingdomes of Peru and Chili, and continueth to the very ſtraights of Magellan. Theſe mountaines are ſeene with ſnow vpon their tops aboue thirtie leagues into the ſea. At the foote of theſe wide mountaines there is a valley called Tagrona, which is the richeſt place that is knowen thereabout: but becauſe the countrey adioyning is ſo mountainous, and the inhabitants ſo many and of ſo good a courage, ſhooting poyſoned arrowes which are preſent death to ſuch as are wounded with the ſame; therefore it lyeth as yet vnconquered, notwithſtanding it hath coſt many Spaniſh captaines their liues.

Rio de Hacha.
Cabo de la vela.

Great ſtore of pearles.

The Ile of Margarita.

Excellent horſes and mules.

More then 70. Ilands.

Paſſing along the coaſt of Tierra firma to the Eaſt of Santa Martha, there is an other ſmall towne of aboue an hundred houſes called Rio de Hacha. This towne is ſomewhat rich by reaſon of the pearles which they get there. Alſo they haue a trade with the Indians for ſome ſmall quantitie of golde. From hence they goe along the coaſt to Cabo de la Vela, which becauſe it is of the ſame propertie with Rio de Hacha before mentioned, I omit to ſpeake of it. Vpon this coaſt there is a lake or gulfe which openeth into the ſea, at the mouth whereof they gather great ſtore of pearles. Beyond this place there is another poore towne, which hath ſixe or ſeuen times beene ſpoyled by the Frenchmen. From hence there lyeth an high way to the newe kingdome of Granada, but it is aboue ſeuen hundred leagues in length, this way is trauelled very ſeldome, becauſe the Indians will vſually ſet vpon the trauellers. More vp into the land the countrey lyeth plaine, and there is ſome golde, and a fewe townes inhabited with Spaniardes, whereof I haue had but ſmall notice, and therefore I let them paſſe. The next place of any account is the Iland of Margarita, where there are but fewe Spaniardes inhabitant. This Iland of Margarita is very ſmall, and lyeth foure leagues from the maine lande: it hath heretofore bene very rich of golde and pearles, and ſo would haue continued till this preſent day, had it not beene ſpoyled by men of warre, becauſe it ſtandeth ſo farre from the maine land, notwithſtanding they yet gather good ſtore of pearles. Vpon this Iland are bred better horſes and mules then in any other part of the Indies, therefore they carry them from hence to Peru, albeit they haue great ſtore of horſes in Peru, but not ſo good. And becauſe we haue begunne to ſpeake of the Iland of Margarita, you are to vnderſtand, that to the North of the foreſaid coaſt of Tierra firma lie aboue ſeuentie Ilands being all very little, except Cuba, Hiſpaniola, and Boriquen, or Sant Iuan de Puerto rico, which Ile of Boriquen, although it bee not very great, yet is it inhabited by the Spaniards. The other ſmaller Ilands haue bene inhabited by the Indians, and haue had good ſtore of gold, pearles, and emraldes; but the Spaniards haue deſtroyed moſt of thoſe Indians from off the earth, and in many of thoſe Ilands there is nothing of any value, wherefore I haue ſmall cauſe to intreate any further of them. But Hiſpaniola is an Iland of great bigneſſe, and hath bene very full of people, and abounded with mines of golde and with pearles, but now all is waſted away. It was at the Spaniards firſt coming thither, as full of inhabitants as any place of that bigneſſe in the whole world, yet now there are none left; for they were men of ſo hard a heart, that they murthered themſelues rather then they would ſerue the Spaniards: for being men vnder ſo ſmall ciuill gouernement as they were, neuer was there any people knowen of ſo reſolute and deſperate mindes: for oftentimes a great number of them being together ouer night, they ſhould be found all dead before the morning: ſuch extreme hate did this brutiſh people beare againſt the Spaniards, that they choſe rather to die the death, then to indure their inſolencies. It happened on a time, that a Spaniard calling certaine Indians to worke in the mines (which labour of all others did moſt grieue them) they, rather then they would goe, offered to lay violent hands on themſelues: which the Spaniard perceiuing ſayd vnto them: ſeeing you will hang your ſelues rather then goe and worke, I likewiſe will hang my ſelfe and will beare you company, becauſe I will make you worke in another world: but the Indians hearing this, replied, we will willingly worke with you here, to the intent you may not goe with vs into another world: ſo vnwilling were they of the Spaniards companie. So that of all the inhabitantes of this Iland there were none that eſcaped death, ſaue onely theſe fewe, which came to paſſe by the meanes of this one Spaniarde, otherwiſe they would haue hanged themſelues alſo. Some of theſe people are yet liuing, but very few. This Iland of Hiſpaniola is for the moſt part called The Ile of Sant Domingo, becauſe the chiefe citie thereof is ſo called, which was the firſt citie in all the Weſt Indies that was inhabited. There are in this citie aboue eight hundred fire-houſes of good building inhabited by Gentlemen of great wealth. This Iland is vnhealthfull, for it raineth here the moſt part of the yeere. The riches that now this Iland affordeth are ſugar (for here are many Ingenios or ſugar-houſes) and great ſtore of hides by reaſon of the abundance of cattell; there are copper mines alſo, which is the cauſe that they haue ſuch ſtore of copper-money, for their gold mines be all exhauſted, and the golde which they haue commeth from other places. This Iland being (as is beforeſaide) deſtitute of the firſt inhabitants, and the Spaniardes lacking men to worke in their Ingenios, and to looke vnto their cattell, they were forced to bring Negros thither out of Guinea, where they haue ſo increaſed, that the Iland is nowe as full of them, as it was of the naturall inhabitantes; ſo that the Spaniardes carrie Negros from this Iland to the maine lande and there ſell them. The chiefeſt victuall that they haue in this Iland, is a kinde of roote called Iuca, which being eaten as it commeth new out of the ground is preſent death: but firſt they boyle it and after preſſe it, and the liquor that is ſtrained therefrom is deadly poyſon: howbeit this roote being preſſed ſo dry, that there remaineth no moiſture in it, they mingle and temper the ſame with water and ſo make cakes thereof, which are very ſauory & good to eat, & this is all the bread which they haue in thoſe Ilands. There go from hence yerely into Spaine 7 or 8 ſhips at the leaſt full fraighted with ſugar & hides.

Hiſpaniola.

The Indians killed themſelues, rather then they would ſerue the tyrannous Spaniards.

A pretty ieſt.

Sugar, hides, copper-mines.

Negros mightily increaſed.

A root called Iuca.

Neere vnto Hiſpaniola lyeth another greater Iland called Cuba, it is like vnto Hiſpaniola, although there is not ſo much ſugar. The principall towne of this Ilande is called Hauana, which hath an excellent harborough belonging thereunto. The townеſmen are very rich by reaſon of the fleetes that come from Nueua Eſpanna, and Tierra firma which touch there; for the ſafeguarde of which fleetes and of the towne it ſelfe there is a caſtle built neere the ſaid harborough kept with Spaniſh ſouldiers; neither is there any caſtle or ſouldiers in all the Ilands but onely here. There is alſo another Iland inhabited with Spaniards called Boriquen or Sant Iuan de Puerto rico. It is but little, yet euery way as plentifull as the other two are; and therfore I omit to ſpeake thereof.

The Ile of Cuba.

S. Iuan de Puerto rico.

But now to proſecute my diſcourſe of the port-townes vpon the maine lande: Eaſtwarde and Southward from Margarita there are no townes inhabited by Spaniardes or Portugals, till you come to Fernambuck vpon the coaſt of Braſill; notwithſtanding that betweene the ſayd Iland and Fernambuck runneth the mightie riuer of Marannon, whereof (both becauſe of the greatneſſe and the riches contayned therein) I muſt needes make ſome relation, in regarde I haue promiſed to ſpeake of euery place that is of any value in all the Indies. This riuer is one of the greateſt in the world, and was firſt found when as the Spaniardes ſought out the other coaſt: but none can paſſe vp this riuer becauſe of the greatneſſe of the current which commeth downe, as alſo there are many ſhelues of ſand lying in the mouth thereof; whereby it

Fernambuck.

The great riuer of Marannon.

Gonſalo Pizarro. La Canela.

The great riuer of Marannon or Orellana.

Orellana ſent downe the riuer of Marannon with fiftie men.

by it was long before the riches in and about this riuer were knowew, vntill ſuch time as the kingdome of Peru was conquered: at which time a Captaine called Gonſalo Pizarro paſſing thorough the countrey of Peru came at length into a lande which they named La Canela, becauſe there groweth great ſtore of Sinamome, but not altogether ſo good as that which commeth from the Eaſt Indies. The ſayd Captaine proceeding farther into the countrey came at length to a mightie riuer, where he ſawe the countrey people rowing in their Canoas, and bringing golde to buy and ſell with the Spaniards. Captaine Pizarro ſeeing this, was deſirous to finde out the ende of this riuer, but he could not trauell by lande becauſe of the high mountaines: wherefore he made a ſmall Barke or Pinneſſe to goe and diſcouer from whence the ſaide Indians brought their golde, and ſent in the ſaide Pinneſſe a Captaine vnder him called Orellana, who with fiftie men went downe the riuer, but could not returne to their Generall Pizarro, becauſe of the great current which was very ſtrong againſt them, forcing them to paſſe along the riuer, and to enter into the Sea, and ſo they ſayled on forwarde to the foreſaide Iſle of Margarita: but as they paſſed downe this riuer they found it well inhabited with Indians, which were poſſeſſed of great ſtore of golde. Theſe men with their Pinneſſe were paſſing downe this riuer eight monethes, for the riuer lyeth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, neither durſt the Spaniardes euer lande, becauſe they ſawe the countrey ſo full of people, but they tooke many Canoas, wherein they had great ſtore of victuals, and ſome golde.

Lewis de Melo.

Now this Orellana comming vnto Margarita with theſe good newes and riches, determined not to returne vnto his Captaine Pizarro which ſent him, but tooke his way from thence to the king of Spaine, and preſented him with the golde that he brought out of the riuer: whereupon the king ſent him with a fleete of ſhippes and ſixe hundred men to inhabite the ſayd riuer: but becauſe of the great current and ſholdes that are therein, hee left the moſt part of his men and ſhippes, and with thoſe that remained he went vnto certaine Ilandes hard by the riuer, and built him Pinneſſes; but the countrey being very vnhealthfull, himſelfe and many of his men dyed, and the reſidue went euery man which way pleaſed him beſt. The fame of this riuer was ſtraightway ſpread through Spaine and Portugal, inſomuch that a Gentleman of Portugall called Lewis de Melo aſked licenſe of Don Iuan the third, then king of Portugall to goe and conquere the ſayd riuer: for from the mouth of this riuer to the mouth of the riuer of Plate, is that part of America which the kings of Portugall (according to the partition made betweene them and the kings of Spaine) doe holde: ſo that the king of Portugall hauing this riuer in his part gaue it to the ſaide Lewis de Melo to conquere: who taking tenne ſhips and eight hundred men (among which many were gentlemen) and comming to the mouth of this riuer, loſt all the ſaid ſhips ſauing two, in one of the which two was Lewis de Melo himſelfe: alſo the moſt part of the men that were in the ſhips caſt away were ſaued and got to the ſhore, and ſo went by lande to the Iſland of Margarita; from whence they were diſperſed throughout all the Indies.

El Dorado.

Pedro de Orzua.

Thus theſe two fleetes of ſhips being ſo vnfortunately caſt away, neuer durſt any Captaine afterward attempt by ſea to conquer the ſayde riuer. Howbeit from the kingdome of Nueua Granada before mentioned there haue gone two or three Captaines by land to diſcouer it, for a rumour went ouer all the countrey of the great riches contained in this riuer; whereupon the Spaniards named it El Dorado, that is to ſay, The golden riuer. It is thought that God will not haue this riuer to be knowen, for that one Captaine by lande has moſt of his people ſlaine by thoſe of the countrey, and others for want of victuals returned. So that none of all theſe came to any plaine diſcouery, till a few yeeres paſt a Captaine of the countrey of Nauarre called Pedro de Orzua, who went from Peru almoſt the ſame way that Gonſalo Pizarro had before diſcouered, and was accompanied with about ſome ſeuen hundred Spaniards, it being a great maruell how he could get ſo many, amongſt whom were many Gentlemen and old ſouldiers of Peru, who cauſed diuers mutinies and inſurrections, as hereafter I will more at large declare, which mutinous ſouldiers were the cauſe of their captaines death. Howbeit with all theſe men captaine Pedro de Orzua came vnto head of the ſaid riuer: but you muſt vnderſtand, that this riuer is nouriſhed not onely with the waters and freſhers that come from the mountaines of Peru, but alſo by all the riuers betweene the Equinoctiall and ſixteene degrees of Southerly latitude, which fall thereinto and cauſe it to be ſo great. Nowe at the head of this riuer the ſayde Captaine Pedro de Orzua made fifteene Pinneſſes with many Canoas, wherein he carried about two thouſand Indians to helpe him, with many horſes and other prouiſion, as meaning to inhabite there: for it was not poſſible for him to carry all his prouiſion by lande, becauſe the mountaines be very great, there being alſo betweene them many ſmall riuers which fall into this great riuer aboue twentie leagues out of the land. So this captaine hauing all his things in good order went downe the riuer with his whole company, and at length came from among the mountaines to a plaine countrey where the Indians dwelt; and there he held a councell, determining in the ſame place to build a towne and to fortifie it very ſtrongly, to the end he might leaue all his ſtuffe there, and ſuch men as were not ſouldiers. And ſo they began to build the ſaid towne, and wrought vpon it all the winter: where becauſe it raineth much, and withall is very hot, ſickneſs and want of victuals began to preuaile amongſt them, wherupon the ſouldiers fell a murmuring among themſelues. For comming out of Peru, which is one of the fruitfulleſt & richeſt countries of the world, they were more inclined to haue their fill of bread and meat then to apply their bodies to labour: which was the cauſe that albeit the countrey in which they now were, was exceeding fruitfull, and that they ſaw with their eyes moſt euident appearances of golde, & alſo that vp into the countrey it ſeemed to be much better; yet for all this they murmured & would needes returne for Peru from whence they came. In the company of theſe men there was a ſouldier of Biskay called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of bodie & lame of one of his legs, but very valiant and of good experience in the warres. This man hauing bene one of the principall mutiners in Peru, could not here giue ouer his old wont, but aſked his fellow-ſouldiers, what they went to ſeeke for in thoſe wild deſerts whither they were brought: For (ſaid he) if you ſeeke riches, there are enough in Peru, and there is bread, wine, fleſh, and faire women alſo; ſo that it were better to conquer that, and to take it out of the handes of the Spaniardes, and that it were no hard enterpriſe, becauſe all the ſouldiers and poore men of Peru would turne vnto them, and that that were a better courſe, then to goe and conquere the ſauage people in thoſe mountaines: ſo that once hauing the gouernment of Peru, the king of Spaine ſhould be inforced to agree with them: if not (ſayd he) we ſhall not lacke them that will ſuccour vs, to haue the riches of Peru. By theſe perſwaſions he brought many ſouldiers to be of his minde, and conſpired alſo with a young gentleman of Siuill called Don Fernando de Guſman (who was in loue with a young woman which the captaine Pedro de Orzua had, and therefore did the ſooner agree vnto the wicked intent of Agira) to murther the captaine. Who on a night being aſleepe in his bed, the ſaid conſpirators and their faction entered into his bed-chamber, and there ſtabbed him with their daggers; which being done, they ſlew alſo all the Captaines that were his friends, and therewithall made a great out-cry, ſaying, God ſaue the king, God ſaue the king: whereupon all the campe was in an vprore. Then Lopez de Agira made vnto the ſouldiers a long oration, and got them all to conſent vnto him, ſome by force, and ſome becauſe they durſt not ſay to the contrary, and others of their good will, and ſo in the end they all agreed vnto his determined purpoſe. Then made they Fernando de Guſman their head, & Agira was made a captaine. This done, becauſe the people ſhould the better hold their opinion, he did as great a villany as euer any Spaniard cōmitted: for he made an altar, wheron he and all the ſouldiers renounced their ſeruice vnto the king of Spaine, & ſo as people without a king, choſe the ſaid Don Fernando to be their king, and did homage vnto him. Theſe matters being thus finiſhed they conſulted among themſelues which ſhould be the beſt way for them to goe to Peru? For they could not goe vp the riuer, by which they came downe, in regarde of the ſtrong current, and going backe ouerland they ſhould be very weake for want of horſemen: wherefore they determined to goe downe the riuer. Then ſaide Lopez de Agira, that they would carry nothing with them but the pinneſſes & ſouldiers which ſhould fight, and that it were beſt to leaue behind them all the Indians which they brought from Peru, with the women and the ſicke men. Whereunto the Generall Don Ferdinando would not agree, becauſe he knew that when they were gone the people of the countrey would kill them all. Lopez de Agira hearing this, and longing to be chiefe gouernour himſelfe, tooke vnto him 30 of his owne countreymen of his diſpoſition, and on the ſudden ſlew Don Fernando, whom not many dayes before he had ſworne to obey: & now by his ſubtill practiſes, being withall eloquent in his talke, he cauſed the ſouldiers to appoint himſelfe their gouernour, & made them beleeue that all the cruelties committed were for their ſaueguard: neither did the tyrannie of this wretched man here ende. He was borne in Biskay a countrey neere vnto France, wherefore I beleeue him rather to haue bene a Frenchman then a Spaniard, for that in the heart of a Spaniard could not be ſo much crueltie as this man ſhewed. Now being readie to goe his way, he determined not to carry with him any gentlemen or perſons of qualitie, and therefore he ſlew all ſuch perſons; and then departing onely with the common ſouldiers, he left behind him all the Spaniſh women and ſicke men, with all other creatures. If I ſhould rehearſe all the cruell murthers of this wicked man one by one, I ſhould be ouer tedious vnto you. Onely in fewe words I ſay, that this man proceeded downe the riuer, hauing with him onely foure hundred men: but before he paſſed the riuer,

Lopez de Agira his dangerous conſpiracie.

Pedro de Orzua murthered.

Don Ferdinando de Guſman proclaimed king of Peru.

Fernando de Guſman ſlaine.

A new maſſacre.

and was come to Margarita, he had no more left but two hundred and thirty men, for the reſt hee had put to death, and left on ſhore among the people of the countrey; all which tyranny he uſed, becauſe he euer ſtood in feare of his life: for had he ſeene at any time but two ſouldiers talking together, he would ſtreight ſuſpect that they were conſpiring of his death, and therefore he uſed the practiſes aboueſaide. And he neuer went any way, but that hee had in his company thirtie Biſcaines of his owne will and minde readie to execute his cruell purpoſes.

Great ſtore of gold in the riuer of Marannon.

As theſe ſouldiers with their Captaine came downe the riuer, they ſawe many Canoas with golde in them paſſing too and fro, and people on both ſides of the riuer, and in their paſſage many times they landed, and got good ſtore of golde and victuals. Now alſo did they finde that to be true which Orellana had reported, namely that there were Amazones, that is to ſay, women that fight in the warres with bowes and arrowes: but theſe women fight to aide their huſbands, and not by themſelues alone without the companie of men, as Orellana reported. There were of theſe women vpon diuers partes of this riuer, who ſeeing the Spaniardes fighting with their huſbandes came in to ſuccour them, and ſhewed themſelues more valiant then their huſbandes; for which cauſe it was named, The riuer of Amazones. The Spaniardes intent was onely to paſſe downe the riuer, neither ſought they at all to diſcouer the Inland, and yet they tooke good ſtore of golde, putting it into one of their Pinneſſes, where Lopez de Agira himſelfe was embarked, which Pinneſſe at the mouth of the riuer was caſt away, but he himſelfe eſcaped, becauſe he had not as yet fulfilled his bloodie minde. And when he was come to the Ilande of Margarita, the Gouernour thereof ſuppoſing he had bene one of the kings loyall captaines, receiued him with pinneſſes, and brought good ſtore of victuals vnto him. But he putting the ſayd Gouernour immediatly to death, landed on the Iland, and tooke it and two ſhippes that were there, and conſtrained likewiſe an hundred and fiftie men, which he there found, to goe with him, beſides others that went voluntarily, carrying from thence good ſtore of victuales, and many horſes alſo. And then he returned to the maine land, ſaying, that with his ſmall forces hee would ſubdue the whole Indias: imagining belike that all the olde ſouldiers and poore people, at the firſt ſight of him, would turne to his ſide and take his part. Howbeit he was foulely deceiued: for before he had marched two dayes iourney vp into the land, the Gouernour of Nueua Granada came againſt him with a power of men: but Lopez de Agira hoping that other ſouldiers would haue ioyned themſelues vnto him, whereby his ſtrength might haue beene the more, was quite fruſtrate of his expectation: for euen his owne men left him, and tooke part with the kings Captaine. Nowe ſeeing himſelfe thus left deſtitute of his ſouldiers, and voide of all helpe, he committed a more vnnaturall bloodie act then euer Nero the tyrant did, for he murthered his owne daughter being but ſixteene yeeres of age, which he had brought with him out of Peru: the cauſe why he killed her was, that ſhe might not become a concubine to villaines, nor be called the daughter of a traytor: and theſe wordes he uſed vnto her, ſo ſoone as he had giuen her her deaths wound: but before he could finiſh this cruell act, the ſouldiers came vpon him, and cut him in pieces, alſo his daughter died of her wound in that place.

Amazones women which helpe their huſbands in the warres.

Good ſtore of golde.

Lopez de Agira arriueth at Margarita 1568.

Thus haue you heard the miſerable ende of this bloodie caitiſe: in regarde of whoſe trecherous and miſchieuous dealing the king would neuer ſince ſuffer this riuer to bee thoroughly diſcouered; ſo that the riches and treaſure of the ſaid riuer remaine vnknowen euen vntill this preſent day.

Great riches hidden within the riuer of Marannon.

Now leauing to diſcourſe any longer of this riuer of Marannon, all the coaſt betweene the ſaide riuer and the riuer of Plate, is called The coaſt of Braſill, taking that name from a kinde of wood in the ſame countrey, called Braſill-wood, whereof there is great ſtore in thoſe partes. This coaſt of Braſill was firſt diſcouered by Pedro Aluarez Cabral, in the ſecond voyage which the king of Portugall cauſed to be made to the Eaſt Indies: and the foreſayde Pedro Aluarez tooke poſſeſſion of this land for the king of Portugall: whereupon the king Don Emanuel hearing newes thereof ſent preſently ſhippes to diſcouer the whole countrey, and found it to be part of America otherwiſe called The Weſt Indies: for which cauſe there grewe ſome controuerſie betweene him and the king of Spaine: but being kinſmen and great friends one to another, they agreed in the end, that the king of Portugall ſhould holde all the countrey that he had diſcouered, the which was (as I haue ſaid) from the riuer of Marannon to the riuer of Plate; albeit the Spaniards affirme, that it ſtretcheth no further then the Iland of Santa Catelina; whereupon there haue riſen many controuerſies betweene the Portugales and Spaniardes, which haue coſt many men their liues.

The coaſt of Braſill, why it was ſo called, and by whome it was at the firſt diſcouered.

There came into the ſaid riuer of Plate in the yeere 1587 two Engliſh ſhips and a Pinneſſe of the right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, which were bound for the ſtreights of Magellan,

gellan, and ankored ten leagues within the ſaid riuer before a little Iland lying hard by another called Seal-Iland. On which Iland the Captaine of one of the ſhips called Chriſtopher Liſter, and his whole company landing, found the king of Portugales armes grauen on a rocke by the ſea ſide; which are thought to haue beene there engrauen by one Martin Alonſo de Souza, who was ſent by the king Don Emanuel to diſcouer this coaſt. Therefore I thinke the Portugales haue reaſon for that which they alleage concerning the extenſion of the ſaid coaſt of Braſil. Wherefore the king of Portugall gaue this land to diuerſe of his gentlemen to inhabite. Moſt of the naturall inhabitants of this countrey are very rude, and goe ſtarke naked both men and women, and are man-eaters; for which cauſe they make warres one againſt another to get men to eate; they are ſtout and good bow-men. The firſt place inhabited on this coaſt beyonde the riuer of Marannon is called Fernambuck ſo named by the Indians, but in Portugall it is called Villa de Olinda. Before you come to this place there is a port called Paraiua, vnto which port not many yeeres paſt the Frenchmen hearing of the troubles which were then in Portugall reſorted, and built there a fort; whereunto certaine French ſhips made yeerely voyages to lade Braſill-wood. But they of Fernambuck, with the helpe of the Spaniardes, went and burnt fiue french ſhippes within the port, and tooke the fort it ſelfe, and the Frenchmen that were there fled part into the mountaines, and part of them were ſlaine; ſo that ſince that time the Spaniardes haue inhabited there till this preſent. Nowe to returne to Fernambuck inhabited by a Portugall Captaine called Duarte Coelio, it is the greateſt towne in all that coaſt, and hath aboue three thouſand houſes in it, with ſeuentie Ingenios for ſugar, and great ſtore of Braſill-wood and abundance of cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals: for all their victuals come either from Portugall or from ſome places vpon the coaſt of Braſill. The harbour of this towne is a barred harbour, and fit onely for ſmall barkes: this place belongeth as yet vnto the ſonne of Duarte Coëlio. Beyond this towne lyeth the Cape of Sant Auguſtin, and next thereunto is the riuer of Sant Franciſco, which is a great riuer. Betweene this riuer and Bayha it is all a wilderneſſe inhabited with cruell ſaluages, for whomſoeuer they take they kill and eate him. The towne of Bayha belongeth to the king, and therefore the gouernour of all the coaſt keepeth his reſidence in the ſame, as alſo the biſhop. It containeth 1000 houſes, & 40 Ingenios for ſugar, and hath much cotton, but no Braſill-wood at all. The ſea runneth vp into the countrey here 14 or 15 leagues, where they get ſome yeres good ſtore of Amber-grieſe. Here is great plentie of victuals, and although the countrey be hot, yet is it healthfull, & the aire holeſome. The next towne vpon the coaſt called As Ilhas, or The Iles, is but a ſmall towne, containing not aboue 150 houſes, and but three Ingenios for ſugar. Moſt of the inhabitants are labouring men, which vſe to carry victuals in their ſmall barkes vnto Fernambuck: their Lord is called Lucas Giraldo.

Fernambuck.

A fort built by the Frenchmē at Paraiua.

Paraiua now inhabited by Spaniards.

Fernambuck cōtaineth 3000 houſes.

Cape S. Auguſtin.

Rio de Sant Franciſco.

Bayha a towne of 1000. houſes.

As Ilhas.

The next place vnto this is called Puerto Seguro: it conſiſteth of 4 ſmall townes, which containe not in all aboue 300 houſes. The inhabitants of this towne alſo liue by carrying of victuals along the coaſt; and the towne it ſelfe belongeth to the Duke de Auero. Hard by this port begin the ſholdes which they call Abrolhos; and theſe ſholdes lie aboue 25 leagues into the ſea.

Puerto Seguro.

The ſholdes called Abrolhos.

The next habitation of Chriſtians beyond theſe ſholdes is Eſpirito Santo which conſiſteth of two townes, both of them contayning about 300 houſes: and they belong to a gentleman called Vaſques Fernandes de Coutinho.

Eſpirito Santo.

From hence you paſſe along the coaſt to the riuer of Ienero, which hath about three hundred houſes. In this place the Frenchmen firſt inhabited, whoſe Captaine was called Monſieur de Villegagnon. The ſaid Captaine made here a fort, and planted good ordinance thereon, and laded euery yeere great ſtore of Braſill-wood from hence, and had great friendſhip with the ſaluage people, who did him good ſeruice, by reaſon whereof the Frenchmen reaped much benefite out of this countrey. But the king of Portugall ſent out a power againſt the Frenchmen, who firſt tooke the french ſhippes by ſea, and then landed and beſieged the fort, and at length tooke it, and the Captaine thereof: vnto whom, becauſe he was a gentle perſon, and neuer hurt the Portugales, they gaue thirtie thouſand ducats for his ordinance, and for all other things that were in the fort, and ſo ſent him for France. Since which time the Portugales haue inhabited this riuer. There are at this preſent onely two Ingenios, but great ſtore of Braſill-wood, with plentie of victuals.

Rio de Ienero.

From this riuer of Ienero they paſſe along the coaſt to Sant Vincente, which hath 4 townes, the greateſt whereof is called Santos, and conſiſteth of foure hundred houſes, there are alſo three Ingenios. A fewe yeeres paſt there came two Engliſh ſhips into this harbour which were going for the Streights of Magellan. Who being in this port, there came thither three of the king of Spaines ſhips, and fought with the Engliſhmen, but the Engliſhmen ſunke one of their

Foure townes ſtanding vpon the riuer of S. Vincente

Theſe Engliſhmen were M. Fenton and Luke Ward.

A fort built at the riuer of Sant Vincente againſt the Engliſh.

The Iland of Santa Catelina.

ſhips, and therefore the king commanded a fort to be made, to the ende that no Engliſh ſhippes that were bound for the ſtreights of Magellan ſhould victuall there, the which fort ſtandeth on the mouth of the harbour. This countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called Martin Alonſo de Souza: this is the laſt inhabited place vpon all the coaſt of Braſill. This coaſt of Braſill is very full of mountaines, and hath much raine falling vpon it, for which cauſe they cannot goe from towne to towne by land: all the habitations of this countrey are by the ſea ſide. From Sant Vincente the coaſt is all mountainous, till you come to the Iſle of Santa Catelina, and from this Iland till you come euen to the ſtraights of Magellan, the coaſt is very plaine and without woods.

Rio de la Plata

Sebaſtian Cabota.

Buenos Ayres.

The wonderfull increaſe of a few horſes and mares.

La Aſcenſion 300 leagues vp the riuer of Plate.

Santa Fe.

Hauing proceeded thus farre, it will not be amiſſe to ſpeake ſomewhat of the riuer of Plate, which is one of the greateſt riuers in all the world: for at the mouth it is aboue fiue and twentie leagues from land to land: and the Spaniards haue gone vp in it aboue ſixe hundred leagues, and could not attaine to the head thereof. The firſt Spaniard that entered this riuer, and inhabited the ſame was called Solis, who paſſed vp 100 leagues into it, and called it by the name of Rio de la Plata, that is to ſay, The riuer of ſiluer, becauſe of the fine and cleare water that is in it, for I haue not heard of any ſiluer that euer was found there. The ſaide Solis returned into Spaine, without any further ſearch into this riuer: howbeit another Captaine called Sebaſtian Cabota went vp this riuer 150 leagues, and built a fort, which fort ſtandeth vntill this preſent: where leauing his ſhips, he went higher vp the riuer in ſmal Pinneſſes, and all along as he went he found many Indians: but finding neither gold nor ſiluer, nor ought elſe of any great value, he returned to his ſhips, and ſayled for Spaine. Not many yeeres after a certaine Gentleman called Don Pedro de Mendoça furniſhed forth a great fleete of ſhips, wherein were ſhipped a thouſand men, fortie mares, and twentie horſes, with all other creatures to inhabite this riuer: and comming thither he went vp into the countrey to ſee what riches he could there finde, leauing all his ſtuffe, cattle, and prouiſion at a place called Buenos Ayeres, ſo named in regard of the freſhneſſe of the ayre, and the healthfulneſſe of his men, during their abode there: this place was eightie leagues within the riuer, and here he landed firſt: at this place the riuer is aboue ſeuen leagues broad, and very low land on both ſides without trees. This riuer is very often ſubiect to great and ſudden ſtormes, ſo that with a ſtorme this Don Pedro loſt eight of his ſhips, and in the reſt he returned for Spaine, ſaying to his men, that he would goe ſeeke victuals, and ſo left the greater part of them behinde. In his way homeward he died, and the poore men which he left behind him, for the moſt part of them died for hunger alſo, becauſe in that place there were very few Indians, and therefore but ſmall ſtore of victuals, onely they liued by hunting of Deere, and by fiſhing. Of all the men that Don Pedro left behind him there were but two hundred remaining aliue, who in the ſhip-boates went higher vp the riuer, leauing in the place called Buenos Ayeres their mares and horſes: but it is a wonder to ſee, that of thirty mares and ſeuen horſes which the Spaniards left there, the increaſe in fortie yeeres was ſo great, that the countrey is 20 leagues vp full of horſes; whereby a man may coniecture the goodneſſe of the paſture, and the fruitfulneſſe of the ſoile. The Spaniards that went vp this riuer paſſed three hundred leagues, and found the countrey ful of Indians: who had great plenty of victuals, among whom the Spaniards dwelt as their friends, and the Indians beſtowed their daughters in mariage vpon them, and ſo they dwelt altogether in one towne, which the Spaniards called La Aſcenſion, and it ſtandeth on the North ſide of the riuer. The foreſaid Spaniardes were twentie yeres in this place, before any newes of their inhabiting vpon this riuer was brought into Spaine: but waxing olde, and fearing that when they were dead, their ſons which they had begotten in this countrey being very many, ſhould liue without the knowledge of any other Chriſtians; they determined among themſelues to build a ſhip, and to ſende newes into Spaine with letters vnto the king of all things that had paſſed among them, vpon that riuer. Theſe newes being brought to the king, he ſent three ſhips, with a Biſhop and certaine Prieſts, and Friers, and more men and women to inhabite, with all kind of cattell. When this ſuccour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North ſide of the riuer, and trauelled three hundred leagues beyond the Aſcenſion; but finding neither gold nor ſiluer, they returned backe againe vnto the Aſcenſion. The people are ſo multiplyed in this citie, that now it is one of the greateſt in all the Indias, and containeth aboue two thouſand houſes. The countrey adioyning is exceeding fruitfull, abounding with all kinds of victuals, & with ſugar and cotton. From this citie of Aſcenſion 150 leagues towards the mouth of the riuer ſtandeth another towne which they call Santa Fe, on the South ſide of the ſaid riuer, from which towne there lyeth an open high way leading into the land of Peru, ſo that when I come to intreat of Peru I will ſpeake of this way, and declare who firſt found it. Alſo fiue yeeres paſt they haue inhabited anew the towne of Buenos Ayres on the South ſide of the riuer, to the end they might haue trade from the coaſt of Braſill, but their fortune was ſuch, that the very firſt time they went to Braſill, and would haue returned againe to the riuer of Plate, they were taken by two ſhips of England that were going for the ſtreights of Magellan.

Two English ſhips, whereof M. Fenton was Generall 1582.

The coaſt along from this riuer to the ſtreights of Magellan hath not bene perfectly diſcouered, either by ſea or lande, ſauing onely certaine portes which they haue found, ſayling to the ſtreights. Wherefore paſſing them ouer, I will here intreat of the ſaide ſtreights, and declare who was the firſt finder of them, as likewiſe what was the cauſe why they were ſought for. The Portugales therefore hauing firſt found and conquered the Eaſt Indies, and diſcouered the coaſt of China, with the Ilands of the Malucos, (all which places abound with gold, precious ſtones, ſilkes, and other rich commodities) and bringing home the foreſaide riches in their ſhips into Portugall: there grewe by this meanes great enuie betweene the Portugales and their neighbours the Spaniardes; inſomuch that the Councell of Spaine ſaide vnto the Emperour Charles the fift being then their king, that the Portugales would be Lordes of all the riches of the world. Vpon which wordes beganne a controuerſie betweene the Emperour and the king of Portugall: but they being great friends before, and alſo kinſmen, agreed immediatly to part the whole world betweene them, in ſuch wiſe as I for my part could neuer vnderſtand the certaintie thereof. The world being thus diuided, a Portugal-gentleman called Fernando Magellanes borne in a place of Portugall called Punta de la barte, being of a good houſe, & very wel ſeene in coſmographie, and an excellent Pilot, as alſo being offended with Don Emanuel his Souereigne, departed out of Portugall into Spaine, and affirmed to the Councell of Spaine, that the Iſles of the Malucos were in that part of the worlde which was allotted to the king of Spaine, and that he would finde a ſhorter way thither then the Portugales tooke, and layed before them ſuch infallible reaſons, that the Councell giuing credite vnto his wordes ſent him to ſea with fiue ſhips and 400 men all very well appointed. With theſe fiue ſhips ſetting ſaile from S. Lucar, he came to the coaſt of Braſill, where at that time two places were inhabited by Portugales, and ſo ſayling on along that coaſt he paſſed by the riuer of Plate, which riuer was diſcouered a little before by Solis. And notwithſtanding many ſtormes, and great mutinies among his companie, he came at length vnto 48 degrees, to the Southwards of the riuer of Plate: where he found an harbour, which he named Puerto de Sant Iulian, and wintered there: and there alſo he hanged 5 men, and put on ſhore a Prieſt, becauſe they would haue made the company to ſtand againſt their captaine, and ſo to haue returned backe againe. But in the end hauing pacified his men, he put to ſea, and within 5 dayes after he found the ſtreights, which by him were ſo much deſired: but before he entred the ſaid ſtreights there befell ſuch a mutinie in one of his ſhips, that the ſame ſhip returned backe againe. And ſo himſelfe with the other foure ſhips entering the ſtreights, one of the ſaid foure with all the men therein was caſt away at the very enterance: which loſſe notwithſtanding he proceeded on with the other three ſhips, and paſſing many troubles and dangers in this long diſcouery, ceaſed not to proſecute his intended voyage. This diſcouery was at the firſt thought very profitable vnto the Spaniards, but of late it hath prooued very hurtfull vnto them by meanes of certaine coaſters which haue ſayled the ſelfe ſame courſe. Theſe ſtreights ſtand in 52 degrees and a halfe of Southerly latitude. Alſo here is to be noted, that it is colder to the Southward of the line then to the Northward: in ſuch wiſe, that in fortie degrees to the Southward the colde is more ſharpe, then in fiftie degrees to the North: experience doth alwaies ſhew the ſame; for it is as colde euen in the ſtreights of Magellan, as it is in ſixty degrees of Northerly latitude. Ho[illegible] the colde is not the cauſe why nauigators frequent not the ſame, but the Weſterly and South[illegible]y windes, which blowe moſt furiouſly on that coaſt, and that oftentimes out of the very mouth of the ſtreightes, and ſo continue for the moſt part of the yeere. Alſo there runneth ſometimes ſuch a ſtrong current, that if the winde and it goe all one way, the cables cannot holde, neither can the ſhip withſtand the force thereof. For which cauſe, and alſo for that there is no harbour, till you be paſſed 30 leagues into the ſaid ſtreights, moſt part of the ſhips that haue gone thither haue indured many troubles before they could come to the ſtreights, and being come to the mouth thereof they haue bene hindered by the current and winde, and ſo haue beene put backe againe. And to the end you may vnderſtand the truth, I will declare vnto you all the ſhippes that haue paſt through the ſaid ſtreights, ſince Magellan firſt found them, vnto this preſent yeere of 1586, when I haue once ended my diſcourſe of Magellan his owne voyage. Nowe you are by the way to vnderſtande, that the North ſide of the enterance of theſe ſtreights is plaine lande without any wood or trees: here are likewiſe ſome Indians though not many, yet are they very mightie men of bodie of ten or eleuen foot high, and good bow-men, but no man-eaters, neither haue they any victuals, but ſuch as they get by hunting and fiſhing:

Fernando Magellanes.

Porto S. Iulian.

The diſcouery of the ſtreights of Magellan.

The Southerly latitude of the ſtraights of Magellan.

Patagones.

The length of the ſtreights of Magellan.

A mightie ridg of mountains.

Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada.

* But of late there are found diuerſe rich mines.

The death of Magellan.

Sebaſtian del Cano the firſt man that euer ſayled about the world.

they couer their bodies with the ſkinnes of beaſts that they kill, to defend them from the colde: neither was there euer to this day any ſiluer or golde found among them or in their countrey. These Streights (they ſay) extend in length from Eaſt to Weſt about an hundred and twentie leagues. At the middle of theſe ſtreights on the North ſide are many mountaines couered with ſnow, which mountaines ſtretch from thence along the frontiers of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada, euen vnto the ſhore of the North ſea at Santa Martha, as I haue before ſignified. It is a wonder to behold the exceeding height of theſe mountaines, and the way which they continue couered with ſnow, for euen vnder the Equinoctiall line they haue as much ſnowe vpon their tops as in 52 degrees. Alſo it is worthy the remembrance, that all this countrey towarde the South ſea is very fruitfull, and the people very diſcreete and gentle: but all the coaſt towardes Braſill vpon the North ſea is poore, whereas neuer yet was found any commoditie of account, and the people themſelues are very cruell and ſaluage; for the will of God is, that good and ciuill men ſhould inhabite fruitfull countries. And for the better vnderſtanding hereof you muſt note, that all the land lying betweene the ſaid ridge of mountaines and the South ſea is called by the names of Chili, Peru, and Nueuo reino de Granada, which are the beſt and richeſt countreys in all the world: and moſt part of the land from the ſaid mountaines to the North ſea is called Braſill, being a mountainous countrey, * where as yet was neuer found either golde or ſiluer. From the ſaid mountaines in the middle of the ſtreights the land riſeth high, till you come to the end of the ſtreights where you enter into the South ſea, in which place next the South ſea the ſtreights are very dangerous, by reaſon of the ſholdes & rocks that lie on the North ſide. Thus Magellan after he had entered the South ſea, within 60 dayes came to the Iles of the Malucos, without touching at any land vntill he came thither: and ſo ſeeking there to lade his ſhips at an Iland inhabited by Moores, he was by them treacherouſly ſlaine. Now the Spaniards being too few for the managing of all three ſhips, becauſe many of them were dead, partly with ſicknes, and partly with the hardneſſe of the voiage, determined to abandon one of their ſaid ſhips, and ſo manned the other two: which two being laden with ſpices and other riches knew not what courſe they were beſt to take: howbeit at length it was determined, that one of theſe two ſhips ſhould go for Nueua Eſpanna, and the other for the cape of Buena Eſperança, and ſo for Spaine. The ſhip that went for Spaine was called The Victorie, the Pilot whereof was a Biſcain named Iuan Sebaſtian del Cano, to whom the king gaue great rewardes, and appointed him the globe for his armes, whereon was written: Primus omnium circundediſti me: that is, thou art the firſt man that euer ſayled about me.

Two ſhips of Genoa.

And albeit this voyage was ſo long and troubleſome as is before mentioned, yet many others haue attempted the ſame. And the next that ſought to paſſe the ſaid ſtreights of Magellan were two ſhips of Genoa, which comming as farre as the mouth of the ſtreights were by a mightie ſtorme driuen backe againe, and one of them, whoſe maſter was called Pancaldo, put into the riuer of Plate, and was caſt away about Buenos Aeres, where to this day part of the ſaid ſhip is to be ſeene, and ſome of the men are yet liuing in the riuer among the Spaniards: and the other ſhip returned to Genoa againe.

A third voiage to ẏ ſtreights.

* Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, parte 2. lib. 20. calleth this Captaine Camargo.

A fourth voyage to the ſtreights.

Alſo there was a biſhop of Placencia in Spaine, who coueting riches, ſet foorth a fleet of foure ſailes, to paſſe the ſtreights, and ſo to goe for the Malucos: and getting licenſe of the Emperour he ſent his ſaid 4 ſhips toward the ſtreights which had very faire windes till they came thither: but being entered 20 leagues within the ſtreights, a ſtorme of Weſterly windes tooke them, & droue 3 of them on ſhore, & the fourth backe into the ſea, which (the ſtorme being paſt) returned into the ſtreights to ſeeke for his conſorts, & found many men going on the ſhores ſide, but the ſhips were beaten all to pieces. So they on land called vnto the ſhip; but the captaine therof, conſidering that his ſhip was but litle, & that he had but ſmall ſtore of victuals, would not go to them on ſhore, but proceeded on his voyage, & paſſed the ſtreights. And becauſe he was alone he would not ſaile to the Malucos, but went for the coaſt of Peru to the citie of Lima, where the ſhip remaineth vnto this day. The men of the other three ſhips, which were left in the ſtreights being to the number of two hundred and fiftie (whoſe Captaine being kinſman to the biſhop of Placencia was called * Queros) were neuer heard of vntill this preſent day, it being fortie yeres ſince they were left there. A yeare after this, certaine marchants of the Groine in Galicia ſet foorth other three ſhips, which ſhips alſo came to the ſtreights mouth, where one of them was caſt away with all the men, and the other two returned for Spaine.

A fift and laſt voiage to the ſtreights of Magellan.

Alſo I haue had intelligence of certaine Portugall ſhips, which being come to the mouth of the Streights loſt two of their Pinneſſes which they ſent to diſcouer the land, and then returned back. And after theſe, two French ſhips were ſent from the riuer of Ienero by Monſieur de Villegagnon,

legagnon, but being come to the latitude of 45. degrees, they were driuen backe by a ſtorme of contrary winds. After all this the gouernour of Chili called Don Garcia de Mendoça ſonne to the Marques of Cannette determining to diſcouer the ſayd Streights from the South ſea, ſent from Chili two ſhips vnder the conduct of a captaine called Latherelio: but the danger to ſeeke theſe Streights by the South ſea is more then by the North ſea, becauſe all the ſtormes of the North ſea come from the land, but in the South ſea all the windes and ſtormes come off the ſea, and force the ſhips to run vpon the lee-ſhore, inſomuch that the ſayd two ſhips were caſt away in fiftie degrees.

Two french ſhips ſent for the ſtreights of Magellan.

The ſeeking of theſe Streights of Magellan is ſo dangerous, and the voyage ſo troubleſome, that it ſeemeth a matter almoſt impoſſible to be performed, inſomuch that for the ſpace of thirty yeeres no man made account thereof; vntill of late one Francis Drake an Engliſhman (of whom I haue before ſpoken) ſeeing hee could doe no good on the maine lande of the West Indies to benefit himſelfe, becauſe of the galleys of Cartagena that kept the coaſt, determined to ſeeke the Streights of Magellan, and to paſſe into the South ſea. And ſo hauing prouided two ſhips and three pinneſſes in England, he proceeded on his voyage, and comming to the Iſlandes of Cape Verde tooke a Portugal ſhippe laden with wine, the Pilot whereof beeing a Portugal called Nuno da Sylua, hee caried along with him, who was a great helpe and furtherance vnto him in his voyage. And this which I ſhall here ſay, I had in writing of the Portugal pilot himſelfe.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage about yͤ world.

From the Iſlands of Cape Verde the ſayd Francis Drake ſailed vnto Port Sant Iulian, where he wintered: and there alſo hee put to death a gentleman of his company, becauſe hee would haue returned home. This port I take to bee accurſed, for that Magellan likewiſe put ſome to death there for the like offence.

The cauſe why M. Douty was beheaded.

This Francis Drake putting out of the ſayd port, entred the Streights, and within twelue dayes gotte into the South ſea. And two dayes after there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme of Weſterly windes (which are vſuall in thoſe parts) that he loſt his pinneſſe, and his Viceadmirall maſter Iohn Winter was driuen backe againe into the Streights, who paſſing many dangers returned home into England. But Francis Drake himſelfe ranne with this ſtorme into ſeuen and fifty degrees of Southerly latitude, where hee found an Iſland with a good harborough, and freſh water, and ſtayed at the ſame Iſland two moneths to repayre his ſhips: and then, the weather beeing faire, he proceeded on his voyage, and came to the coaſt of Chili to an Iſland called La Mocha; where hee went on ſhore, and talked with the Indians: but when hee would haue returned vnto his boate they ſhotte their arrowes at him, and killed two of his men, and hee himſelfe was wounded in the face.

Sir Francis Drake driuen into 57 degrees of Southerly latitude.

La Mocha in 38 deg. 30 min. ouer againſt the prouince of Arauco.

Going from thence hee paſſed by the towne of Concepcion not knowing the place, and ſo to Valparizo which is the port of Sant Iago, where hee found a ſhip laden with a kind of victuals and wine, and had in her beſides threeſcore thouſand pezos of gold, euery pezo being worth eight ſhillings ſterling: and taking this ſhip with him hee went from thence to another port called Coquimbo: where ſeeing many cattell on the land, he ſent preſently ſome of his men with caliuers to kill of the ſayd cattell: but being eſpied of the Spaniards that dwelt in the towne, they ſent twelue horſemen to ſee what they were that killed their cattell, for they knew them not: and comming neere vnto them, the Engliſhmen fled to their boates, but the horſemen ouertooke one of them who had a halbard in his hand, whom the Spaniards thought to haue taken: but hee with his halbard killing one of their horſes was himſelfe runne through with a lance, and ſo the Spaniards carried him dead with them into the towne. The next day the newes came to Sant Iago, that they were Engliſhmen, and how they had taken the ſhippe out of the harbour of Valparizo: whereupon they of Sant Iago ſent a Poſt by land to giue warning vnto them of Peru. Howbeit by reaſon that the countrey betweene this place and Peru is not inhabited for the ſpace of two hundreth leagues, and many huge and colde mountaines couered with ſnowe lie in the way, the Poſte was ſo long in perfourmance of this iourney, that captaine Drake was vpon the coaſt of Peru a moneth before the ſayd Poſte came thither: neither could they ſend any newes by ſea, becauſe they were deſtitute of ſhipping.

The towne of Concepcion.

Valparizo.

The port of Coquimbo in 29 deg 30 min.

Captaine Drake departing from Coquimbo ſayled to another porte not inhabited, where he ſet vp a pinneſſe. And going from thence, the next place where he touched was a porte vpon the coaſt of Peru called los Peſcadores: and there hee landed, and in one of the fiſhermens houſes found of a Spaniards three thouſand pezos of ſiluer in little barres.

Los Peſcadores.

From hence he went to another port called Arica, which being the next towne to Chili that the Spaniards haue in all Peru, containeth an hundreth houſes: and this is the porte where they diſcharge

Arica in 18 deg.

charge their merchandize that paſſe from Lima to Potoſſi, and to all other cities within the land, and likewiſe at this place they were wont to embarke all the ſiluer which they caried for Panamá. At this port of Arica he found a ſhip that had in her thirteene thouſand pezos of ſiluer, which hauing taken out, he burned the ſayd ſhip, and after thought to haue landed, but ſeeing both horſemen and footemen on ſhore hee would not, but proceeded on his voyage. Since captaine Drake was at this porte they carie their ſiluer by land to Lima, and lade no more treaſure here, but onely diſcharge the merchants goods that come from Spaine hither. Alſo they haue built a forte at this place for the better ſafety of the inhabitants, and haue planted it with ten pieces of Ordinance, and euery ſummer there lie in gariſon an hundred ſouldiers beſides the towneſmen. From hence he ſayled to another porte called Chuli: in which port was a ſhip that had three hundred thouſand pezos of ſiluer in barres: but they had ſent horſemen from Arica to giue aduertizement of Drakes being on the coaſt, which newes came but two houres to the towne before his arriuall at the ſayd porte: whereupon the Maſter of the ſhippe hauing no leiſure to carie his ſiluer on ſhore, was forced to throwe it into the ſea in ſixe fadome water, where his ſhip road, and ſo to runne on ſhore in the ſhippes boate. And captaine Drake comming aboord the ſhip was told by an Indian, that the Maſter had throwen the ſiluer ouerboord. Wherfore ſeeing that newes began to run of him from towne to town he ſtayed not here, but ran along the coaſt: and becauſe he would haue no lets, he caſt off the ſhip which he had taken at Sant Iago, with neuer a man in her, which ſhip was neuer heard of after. And ſo without ſtaying any where he ſhaped his courſe for Lima, and comming to the harborough of Lima called El Callao, being two leagues diſtant from Lima it ſelfe, (for Lima ſtandeth vp into the land) hee arriued there one day, before the newes of him was brought to Lima, and found the men in the ſhips without ſuſpicion. And as hee entred into the port, there came in alſo a ſhip from Panamá laden with merchandize, and hee ſent his pinneſſe to take her: but the men forſaking the ſhip betooke them to their boate, and went on ſhore: and as the Engliſhmen followed the boat, a Spaniard that was therein ſhot a piece, and ſlew one of captaine Drakes men in the pinneſſe. Wherefore hee followed the boat no farther, but went with his pinneſſe into the harbour among fourteene ſaile of ſhips that lay there, in all which ſhips there was not a man that had ſo much as a ſword or a piece to moleſt him, wherefore hee did with leſſe feare go from ſhip to ſhip, aſking them if there were any ſhips gone for Panamá; for he knew wel, that the ſhips which goe for Panamá carie both ſiluer & gold, neither ſought he for any thing elſe, for there were marchandize enough for him in thoſe ſhips, if hee had bene deſirous to haue had the ſame. So they told him that three dayes paſt there was a ſhip gone for Panamá which caried all the merchants ſiluer thither. Whereupon he preſently ſet ſaile towards Panamá; for when hee came into this port it was about midnight, ſo that the Spaniards could not ſee what ſhips he had. At laſt the newes came to Lima vnto the Viceroy of Peru, that there were enemies in the harbor, but they knew not what they were. Wherefore the Viceroy & all the people were in great feare, leſt ſome Spaniards had made a mutinie, and put themſelues in armes: and ſo the next morning himſelfe accõpanied with 2000 horſemen & footmen came from the citie down to the waters ſide, and finding ſome of the Engliſhmens arrowes that were ſhot at the boat, out of which their man was ſlain, they knew them to be Engliſhmen: and then they were al in quiet, ſeeing it was but one ſhip, for as yet the ſhip lay becalmed 3 dayes before the towne. Whereupon they forthwith prouided 2 ſhips with 200 men in them, to boord captain Drake or els to burne his ſhip; and after the ſhips went 2 ſmall pinneſſes, becauſe that if any of the ſhips ſhould be ſunke, they might ſaue the men. But it was a day & a halfe before theſe things could be made ready, & in the end going forth they found yͤ Engliſh ſhip ſtill becalmed, & the calme was ſuch, that the Spaniards could not come at them. The ſame night, the wind blowing afreſh gale, the Spaniards returned into the harbour, and captaine Drake ſet forward to Panamá. The cauſe of the Spaniards returne was, for that they had no Ordinance, nor victuals to tarry any longer out. Then the Viceroy cauſed ſixe pieces of Ordinance to bee made, neither could hee make any more, in regard of the ſhortneſſe of time: ſo with theſe pieces of Ordinance, and three ſhippes, and two hundred and fifty men in them hee ſent after captaine Drake; who after hee had winde ſtayed no where, nor tooke any ſhips at all, notwithſtanding hee met with many comming from Panamá laden with merchandize, but ſtill hee inquired after the ſhippe that was gone to Panamá before him: of which ſhip he had ſight about the cape of Sant Franciſco, the Maſter wherof was a Biſkaine, called Iuan de Anton: who ſeeing this ſhip of the Engliſhmens, thought that the Viceroy of Peru had ſent him ſome meſſage, and therefore ſtrooke all his ſailes: but ſo ſoone as hee might diſcerne the ſhippe ſomewhat better, hee would then faine haue gone his way, for hee knew that it was none of that coaſt, and then hee began to hoiſe his ſailes, but could by no meanes get from Captaine Drake

Chuli.

El Callao de Lima.

Three ſhips ſent after captaine Drake.

A rich prize taken by ſir Francis Drake at Cape S. Franciſco ſituate one degree to yͤ north of the Equinoctial.

becauſe hee was within the reach of his great Ordinance, for the Spaniards not hauing ſo much as a rapier to defend themſelues, were ſoone conſtrained to yeelde. There were in this ſhippe aboue eight hundred and fifty thouſand pezos of ſiluer, and forty thouſand pezos of gold, all which ſiluer and golde was cuſtomed; but what ſtore of treaſure they had beſides vncuſtomed I knowe not, for many times they cary almoſt as much more as they pay cuſtome for; otherwiſe the king would take it from them, if they ſhould be knowen to haue any great ſumme; wherefore euery ſhippe carieth his bill of cuſtome, that the king may ſee it. All this treaſure that captaine Drake tooke was merchants and other mens goods, ſauing one hundred and eighty thouſand pezos of the kings. He had alſo out of this ſhip good ſtore of victuals with other neceſſaries, which were to bee caried for Panamá, and was fiue dayes taking out of ſuch things as hee needed. This done, he ſayled from hence to the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna without going to Panamá. Surely this was a great plague of God iuſtly inflicted vpon vs for our ſinnes: for the taking of theſe ſhips is an eſpeciall cauſe of all the dangerous warres that are likely to enſue betweene Spaine and England.

Read Nuno da Sylua concerning this treaſure.

Now the ſhips that were ſent by the Viceroy of Peru from Lima after Francis Drake, arriued at Cape Sant Franciſco twenty dayes after hee had taken the foreſayd ſhippe, and had intelligence by a ſhip comming from Panamá, which they met at the ſayd cape, that Francis Drake had taken the ſhip with ſiluer, and was not gone for Panamá. Whereupon the captaine of the three ſhips thinking that captaine Drake had bene gone for the Streights of Magellan, directed his courſe that way to ſeeke him.

Captaine Drake carried from the coaſt of Peru eight hundreth ſixty ſixe thouſand pezos of ſiluer, which is as much as eight hundred ſixty ſixe quintals, at 100 pound weight the quintal, euery quintal being worth one thouſand and two hundreth ducats of Spaine; all which ſumme amounteth to a million and thirtie nine thouſand and two hundreth ducats. Beſides this ſiluer hee caried away a hundred thouſand pezos of gold, that is ten quintals, each quintal being valued at a thouſand fiue hundreth Spaniſh ducats, which laſt ſumme amounteth to an hundreth and fifty thouſand ducats: ouer and beſides the treaſure in the ſayd ſhip which was vncuſtomed (the value whereof I cannot learne) conſiſting of pearles, precious ſtones, reals of plate, and other things of great worth.

With all this purchaſe he ſayled toward Nueua Eſpanna; and at an Iſland lying before that coaſt called The Iſland of Cano hee diſcharged all things out of his ſhippe and graued her, and remained there ten dayes. From thence hee went along the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna, where hee tooke certaine ſhips laden with ſpices, ſilkes, and veluets, but no golde nor ſiluer, for there was none to bee had on this coaſt. And here at Guatulco he ſet on ſhore his Portugal-pilot, which he tooke at one of the Iſlands of Cape Verde. But what courſe he kept from this coaſt till he came into England I know not of certainety, and therefore I will not meddle therewithall.

The Iſland of Cano.

The foreſayd three ſhips which were ſent in purſuit of captaine Drake, returned backe againe to Lima without doing of ought. All which notwithſtanding, the Viceroy of Peru determined to ſend two ſhips to the Streights of Magellan, either to meete with captaine Drake there, or elſe to ſee if they could fortifie the ſayd Streights againſt ſuch ſhips as might afterward attempt to paſſe through the ſame. And albeit this was thought a moſt dangerous voyage, and impoſſible to be performed, by reaſon of the ſholds on that ſide of the Streights, yet ſent he forth the two ſaid ſhips. The Admirall being a ſhip of an hundreth tunnes, and the other of eighty tunnes, & hauing one hundreth and twenty men in them both, ſayled from Lima vnder the conduct of Pedro Sarmiento, who was then accompted the beſt nauigator in all Peru. Theſe ſhips after their departure touching on the coaſt to take in victuals, were nine moneths before they came to the latitude of the Streights, and there were they encountred with a cruel ſtorme: but Pedro Sarmiento being a man of good courage, bare in with the land in this ſtorme, & in a night hee was put into the ſtreits, not knowing how nor which way; and the other ſhip running farther into the ſea, ſayled to 58 degrees of Southerly latitude. The ſtorme being paſt, this other ſhippe found many Iſlands neere vnto the main land, and ſo returned with faire weather all along the ſhore, neither could they find any other way to enter the Streights, but onely that which Magellan diſcouered: notwithſtanding that others affirme the contrary, ſaying that the Streights be full of Iſlands to the Southwards: but they may be deceiued, for if there be any other Streight, it is beyond 58 degrees, and hath neuer bene ſeene of any man: for this ſhip was fartheſt to the Southwards of all that euer I heard of: for Francis Drake being driuen by tempeſt no farther then 57 degrees could not know ſo much as this other; which ſhip from hence returned backe to Lima. But Pedro Sarmiento entred the Streights, where his men falling into a mutinie would haue returned to Lima; where-

Pedro Sarmiento ſent from Lima to the Streits of Magellan.

58 degrees of Southerly latitude diſcouered.

Many Iſlands diſcouered to the South of the Streights.

Pedro Sarmiento perſwadeth þ king of Spaine to fortifie the Streights of Magellan.

whereupon hanging one of them he proceeded on his voyage for Spaine. Where being arriued, he told the king that there were two narrow places in the Streights where he might build a forte, and that there was a very good countrey abounding with great ſtore of riches and other neceſſaries, and very well inhabited with Indians. Vpon whoſe wordes, and for that there were more ſhips making ready in England to paſſe the ſayd Streights, the king ſent Diego Flores de Valdez with 23 ſhips and 3500 men, and a new gouernour to Chili with fiue hundred old ſouldiers newly come out of Flanders. Theſe ſhips had the hardeſt hap of any that euer went out of Spaine ſince the Indias were firſt diſcouered: for that before they could get cleere of the coaſt of Spaine, a ſtorme tooke them, and caſt away fiue of them, and aboue eight hundred men, and the reſidue of the fleete put into Cadiz. Notwithſtanding which hard ſucceſſe, the king ſent them word that they ſhould procede: and ſo they did with ſixteene ſailes only, for two other of their ſhips were ſo ſhaken with the ſtorme, that they could not goe foorth. In theſe ſixteene ſaile of ſhips Pedro Sarmiento was ſent to be gouernour in the ſtreights: he caried with him all kind of artificers, to build forts, and other neceſſaries, with great ſtore of Ordinance and munition. This fleete becauſe it ſet late foorth, wintered on the coaſt of Braſil in the riuer of Ienero. Winter being paſt, they ſet ſayle from hence, and about the height of 42 degrees they had ſuch a ſtorme, that Diego Flores was faine to beate it vp and downe about 22 dayes; in which ſtorme was ſunke one of his beſt ſhips, and in her three hundred men and twenty women that went to inhabite the ſtreights, and moſt part of the munition that ſhould haue bene left in the ſtreights were all caſt away. In the ende the ſtorme grew ſo intollerable, that the ſhips not being able to endure it any longer were conſtrained to put backe againe vnto an Iſland called Santa Catelina: and there he found a barke wherein were certaine friers going for the riuer of Plate, which friers told him of two great Engliſh ſhips and a pinneſſe that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaines ſhips. Now Diego Flores ſuppoſing that theſe Engliſh ſhips would go to the ſtreights, was himſelfe determined to go to the ſtreights alſo, though it was in the moneth of February: and chooſing tenne ſhippes of the fifteene that were left, he ſent three of the reſidue that were old and ſhaken with the ſtorme (wherein he put all the women and ſicke men that were in the fleete) backe againe to the riuer of Ienero; leauing the other two ſhippes, which were not able to brooke the ſea, at the foreſayd Iſland; and ſo himſelfe with the ſayd ten ſhips returned againe for the ſtreights.

Two Engliſh ſhips vnder the conduct of M. Fenton and M. Luke Ward.

Now the three ſhips wherein the ſicke men and the women were embarked, came to the port of Sant Vincent: where finding the two foreſayd Engliſh ſhips, and vrging them to auoide the harbour, the Engliſh entred combat with them: and by reaſon that theſe three ſhips were weakened with former tempeſts, and were manned with the refuſe of all the Spaniſh fleete, the Engliſhmen eaſily put them to the worſt, and ſunke one of them, and might alſo haue ſunke another, if they had bene ſo minded; but they deſired not the deſtruction of any man: and doubtleſſe it is the greateſt valour that any man can ſhew, that when hee may doe hurte, he will not. Hereupon the Engliſhmen departed from this porte vnto Eſpirito Santo, where they had victuals for their merchandize: and ſo they returned home to England without doing any harme in the countrey. The cauſe why theſe Engliſh captaines went not to the ſtreights I know not: ſome ſay, that they were put backe by foule weather, others ſuppoſe that it was for feare of the kings ſhips: but the pinneſſe that belonged to theſe ſhippes wherein Iohn Drake went as captaine, departed from them: the cauſe why hee did ſo, is vnknowen: but this pinneſſe entred the riuer of Plate, and within fiue leagues of Seale-iſland, not farre from the place where the Erle of Cumberlands ſhips tooke in freſh water, it was caſt away vpon a ledge of rockes; but the men were all ſaued in the boate. Who being eighteene in number went on ſhore vpon the Northſide of the Iſland, and paſſing tenne dayes iourney vp into the lande, they met with certaine Saluage people, which are no man-eaters, but take all the Chriſtians that they can get, and make them their ſlaues: howbeit the Engliſhmen fought with them, and being too fewe in number, fiue of them were ſlaine, and the other thirteene taken priſoners, who remained with the Saluages about fifteene moneths.

Eſpirito Santo.

Iohn Drake.

But the Maſter of the pinneſſe called Richard Faireweather, being loth any longer to indure that miſerie wherein hee was, and hauing knowledge of a towne of Chriſtians on the other ſide of the riuer, called on a night Iohn Drake, and another yoong man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa being very little, and hauing but two oares, and paſſed therewith on the other ſide of the riuer, which is full nine leagues broade; and being three dayes before they could get ouer, they were much pined for lacke of meate. But comming to land they hit vpon an high way that went towards the Chriſtians: and ſpying the footing of horſes, they followed it, and at laſt came to an houſe, neere vnto the which corne was ſowed. And there they met with Indians that were ſeruants to the Spaniards, who gaue them foode, and clothes to couer them withall, for they were all naked. And one of the ſayd Indians went to the towne, and caried newes of the Engliſhmen: whereupon the captaine of the towne ſent out foure horſemen, which brought them to the towne behinde them, and the ſayd captaine clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake ſate at the captaines owne table, and hee intreated them all very well, thinking to ſend them for Spaine. But the Viceroy of Peru hearing this newes ſent for them, and they ſent him Iohn Drake; but the other two they kept, becauſe they were maried in the countrey. Thus much concerning their affaires. Vpon theſe newes alſo there were prepared fifty horſemen to goe ouer the riuer, both to ſeeke the reſt of the Engliſhmen, and certaine Spaniardes which were amongſt thoſe Saluage people; but I am not aſſured whether they went forward or no.

Nowe let vs returne to Diego Flores: who paſſing from the Iſland of Santa Catelina towards the ſtreights of Magellan in the middle of February, and comming to the height of the riuer of Plate, ſent the gouernour of Chili with three ſhips vp the riuer to Buenos Ayres, that hee might from thence paſſe ouerland to Chili. Of theſe three ſhips two were loſt, but the men and prouiſions were ſaued; and the third returned for Spaine. Then Diego Flores with the other ſeuen ſhips proceeded on to the latitude of 52. degrees, whereas the mouth of the Streights beginneth: but becauſe it was the ende of March, which there is the latter ende of ſummer, the countrey was ſo full of ſnow, and withall there aroſe ſuch a ſudden ſtorme, that he could not ſet Sarmiento and his men on ſhore, but was conſtrained the ſecond time to returne vnto the riuer of Ienero vpon the coaſt of Braſil; where he heard newes of the Engliſh ſhips by the two Spaniſh ſhips that eſcaped from them. Vpon which newes he left his lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento, that they might the next yeere returne for the ſtreights. And ſo Diego Flores himſelfe with foure ſhips which were yet remaining vnto him, and other foure which the king ſent to ſuccour him, ſet forth to ſeeke the Engliſhmen; but hauing runne along all the coaſt of Braſil hee could not finde them, becauſe they were gone directly for England. Whereupon ſhaping his courſe vnto a port called Paraiua, and finding there fiue French ſhips, he burnt three and tooke two, and the fort alſo which the Frenchmen had built, and put Spaniardes therein, but the Frenchmen fledde into the mountaines to the Saluages. This done hee returned for Spaine.

The gouernour of Chili paſſeth thither by the riuer of Plate.

Foure ſhips more ſent to Diego Flores.

Fiue French ſhips taken at Paraiua.

In the meane ſeaſon his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Pedro Sarmiento had the next yeere ſo good fortune, that they arriued ſafely in the ſtreights with all their ſhips, and ſet on ſhore foure hundreth men: but becauſe the ſhips boate could not land, being once laden, they ran that ſhip, which had all the victuals and munition in her, on ſhore in a bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her. This being done, Diego de Ribera left Sarmiento with foure hundreth men, thirtie women, and a ſhip, with victuals for eight moneths: and with the other three ſhippes hee returned, hauing remained in the Streights but eight dayes. Nowe Pedro Sarmiento built a towne at the mouth of the Streights on the North ſide, placing therein an hundreth and fiftie men: and from thence he went by land, and ſent the ſhip further into the ſtreights, and fiftie leagues within the Streights, at the narroweſt place of all, where there is a very good porte, hee built another towne, which he named The towne of king Philip; and would alſo haue made a forte, and planted Ordinance for the defence of the Streights: but the ſnowe and Winter was ſo intollerable, that hee could not bring it to perfection. Whereupon taking about 25 mariners with him into the foreſayd ſhip, hee ſayd hee would goe ſee howe his other people did, and ſo hee ſayled to the Streights mouth, vnto the towne which was firſt built; where hauing continued a day or two, he ſayd that a ſtorme put him from the Streights by force and brake his cables; but his men affirmed the contrary, that himſelfe cut his cables (God knoweth the trueth) and ſo he paſſed to the riuer of Ienero; and not finding there any ſuccour come from the king, he ſayled to Fernambuck, crauing ayde of the captaine to furniſh him with victuals. And ſo the captaine preſently fraighted his ſhip with victuals and clothes for his people left in the Streights, and ſo ſailed thitherward. But betweene Cape S. Auguſtin and Baya the wind came off the ſea with ſuch violence, that it forced the ſhip to run on ſhore; where Sarmiento had three of his men drowned, and he with the reſt hardly eſcaped: and ſo this ſhip was loſt with all the prouiſion in her.

Pedro Sarmiento left in ẏ Streits of Magellan with 400 men & 30 women.

Nombre de Ieſus builded.

Ciudad del rey Philippe builded.

From thence hee paſſed by land to Baya where the gouernour of Braſil bought him a barke that lay in the harbour, lading the ſame with victuals and clothes for Sarmientos colonie. With this prouiſion and diuers other neceſſaries for his people hee tooke his voyage for the Streights, and comming to the height of foure and forty degrees, hee met on the ſudden with ſuch a furious ſtorme, that he was forced to throw his freight ouerboord, and alſo to returne to the riuer of Ienero. Where ſtaying a whole yeere for ſuccour from the king, there came not ſo much as a letter from him. For the king was ſore diſpleaſed at Pedro Sarmiento, becauſe hee made him beleeue that the narroweſt place of the Streights was but a mile ouer: and that it might bee fortified ſo that a boate could not paſſe: whereas Diego de Ribera, and others certified the king, that it was about a league broade, and that if a ſhip came with winde and current, all the Ordinance in the world could not hurte it. Wherefore the king thought that Pedro Sarmiento had deceiued him, in making him to loſe ſo many men, and ſo much charges to no effect. And the gouernour of Baya ſeeing that the king wrote not vnto him, would giue him no more ſuccour: ſo that Sarmiento was conſtrained to make a voyage for Spaine in the ſame ſhippe, wherein hee laſt ſayled towards the Streights: and it is ſayd that hee was taken in the way by Engliſhmen, and caried into England. This Sarmiento hath caried the name to be the beſt Nauigator in all Spaine, and that hee hath ſayled the furtheſt of all others. After all this the captaine of the riuer of Ienero ſent a ſmall ſhip with victuals for the Streights, which was put backe alſo in fortie degrees. And this is all the diſcouery of the Streights of Magellan, made as well by Spaniards as other nations vnto this preſent yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres ſince theſe poore and miſerable Spaniards were left in the Streights, from which time there hath no ſuccour gone vnto them, ſo God he knoweth whether they be dead or aliue.

Pedro Sarmiento was taken by ſir Walter Raleghs barkes 1586.

Maſter Candiſh found but 22 men liuing of them.

Thus according to my promiſe I haue declared vnto you to the vttermoſt of my knowledge, all things concerning the Indias, as farre as the very Streights of Magellan; thinking to haue proceeded along the coaſt, as at the firſt; but that the doings of captaine Drake and other captaines which attempted to paſſe the ſayd Streights haue cauſed mee to bee the longer in this my pretended worke. Howbeit now let vs proceede on forward from the Streights to the coaſt of Chili: the diſtance betweene which two places no man hath trauelled by land, in regard of the huge mountaines couered with ſnow that lie in the way: yea I may well ſay, that it hath not often bene trauelled by ſea; for that all the ſhips which haue paſſed that way haue at the leaſt gone thirty leagues off the ſhore, to auoide the ſholds and many little Ilands that lie neere the maine land; and therefore the inland of that coaſt remaineth as yet vnknowen.

Caſtro vpon the coaſt of Chili.

The firſt towne after you haue paſſed the Streights ſtandeth on the coaſt of Chili, and is called Caſtro, being ſituate vpon the worſt place of all the coaſt, for there is but ſmall ſtore of golde with ſcarcitie of victuals, and a ſharpe colde ayre. The harbour belonging to this towne is compaſſed about with ſo many ſholdes, that it will ſerue but to receiue ſmall barkes onely. The next towne to this is Baldiuia.

Baldiuia.

A deſcription of the prouince Chili.

But before I paſſe any farther I will heere deſcribe vnto you the ſituation and quality of Chili. This countrey ſtretcheth in length from North to South aboue two hundreth leagues, containing in breadth but fiue and twenty leagues at the moſt.

Riuers rich of golde.

From the great ridge of mountaines lying to the Eaſt of Chili runne very many riuers into the ſea, which riuers are the cauſe of diuers valleys the fruitfulleſt in all the worlde, where bread, wine, and other victuals mightily abound: and the ſayd riuers alſo are very rich of golde. But to declare in fewe wordes the excellencie of this prouince, I ſay that it might well bee called an earthly paradiſe, ſaue that it lacketh one onely commoditie, and that is peace. It was firſt diſcouered on this maner: the Spaniards hauing conquered the kingdome of Peru, (as I will hereafter ſhew vnto you) found in the ſayd kingdome great ſtore of golde; and asking the Indians from whence it came, they anſwered, from Chili. Vpon which newes Don Diego de Almagro being one of the principall captaines that conquered Peru made a voyage with three hundreth horſemen toward Chili, being conſtrained in his way to goe ouer part of the ſnowy mountaines, which way his Indian guides conducted him, to the ende that himſelfe and all his company might die for colde. Howbeit the Spaniards, though they loſt ſome of their horſes, came to the firſt towne of Chili called Copiapo being ſituate vpon the firſt plaine at the entrance of the ſayd prouince. But hauing newes that the Indians were riſen againſt the Spaniards of Peru and had incloſed them, hee returned backe without going any farther.

Copiapo the next towne of Chili vnto Peru.

Nowe this captaine Don Diego de Almagro being ſlaine in the warres of Peru, another called Don Pedro de Baldiuia marching into Chili with foure hundreth horſes, eaſily conquered that halfe of the countrey which was ſubiect to the kings of Peru. For knowing that Peru, being the chiefe countrey of their Emperours, was ouercome by the Spaniards, they alſo immediately yeelded their lande vnto them. But the other halfe as it was the richeſt and the fruitfulleſt part, ſo God had peopled it with the moſt valiant and furious people in all America.

El eſtado de Arauco.

The

El eſtado de Arauco.

The prouince which they inhabite called El Eſtado de Arauco is but a ſmall prouince about 20 leagues in length, and is gouerned by ten principall men of the countrey, out of which tenne they chuſe the valianteſt man for their generall in the warres. The kings of Peru in times paſt could neuer conquere this part of Chili, nor yet any other kings of the Indians. The weapons vſed by theſe people of Arauco are long pikes, halbards, bowes and arrowes: they alſo make them iacks of ſeale-ſkinnes, and head-pieces: in times paſt the heads of their halbards and pikes were of braſſe, but now they haue gotten ſtore of yron. They pitch their battels in maner like the Chriſtians: for putting their pikemen in rankes, they place bowmen among them, and marſhall their troupes with diſcretion and great valour. Now the Spaniards comming vnto this prouince ſent word vnto them by other Indians, ſaying that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeelde themſelues vnto them; if not, they would ſhoot fire among them and burne them. Theſe people not fearing the great words of the Spaniards, but deſiring to ſee that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a moſt cruell battell: but by reaſon of the Spaniards great ordinance and caliuers, they were in the end put to flight. Now theſe Indians thinking verily that the Spaniards were the children of God, becauſe of their great ordinance which made ſuch a noiſe, and breathed out ſuch flames of fire, yeelded themſelues vnto them. So the Spaniards hauing diuided this prouince made the Indians to ſerue their turnes for getting of gold out of the mines, which they enioyed in ſuch abundance, that hee which had leaſt had 20000 pezos, but Captaine Baldiuia himſelfe had 300000 pezos by the yeere. The fame of theſe riches in the end was ſpred as farre as Spaine; from whence ſoone after reſorted many Spaniards to the land of Chili, whom Captaine Baldiuia cauſed to inhabite ſixe townes: to wit, Villa nueua de la Serena called in the Indian tongue Coquimbo; the ſecond Sant Iago which the Indians call Mapocha; the third La Concepcion called by the Indians Penco; the fourth La Imperial; the fift Baldiuia; and the ſixt La Villa Rica. Alſo he built a fort in the middle of all the land, wherein hee put ordinance and ſouldiers: howbeit all this their good ſucceſſe continued not long: for the Indians in ſhort time perceiuing that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determined to rebell againſt them: wherefore the firſt thing that they did, they carried graſſe into the ſaid fort for the Spaniards horſes, and wood alſo for them to burne, among which graſſe the Indians conueyed bowes and arrowes with great clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entred the fort, betooke themſelues to their bowes, arrowes, and clubs, and ſtood in the gate of the ſayd fort: from whence making a ſigne vnto other of their nation for helpe, they wanne the fort, and ſlewe all the Spaniards. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to the towne of Concepcion where Captaine Baldiuia was, hee preſently ſet foorth with two hundred horſemen to ſeeke the Indians, taking no more men with him, becauſe he was in haſte. And in a plaine he met the Indians, who comming of purpoſe alſo to ſeeke him, and compaſſing him about, ſlew moſt part of his company, the reſt eſcaping by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes: but Baldiuia hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him was taken aliue. Whom the Indians wiſhed to be of a good courage, and to feare nothing: for the cauſe (ſaid they) why we haue taken you, is to giue you gold ynough. And hauing made a great banquet for him, the laſt ſeruice of all was a cuppe full of melted gold, which the Indians forced him to drinke, ſaying, Now glut thy ſelfe with gold, and ſo they killed him. This Baldiuia was a moſt valiant man, who had beene an olde ſouldier in the warres of Italy, and at the ſacking of Rome.

Villa nueua de la Serena, La Concepcion, Sant Iago, La Imperial, Baldiuia, La Villa rica, the firſt ſixe townes that were inhabited in Chili.

A ſtratageme of the Indians of Chili againſt the Spaniards.

The death of Baldiuia.

Vpon this diſcomfiture the Spaniards choose for their Captaine one Pedro de Villa grande; who aſſembling all the Spaniards in Chili, and taking with him tenne peeces of ordinance, marched againſt thoſe Indians; but with ſo badde ſucceſſe, that he loſt not onely the field and many of his men, but alſo thoſe ten peeces of ordinance which hee brought. The Indians hauing thus gotten the victorie, went ſtreightway againſt the towne of Concepcion, from whence the Spaniards fled for feare, and left the towne deſolate. And in this maner were the Spaniards chaſed by the Indians out of the countrey of Arauco. But newes hereof being brought to the Marques of Cannete viceroy of Peru, hee ſent his ſonne Don Garcia de Mendoça againſt thoſe Indians, with a great power of horſemen, and footmen, and ſtore of Artillerie. This nobleman hauing ſubdued Chili againe, & ſlaine in diuers battels aboue 40000 Indians, and brought them the ſecond time vnder the Spani[illegible] ſubiection, newly erected the ſaid fort that ſtoode in the midſt of the land, inhabited the towne of Concepcion againe, and built other townes for the Spaniards: and ſo leauing the land in peace, hee returned for Peru. But yet hee was cleane departed out of the land the Indians rebelled againe, but could not doe ſo much miſchiefe as they did before, becauſe the Spaniards tooke better heede vnto them. From that time vntill this preſent there hath

Pedro de villa grande.

Don Garcia de Mendoça.

Eleuen townes, and two biſhopricks in Chili.

bene no peace at all: for notwithſtanding many Captaines and ſouldiers haue done their vttermoſt, yet can they not bring that people wholly in ſubiection. And although the Spaniards haue in this prouince eleuen townes and two biſhopricks, yet haue they little ynough to maintaine themſelues, by reaſon of the warres; for they ſpend all the golde that the land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their ſouldiers: which would not bee ſo, if they had peace, for then they might worke in all their mines.

A deſcription of the townes of Chili. Baldiuia.

Thus hauing ſpoken ſomewhat of the ſituation of Chili, and of the troubleſome conqueſt thereof, I will returne to my former diſcourſe where I left. Baldiuia therefore being of 150 houſes hath twiſe bene burnt and ſpoyled by the Indians; ſo that now it is waxen poore, but before the Indians ſacked it, it was very rich: and it ſtandeth vp a riuer foure leagues from the ſea. Paſſing from hence you come to the plaine countrey of Arauco being ſituate ouer againſt the Iſland La Mocha, on which Iſland the Indians that inhabite belong to the maine land.

The prouince of Arauco ouer againſt the Iſland La Mocha ſituate in 38 deg. and a halfe.

La Concepcion.

Hauing paſſed this plaine of Arauco, the next towne of the Spaniards that you come vnto is La Concepcion which hath beene the greateſt and the richeſt towne in all Chili; but by reaſon that the Indians haue burned the ſame foure times, it is now growen very poore, and hath ſmall ſtore of people: it conteyneth about ſome two hundred houſes. And becauſe it adioyneth vpon the plaine of Arauco, where theſe valiant Indians bee, therefore this towne is enuironed about with a ſtrong wall, and hath a fort built hard by it: and here are 500 ſouldiers continually in garriſon. Betweene this place and Valparizo, the Indians call the coaſt by the name of Mapocha. Sant Iago it ſelfe ſtanding 25 leagues vp into the countrey, is the principall towne of all Chili, and the ſeate of the gouernour; it conſiſteth of about 800 houſes. The port of Valparizo whither the goods come from Lima by ſhipping, hath about twentie houſes ſtanding by it. The next towne neere the ſea ſide beyond this is Coquimbo, which ſtandeth two leagues vp into the land, and containeth about 200 houſes. Next vnto Coquimbo ſtandeth a port-towne called Copiapo inhabited altogether by Indians which ſerue the Spaniards: and here a gentleman which is gouernour of the towne hath an Ingenio for ſugar: at this place endeth the whole prouince of Chili. Here alſo the mountaines ioyning hard vpon the ſea are the cauſe why all the land betweene Copiapo and Peru, containing 160 leagues, lyeth deſolate.

Valparizo which is the port of S. Iago ſtandeth in 33. deg. 40 min.

Coquimbo ſtandeth in 29. deg. 30. min. Copiapo.

A deſcription of Peru.

The firſt towne on the coaſt of Peru called Atacama is inhabited by Indians which are ſlaues vnto the Spaniards. But before I paſſe any farther I will here alſo declare vnto you the firſt diſcouerie of Peru with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I returne to the ſea-coaſt againe: and to the ende you may vnderſtand mee the better, I will begin with Panama. After that the Spaniards had inhabited the North ſide of this maine land, paſſing ouer the mountaines they diſcouered the South ſea: where becauſe they found Indian people with gold and pearles, they built a towne eighteene leagues to the Weſt of Nombre de Dios hard vpon the ſea-ſide, and called it Panama. From hence they diſcouered along the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna: and for that Nueua Eſpanna was at the ſame time inhabited by Spaniards, there beganne a trade from thence to Panama: but from Panama by ſea to the coaſt of Peru they could not trade in a long time, becauſe of the Southerly winds blowing on this coaſt almoſt all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to ſhippes ſayling that way: and by land the paſſage was impoſſible, in regard of mountaines and riuers: yea it was fifteene yeeres before they paſſed the Iſland of Pearles, which is but twentie leagues from Panama. There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Franciſco Piçarro borne in the citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore: the other called Diego de Almagro was very rich. Theſe men got a company vnto them, and prouided two Carauels to diſcouer the coaſt of Peru: and hauing obtained licence of the gouernour of that place, Franciſco Piçarro ſet foorth with the two foreſayd Carauels and 100 men, and Diego de Almagro ſtayed in Panama to ſend him victuals and other neceſſaries. Now Franciſco Piçarro ſayling along the coaſt met with much contrary winds and raine, which put him to great trouble; and he began alſo after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was ſailing of that in eight moneths which they now paſſe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right courſe hee ranne into euery riuer and bay that hee ſaw along the coaſt; which was the chiefe cauſe that hee ſtayed ſo long on his voyage: alſo thirtie of his company dyed by reaſon of the vnhealthfulneſſe of the coaſt. At laſt hee came to an Iſland called by him Iſla del Gallo, being ſituate from the maine land ſixe leagues. From hence he ſent one of his ſhips to Panama for a new ſupply of victuals & of men: which ſhip being departed, 40 of his men that remained behind made a mutiny, and paſſed vp into the countrey, meaning to returne by land to Panama, but in the way they all periſhed, for they were neuer heard of vntill this day. So that Franciſco Piçarro was left vpon the ſaid Iſland onely with thirteene men: who although he had his ſhip there in which he might haue

Iſla del Gallo.

returned, yet would he rather die then goe backe; and his 13 men alſo were of his opinion, notwithſtanding that they had no other victuals but ſuch as they had from the maine land in the night ſeaſon. Thus he continued nine moneths, before any ſuccour was brought him from Panama: but in the end his ſhip returned with 40 men onely and victuals: whereupon hee proſecuted his voyage till he came to the firſt plaine countrey of Peru called Tumbez, where he found a fort made by the king of Peru againſt the Indians of the mountaines. Wherefore Piçarro and his men were very glad in that they had found a people of ſo good vnderſtanding and diſcretion, being rich alſo in gold and ſiluer and well apparelled. At this port of Tumbez hee tooke 30000 pezos of gold in trucke of marchandize: and hauing too few men to proceede any further hee carried two Indians with him to learne the language and returned backe for Panama. Upon this diſcouery Franciſco Piçarro thought it expedient to trauell into Spaine to craue of the king the conqueſt of this land. Whither being come, the king granted his requeſt. And with the money which he carried ouer with him he hired a great number of men with a fleete of ſhips, and brought alſo along with him foure of his brethren very valiant and hardy men. And being come to Panama he ſtraightway went on his voyage for Peru, being accompanied with his partner Diego de Almagro. They ſailed firſt to the Iſland called Iſla del Gallo; where Franciſco Piçarro and his brethren went on land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ſhips. And the whole number which afterward landed on the maine land were 60 horſemen and 120 footemen, with two great field-peeces.

Tumbez.

But before we proceede any farther, we thinke it not amiſſe to deſcribe vnto you the ſituation of Peru, and the naturall diſpoſition of the inhabitants: This countrey was called Peru by the Spaniards, of a riuer ſo named by the Indians, where they firſt came to the ſight of gold. From which riuer ſtanding vnder the line, till you come to Copiapo the firſt towne on the coaſt of Chili, ſtretcheth the land of Peru, for the ſpace of eight hundred leagues: vpon ſixe hundred whereof from Atacama to Tumbez did neuer drop of raine fall, ſince the flood of Noah: and yet is it the fruitfulleſt land for all kind of victuals and other neceſſaries for the ſuſtentation of mans life that is to be found in all the world beſides. The reaſon why it raineth not in this land is becauſe it beeing a plaine countrey and very narrow and low, ſituate betweene the Equinoctiall and the tropique of Capricorne, there runneth on the Weſt frontier not aboue twentie leagues from the ſea called Mar del Sur Eaſtward thereof, a mighty ridge of high mountaines couered with ſnow, the height of which mountaines ſo draweth the moiſture of the cloudes vnto it ſelfe, that no raine falleth vpon the valleis of Peru. From theſe mountaines iſſue great ſtore of riuers into the South ſea, with the waters whereof drawen by certaine ſluces and chanels they moiſten their vineyardes and corne-fields, and by this meanes the land is ſo exceeding fruitfull. Betweene theſe mountaines and the mountaines of Chili that ſtretch vnto the Streits of Magellan, lyeth a plaine of 60 leagues ouer, being ſo cold that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good ſtore of other victuals. This countrey of Peru is full of people well apparelled and of ciuill behauiour. It hath many mines of gold and more of ſiluer, as alſo great ſtore of copper, and tinne-mines, with abundance of ſaltpeter, and of brimſtone to make gun-powder. There are likewiſe cattell of all ſorts, among which there is a beaſt in ſhape ſomewhat reſembling a camel, but no bigger then a ſteere of a yeere olde; they ſerue to carry burthens, their fleſh being good to eate, and their wooll apt for many purpoſes. This beaſt is accounted the moſt profitable of al others for the vſe of man: howbeit the Spaniards ſince their firſt comming haue repleniſhed this countrey with horſes, kine, ſheepe, and goates, and likewiſe with plentie of wheat. So that in fewe words this land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfulleſt place in the world. There were in times paſt kings of this land which were mightie Monarchs, whoſe dominions ſtretched 1200. leagues, and their lawes were very ciuill, ſaue that they were worſhippers of the Sunne. At what time the Spaniards firſt entred this land there were two brethren of the blood royall which ſtroue who ſhould haue the kingdome, the one called Guaſcar, and the other Atabalipa. Nowe Guaſcar had poſſeſſion of all the mountaines and the lands within them: and Atabalipa was lord of all the ſea coaſt, and of the valleys ſituate betweene the ſaid mountaines and the ſea. The Indians ſeeing the Spaniards at the firſt arriue vpon their ſhore called them Vera coche, which in their language ſignifieth, The fome of the ſea. Alſo Atabalipa the Indian prince ſent vnto them to know what they did in his land, and what they ſought for: the Spaniards made anſwere that they were the meſſengers of a great lord, and that they came to ſpeake with the prince himſelfe: who ſent them word that they ſhould come with a very good will; and ſo Atabalipa ſtayed for them at a citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues diſtant from the ſea ſide. Whither being come, they found the Indian prince ſitting in a chariot of gold, carried vpon mens ſhoulders,

The riuer of Peru.

The cauſe why it raineth not in Peru.

Gold, ſiluer, copper, tinne, ſalt-peter and brimſtone.

The ſheepe of Peru called Llamas.

Atabalipa and Guaſcar two brethren competitours for the empire of Peru.

and accompanied with aboue 60000 Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards tolde them that they were ſent from an Emperour (vnto whom the Pope had giuen all that land) to conuert them vnto the Chriſtian faith. Whereunto Atabalipa anſwered, that hee would gladly be friends with the Emperour, becauſe he was ſo great a Monarch, but in no caſe with the Pope, becauſe he gaue to another that which was none of his owne.

Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards diſcharging their two field-peeces, and their caliuers, ſet vpon the Indians, crying Sant Iago. The Indians hearing the noiſe of the ordinance and ſmall ſhot, and ſeeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had bene come downe from heauen vpon them; whereupon they fledde, and left their prince as a booty for the Spaniards. Whom they at the firſt intreated very gently, wiſhing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to ſeeke for golde and ſiluer. During the time of Altabalipas impriſonment, his Captaines had ſlaine his brother Guaſcar, and had ſubdued all the mountaines and plaine countreys. Vpon which newes Atabalipa told the Spaniards, that if they would releaſe him, hee would giue them all that they ſhould demaund. This communication hauing continued a whole day, at length a ſouldier named Soto ſayd vnto Atabalipa; what wilt thou giue vs to ſet thee free? The prince anſwered, I will giue whatſoeuer you will demand. Whereunto the ſouldier replied, thou ſhalt giue vs this houſe full of gold and ſiluer thus high, lifting vp his ſword, and making a ſtroke vpon the wall. And Atabalipa ſayde, that if they would grant him reſpite to ſend into his kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much maruelling, gaue him three moneths time, but he had filled the houſe in two moneths and an halfe, a matter ſcarce credible, yet moſt true: for I know aboue twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was aboue tenne millions of gold and ſiluer. Howbeit for all this they let not the prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they ſhould become lords of the whole land, and ſo the Spaniards on a night ſtrangled him. But God the righteous iudge ſeeing this villanous act, ſuffered none of thoſe Spaniards to dye by the courſe of nature, but brought them to euill and ſhamefull ends.

Vpon the newes of theſe great riches there came ſtore of people out of Spaine, and inhabited many places in this countrey. The king in recompence of the good ſeruices of the two foreſayd partners, appoynted Diego de Almagro gouernour of halfe the land, and Franciſco Piçarro of the other halfe, whom alſo hee made a Marques. But theſe two conſorts in parting of a land belonging vnto other men, fell at variance and ſharpe warre betweene themſelues: and at length Piçarro hauing ſlaine Almagro got all the land into his owne hands. Howbeit this proſperitie of Piçarro continued not long: for a baſtard-ſonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee reuenged of his fathers death, ſlew Piçarro, for which acte he loſt his head. In this controuerſie betweene theſe two partners were ſlaine alſo two brothers of Piçarro, and the third was carried priſoner into Spaine and there dyed in priſon: but the fourth called Gonſaluo Piçarro rebelled with the whole countrey and became a cruell tyrant, vanquiſhing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and poſſeſſing the countrey in peace for two yeeres: howbeit being in the ende ouercome hee loſt his head like a traitour. And thus dyed they all an euill death that were cauſes of the death of that innocent king Atabalipa. And yet there are mutinies raiſed oftentimes by the Spaniards, but the Indians neuer rebelled, after they had once peace granted vnto them. The Indian people of this land are parted among the Spaniards, ſome being ſlaues vnto the gentlemen that conquered their land, other ſome to others, and the reſidue to the king: and theſe Indians pay eche man for his tribute ſeuen pezos of fine golde, which is about tenne ducats and a halfe. There are in this countrey aboue fortie cities and townes inhabited by the Spaniards: alſo they haue here erected nine biſhopricks and one archbiſhopricke.

Nine biſhopricks, and one archbiſhopricke in Peru.

Now after this countrey was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine Spaniards being deſirous to diſcouer the land on the other ſide of the ſnowy mountaines, found a very wholeſome countrey and there inhabited. The ſayd prouince ſituate behinde the mountaines is called The prouince of Tucuman, wherein are fiue townes inhabited by the Spaniards, the laſt of them called Cordoua, from which towne vnto Santa Fee ſituate vpon the riuer of Plate it is ſeuentie leagues. This towne of Santa Fee was built in that place, to ſeeke a way to Peru by the riuer of Plate. And from hence downe the ſayde riuer to Buenos Ayres are 120 leagues, and from Buenos Ayres vnto Seal-iſland you haue 40 leagues.

The prouince of Tucuman. Cordoua.

Now hauing put downe all that I know concerning the countrey of Peru, and of the way from the riuer of Plate vnto Tucuman, I will returne vnto Atacama the Southermoſt towne vpon the coaſt of Peru, where I left. From this towne of Atacama till you come to Arica, all the coaſt is inhabited by Indians ſubiect vnto the Spaniards. But ſince Captaine Drake was here

Atacama.

they haue built towers by the ſea ſide, whereon, ſeeing any ſaile that they doe miſtruſt, they preſently make ſmokes, and ſo from tower to tower they warne all the countrey. Hauing before ſpoken of Arica all that I can, I will now proceed to the next port called Camana being a towne of Spaniards and containing about two hundred houſes. Here they make ſtore of wine, and haue abundance of figges and reiſins. The next towne called Acari containeth about three hundred houſes, and here is made the beſt and greateſt ſtore of wine in all Peru. From hence paſſing along the coaſt you come to El Calao the port of Lima conſiſting of about two hundred houſes: and here was a ſtrong fort built ſince Captaine Drake was vpon the coaſt. The citie of Lima ſtanding two leagues within the land, and containing two thouſand houſes, is very rich, and of more trade then all the cities of Peru beſides: and this citie is the ſeat of the viceroy, the archbiſhop, and the inquiſition.

Camana.

Acari.

El Calao.

Lima.

Next vnto this ſtandeth a ſmall towne of the Spaniards by the ſea ſide called Santa: and next vnto Santa is another ſmall towne of Chriſtians called Cannete. From hence they ſaile vnto a rich citie called Truxillo, being one of the principall townes of Peru, and containing about fiue hundred houſes. Then followeth Paita which hath to the number of two hundred houſes. Leauing this towne they paſſe to Guaiaquil which ſtandeth fortie leagues vp into a great bay or riuer, at the entrance of which riuer ſtandeth Tumbez a towne of the Indians. All this coaſt along from Atacama to Tumbez it neuer raineth, as I haue before ſaid: ſo that all the houſes in their townes are not tyled, but couered with bourdes to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. Guaiaquil is the firſt place where it raineth, and here they gather Salſaperilla. Here is alſo great ſtore of timber, and at this place they build many ſhippes. Hence they ſayle along the coaſt to a ſmall and poore towne called Puerto Viejo, which in times paſt hath bene rich with emralds: but now ſince theſe ſtones in regard of their plenty are growen nothing worth, this towne likewiſe is waxen very poore. Below this village ſtandeth another called La Buena Ventura: but whoſoeuer go thither muſt needs meet with euill fortune, the place it ſelfe is ſo wateriſh and vnholeſome. Here abide not aboue 20 men, who ſerue onely to tranſport goods vnto a citie ſtanding fiftie leagues within the maine, in a prouince called La gouernacion de Popaian. From Buena ventura and Popaian till you come to Panama there is no other towne, by reaſon of the high mountaines, the manifold riuers, and the vnholeſomeneſſe of the countrey. In this place doe inhabite the Negros that runne from their maſters, and vpon theſe mountaines was Oxnam the Engliſh Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond theſe mountaines ſtandeth the citie of Panama, being a rich place, by reaſon that all the treaſure which commeth from Peru is brought thither, and it conſiſteth of about foure hundred houſes. The coaſt running along betweene this city and Nueua Eſpanna is called Coſta rica.

Santa.
Cannete.
Truxillo.
Paita.

Guaiaquil.
Tumbez.

Salſaperilla.
Shipps built at Guaiaquil.
Puerto Viejo a place where Emralds abound.
La Buena ventura.

La gouernacion de Popaian.

Negros fled from their maſters.
Panama.

Coſta rica.

Next vnto Coſta rica, which is a mountainous and deſolate place, lieth the coaſt of Nicaragua, being inhabited by the Spaniards, and hauing many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade of marchandize; but hauing no knowledge of the ſituation thereof, nor of the townes therein contained, I surceaſe to ſpeake any more of it.

The prouince of Nicaragua.

A certaine viceroy of Nueua Eſpanna called Don Luis de Velaſco cauſed certaine ſhips to be built for the diſcouery of the Malucos and of the coaſt of China: which ſhippes in ſayling thitherward found certaine Iſlands 80 leagues diſtant from the maine land, which the Spaniards, according to the name of their king, called The Philippinas: and hauing conquered one of theſe Iſlands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kind of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they haue trade with the people of China. Unto theſe Iſlands they haue foure great ſhips that vſually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: ſo that ſuch ſpices and ſilkes as the Portugals bring home out of the Eaſt Indies, the very ſame doe the Spaniards bring from theſe Iſlands and from China, for Mexico the chiefe citie of Nueua Eſpanna. The principall port-townes of the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna are Guatulco, and Acapulco.

The diſcouery of the Philippinas.

The Iſle of Manilla.

All the viceroyes and gouernours that the king of Spaine ſendeth for Peru and Nueua Eſpanna haue a cuſtome, for the obtaining of his fauour, to ſeeke and diſcouer new countreys. But the greateſt and moſt notable diſcouerie that hath bene from thoſe parts now of late, was that of the Iſles of Salomon, which were found in maner following. The Licenciate Caſtro being gouernour of Peru ſent foorth a fleete of ſhippes to diſcouer certaine Iſlands in the South ſea vpon the coaſt of Peru, appointing as Generall of the ſame fleete a kinſman of his called Aluares de Mendanio, and Pedro Sarmiento as lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went Pedro de Ortega. This fleete departing forth of the hauen of Lima, and ſayling 800 leagues Weſtward off

The diſcouery of the Iſles of Salomon.

Cloues, ginger, and ſinamon.

The Iſle of Guadalcanal.

the coaſt of Peru, found certaine Iſlands in eleuen degrees to the South of the Equinoctial inhabited with a kind of people of a yellowiſh complexion, and all naked, whoſe weapons are bowes and arrowes, and darts. The beaſts that they ſaw here were hogges and little dogges, and they found ſome hennes. Here alſo they found a muſter of cloues, ginger, and ſinamon, although the ſinamon were not of the beſt; and heere appeared vnto them likewiſe ſome ſhewe of golde. The firſt Iſland that the Spaniards diſcouered, they named Santa Izabella; and here they built a ſmall pinneſſe, with the which and with their ſhips boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude eleuen great Iſlands being one with another of 80 leagues in compaſſe. The greateſt Iſland that they diſcouered was according vnto the firſt finder called Guadalcanal, on the coaſt whereof they ſayled 150 leagues, before they could knowe whither it were an Iſland or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which ſtretcheth to the Streights of Magellan; for they coaſted it to eighteene degrees and could not find the ende thereof. The gold that they found was vpon this Iſland or maine land of Guadalcanal, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding ſmall graines of golde hanged vp in the houſes thereof. But becauſe the Spaniards vnderſtood not the language of the countrey, and alſo for that the Indians were very ſtout men, and fought continually againſt them, they could neuer learne from whence that gold came, nor yet what ſtore was in the land.

A towne burnt.

Abundance of good victuals vpon the Iſles of Salomon.

A new rich trade for gold, cloues, ginger, and ſinamon.

Why theſe Iſles were called The Iſles of Salomon.

Theſe Indians vſe to goe to ſea in great Canoas that will carrie 100 men a piece, wherein they haue many conflicts one againſt another: howbeit vnto the Chriſtians they could doe no great hurt; for that with a ſmall pinneſſe and two falcons a fewe may ouercome 100 of them. At this place foureteene men miſtruſting nothing, rowed to land, to take in freſh water, whome on the ſudden certaine Indians in foure Canoas ſet vpon, tooke the ſhips boat, and ſlewe all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on ſhore too ſtrong, nor yet be too wary in a ſtrange land. Hereupon the Spaniards went on ſhore in their pinneſſe, and burnt the towne, and in this towne they found the ſmall graines of gold before mentioned. They were diſcouering of theſe Iſlands from one to another about foureteene moneths, at the ende of which time (becauſe that vpon the coaſt where they were, the wind continuing ſtill in one place, might bee an occaſion of longer tarying) they conſulted which way to returne. Southward they durſt not goe for feare of great tempeſts which are that way vſuall: wherefore ſayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna; on which coaſt they met with ſuch terrible ſtormes, that they were forced to cut their maine maſts ouer-bourd, and to lye nine moneths beating it vp and downe in the ſea, before they could get into any harborow of the Chriſtians. In which time by reaſon of euill gouernement, and for lacke of victuals and freſh water, moſt of the men in their Admirall dyed; for fiue whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other ſhips they behaued themſelues ſo well, that the greater part of them came ſafe vnto the land. He that paſſeth the Streights of Magellan, or ſaileth from the coaſt of Chili directly for the Malucos muſt needs runne in ſight of ſome of theſe Iſlands before ſpoken of. At which Iſlands lying ſo conueniently in the way to the Malucos you may furniſh your ſelfe with plenty of victuals, as hogges, hennes, excellent almonds, potatos, ſugar-canes, with diuers other ſortes fit for the ſuſtenance of man in great abundance. Alſo among theſe Iſlands you ſhall haue ſome quantity of gold, which the Indians will giue you in truck for other commodities. For the Spaniards in their diſcouery of theſe Iſlands not ſeeking nor being deſirous of gold, brought home notwithſtanding 40000 pezos with them, beſides great ſtore of cloues and ginger, and ſome ſinamon alſo which is not ſo good as in other places. The diſcouerer of theſe Iſlands named them the Iſles of Salomon, to the ende that the Spaniards ſuppoſing them to bee thoſe Iſles from whence Salomon fetched gold to adorne the temple at Ieruſalem, might bee the more deſirous to goe and inhabite the ſame. Now the ſame time when they thought to haue ſent colonies vnto theſe Iſlands, Captaine Drake entered the South ſea; whereupon commandement was giuen, that they ſhould not be inhabited, to the ende that ſuch Engliſhmen, and of other nations as paſſed the Streights of Magellan to goe to the Malucos might haue no ſuccour there, but ſuch as they got of the Indian people.

The admirable and proſperous Voyage of the worſhipfull Maſter *Thomas Candiſh* of *Trimley* in the Countie of *Suffolke* Eſquire, into the South ſea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586, and finiſhed 1588. Written by Maſter *Francis Pretty* lately of *Ey* in *Suffolke*, a Gentleman employed in the ſame action.

Wee departed out of Plimmouth on Thurſday the 21. of July 1586. with 3. ſayles, to wit, The Deſire a ſhip of 120. tunnes, The Content of 60 tuns, and the Hugh gallant a barke of 40. tunnes: in which ſmall Fleete were 123. perſons of all ſortes with all kinde of furniture and victuals ſufficient for the ſpace of two yeeres, at the charges of the worſhipfull Maſter Thomas Candiſh of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Eſquire, beeing our Generall.

On Tueſday the 26. of the ſame moneth, we were 45. leagues from Cape Finis terræ, where wee mette with 5. ſayles of Biſkaynes comming from the Grande Bay in Newfound-land, as we ſuppoſed, which our Admirall ſhot at, and fought with them 3. houres, but wee tooke none of them by reaſon the night grew on. 5. Great Biſkaine ſhips fought withal.

The firſt of Auguſt wee came in ſight of Forte ventura, one of the Iſles of the Canaries, about ten of the clocke in the morning. Auguſt.

On Sunday being the 7. of Auguſt, we were gotten as high as Rio del oro on the coaſt of Barbarie. Rio del oro.

On Munday the 19. we fell with cape Blanco: but the winde blew ſo much at the North, that we could not get vp where the Canters doe vſe to ride and fiſh; therefore wee lay off 6. houres Weſt Southweſt, becauſe of the ſand which lieth off the cape Southweſt and by South. Cape Blanco. A dangerous ſand.

The 15. day of the ſame moneth we were in the height of cape Verde by eſtimation 50. leagues off the ſame.

The 18. Sierra leona did beare Eaſt off vs, beeing 45. leagues from vs: and the ſame day the winde ſhifted to the Northweſt, so that by the 20. day of the ſayd moneth we were in 6. degrees ⅔. to the Northward, from the Equinoctiall line.

The 23. we put roome for Sierra leona, and the 25. day wee fell with the poynt on the South ſide of Sierra leona, which Maſter Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content which was Vice-admirall: and we had no leſſe then 5. fathoms water when we had leaſt, and had for 14. leagues in Southweſt all the way running into the harbour of Sierra leona 16, 14, 12, 10 and 8. fathoms of water. Sierra leona.

The 26. of the ſaid moneth we put into the harborough, and in going in we had by the Southermoſt point when we had leaſt 5. fathoms water faire by the rocke as it lieth at the ſaid point: and after we came, 2 or 3. cables length within the ſaid rocke, we neuer had leſſe then 10. fathoms, vntill wee came vp to the roade, which is about a league from the poynt, borrowing alwayes on the South ſide vntill you come vp to the watering place, in which Baye is the beſt roade: but you muſt ride farre into the Baye, becauſe there run maruellous great tydes in the offin, and it floweth into the road next of any thing at a Southeaſt and by Eaſt moone.

It is out of England to this place 930. leagues: which wee ranne from the 21. of July to the 26. of this moneth of Auguſt.

On Saturday being the 27. day there came 2. Negros aboord our Admiral from the ſhore, and made ſignes vnto our Generall that there was a Portugal ſhip vp within the harborough: ſo the Hugh Gallant beeing the Rere-admirall went vp 3 or 4. leagues, but for want of a Pilot they ſought no farther: for the harborough runneth 3. or 4. leagues vp more, and is of a maruellous breadth and very dangerous, as we learned afterward by a Portugal.

On Sunday the 28. the Generall ſent ſome of his company on ſhore, and there as they played and danced all the forenoone among the Negros, to the end [illegible] heard ſome good newes of the Portugal ſhip, toward their comming aboord they eſpied a Portugal which lay hid among the buſhes, whom we tooke and brought away with vs the ſame night: and he tolde vs it was very dangerous going vp with our boates for to ſeeke the ſhip that was at the towne. Whereupon wee went not to ſeeke her, becauſe we knew he told vs the trueth: for we bound him and made him faſt, and ſo examined him. Alſo he told vs that his ſhip was there caſt away, and that there were two more of his company among the Negros: the Portugals name was Emmanuel, and was by his occupation a Calker, belonging to the Port of Portugal. A Portugal taken.

On Munday morning being the 29. day, our Generall landed with 70. men or thereabout, and

went

Poyſoned arrowes.
The deſcription of their towne.

went vp to their towne, where we burnt 2. or 3. houſes, and tooke what ſpoyle wee would, which was but litle, but al the people fled: and in our retiring aboord in a very litle plaine at their townes ende they ſhot their arrowes at vs out of the woods, and hurt 3. or 4. of our men; their arrowes were poyſoned, but yet none of our men miſcarryed at that time, thanked be God. Their towne is marueilous artificially builded with mudde walles, and built round, with their yards paled in and kept very cleane aſwell in their ſtreetes as in their houſes. Theſe Negros vſe good obedience to their king, as one of our men ſayd, which was with them in pawne for the Negros which came firſt. There were in their towne by eſtimation about one hundred houſes.

September.

The firſt of September there went many of our men on ſhore at the watering place, and did waſh ſhirts very quietly all the day: and the ſecond day they went againe, and the Negros were in ambuſh round about the place: and the carpenter of the Admiral going into the wood to doe ſome ſpeciall buſineſſe, eſpied them by good fortune. But the Negros ruſhed out vpon our men ſo ſuddenly, that in retiring to our boates, many of them were hurt: among whom one William Pickman a ſouldier was ſhot into the thigh, who plucking the arrow out, broke it, and left the head behinde; and he told the Chirurgions that he plucked out all the arrow, becauſe he would not haue them lance his thigh: whereupon the poyſon wrought ſo that night, that hee was marueilouſly ſwollen, and all his belly and priuie parts were as blacke as ynke, and the next morning he died, the peece of the arrow with the poyſon being plucked out of his thigh.

Many of our men hurt by Negros.
William Pickman dieth of a poyſoned arrow.
This poyſon is the iuyce of an hearbe.
2. Buffes.

The third day of the ſayd moneth, diuers of our fleete went vp 4. myles within the harbour with our boate, and caught great ſtore of fiſh, and went on ſhore and tooke Limmons from the trees, and comming aboord againe, ſaw two Buffes.

Their departure from Sierra leona.

The 6. day we departed from Sierra leona, and went out of the harborough, and ſtayed one tide 3. leagues from the point of the mouth of the Harborough in 6. fathoms, and it floweth South Southweſt.

The Iſles of Madrabumba inhabited by Negros.

On wedneſday being the 7. of the ſame moneth wee departed from one of the Iſles of Cape Verde, aliâs the Iſles of Madrabumba, which is 10. leagues diſtant from the poynt of Sierra leona: and about fiue of the clocke the ſame night we anchored 2. miles off the Iland in 6. fathoms water, and landed the ſame night, and found Plantans only vpon the Ilande.

The 8. day one of our boats went out & ſounded round about the Iland, & they paſſed through a ſound at the weſt end of the Iland, where they found 5. fathoms round about the Iland, vntil they came vnto the very gutte of the ſound, and then for a caſt or two they had but 2. fathoms, and preſently after, 6. fathoms, and ſo deeper and deeper. And at the Eaſt ende of the Iland there was a towne, where Negros doe vſe at ſometimes, as we perceiued by their prouiſion.

A towne.

Freſh water.

There is no freſh water on all the South ſide, as we could perceiue, but on the North ſide three or foure very good places of freſh water: and all the whole Iland is a wood, ſaue certaine litle places where their houſes ſtand, which are inuironed round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meat. This place is ſubiect marueilous much to thunder, raine, and lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reaſon is, becauſe the ſunne is ſo neere the line Equinoctiall.

On ſaturday the tenth wee departed from the ſayde Iland about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde being at the Southweſt.

October.
Cape Frio in Braſill.

The laſt of October running Weſt Southweſt about 24. leagues from Cape Frio in Braſile, we fell with a great mountaine which had an high round knoppe on the top of it ſtanding from it like a towne, with two litle Ilands from it.

Nouember.
S. Sebaſtians Iland.
The riuer of Ienero.

The firſt of Nouember wee went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebaſtian and the mayne land, and had our things on ſhore, and ſet vp a Forge, and had our caſke on ſhore: our coopers made hoopes, and ſo we remayned there vntill the 23. day of the ſame moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinneſſe, and filled our freſh water. And while our Pinneſſe was in building, there came a Canoa from the riuer of Ienero, meaning to goe to S. Vincent, wherein were ſixe naked ſlaues of the Countrey people, which did rowe the Canoa, and one Portugal. And the Portugal knewe Chriſtopher Hare Maſter of the Admirall, for that Maſter Hare had bene at Saint Vincent in the Minion of London in the yeere 1581. And thinking to haue Iohn Whithal the Engliſhman which dwelleth at Saint Vincent come vnto vs, which is twentie leagues from this Harborough with ſome other, thereby to haue had ſome freſh victuals, we ſuffered the Portugal to goe with a letter vnto him, who promiſed to returne or ſend ſome anſwere within ten dayes, for that we told him we were Marchants, and would traffique with them: but we neuer receiued anſwere from him any more; and ſeeing that he came not according to appoyntment, our buſineſſe being diſpatched, wee weyed anchor, and ſet ſayle from S. Sebaſtian on the 23. of Nouember.

The 16. day of December we fell with the coaſt of America in 47. degrees ½. the land bearing Weſt from vs about 6. leagues off: from which place we ran along the ſhore, vntill we came into 48. degrees. It is a ſteepe beach all along.

December.

48. Degrees.

The 17. day of December in the afternoone we entred into an harborough, where our Admirall went in firſt: wherefore our Generall named the ſaid harborough Port Deſire: in which harborough is an Iland or two, where there is wonderful great ſtore of Seales, and another Iland of birds which are grey guls. These Seales are of a wonderful great bigneſſe, huge, and monſtrous of ſhape, and for the fore-part of their bodies cannot be compared to any thing better then to a lion: their head, and necke, and fore-parts of their bodies are full of rough haire: their feete are in maner of a finne, and in forme like vnto a mans hand: they breed and caſt euery moneth, giuing their yong milke, yet continually get they their liuing in the ſea, and liue altogether vpon fiſh: their yong are marueilous good meate, and being boyled or roſted, are hardly to be knowen from lambe or mutton. The olde ones be of ſuch bigneſſe and force, that it is as much as 4. men are able to doe to kill one of them with great cowle-ſtaues: and hee muſt be beaten downe with ſtriking on the head of him: for his body is of that bigneſſe that foure men could neuer kill him, but only on the head: For being ſhotte through the body with an Harquebuze or a Muſket, yet he will goe his way into the ſea, and neuer care for it at the preſent. Alſo the fowles that were there, were very good meate, and great ſtore of them: they haue burrowes in the ground like conies, for they cannot flie. They haue nothing but downe vpon their pinions: they alſo fiſh and feede in the ſea for their liuing, and breede on ſhore.

Port Deſire.

Seales ſtrange in ſhape and hugeneſſe.

Yong Seales are very good meate.

Fowles bréeding in burrowes like conies.

We call theſe fowles Penguins.

This harborough is a very good place to trimme ſhips in, and to bring them on ground, and graue them in: for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore wee graued and trimmed all our ſhips there.

They graue and trimme their ſhips.

The 24. of December being Chriſtmas Euen, a man and a boy of the Rere-admirall went ſome fortie ſcore from our ſhips vnto a very faire greene valley at the foote of the mountaines, where was a litle pitte or well which our men had digged and made ſome 2. or 3. dayes before to get freſh water: for there was none in all the Harborough; and this was but brackiſh: therefore this man and boy came thither to waſh their linnen: and beeing in waſhing at the ſayde Well, there were great ſtore of Indians which were come downe, and found the ſayd man and boy in waſhing. Theſe Indians being diuided on eche ſide of the rockes, ſhotte at them with their arrowes and hurt them both, but they fledde preſently, beeing about fiftie or threeſcore, though our Generall followed them but with 16. or 20. men. The mans name which was hurt was Iohn Garge, the boyes name was Lutch: the man was ſhot cleane through the knee, the boy into the ſhoulder: either of them hauing very ſore wounds. Their arrowes are made of litle canes, and their heads are of a flint ſtone, ſet into the cane very artificially: they ſeldome or neuer ſee any Chriſtians: they are as wilde as euer was a bucke or any other wilde beaſt: for wee followed them, and they ranne from vs as it had bene the wildeſt thing in the worlde. Wee tooke the meaſure of one of their feete, and it was 18. inches long. Their vſe is when any of them dye, to bring him or them to the cliffes by the ſea-ſide, and vpon the toppe of them they burie them, and in their graues are buryed with them their bowes and arrowes, and all their iewels which they haue in their life time, which are fine ſhelles which they finde by the ſea ſide, which they cut and ſquare after an artificiall maner; and all is layd vnder their heads. The graue is made all with great ſtones of great length and bigneſſe, being ſet all along full of the dead mans dartes which he vſed when he was liuing. And they colour both their darts and their graues with a red colour which they vſe in colouring of themſelues.

A man and a boy hurt by negligence.

A kinde of gyants.

The 28. of December we departed out of the Port of Deſire, and went to an Iland which lieth 3. leagues to the Southward of it; where we trimmed our ſaued pengwins with ſalt for victual all that and the next day, and departed along the coaſt Southweſt and by South.

Their departure from port Deſire.

The 30. day we fell with a rocke which lieth about 5. leagues from the land, much like vnto Ediſtone, which lieth off the ſound of Plimouth, and we ſounded, and had 8. fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the rocke bearing Weſt Southweſt. Wee went coaſting along South Southweſt, and found great ſtore of Seales all along the coaſt. This rocke ſtandeth in 48. degrees ½. to the Southward of the line.

The 2. day of Ianuarie wee fell with a very faire white Cape, which ſtandeth in 51. degrees, and had 7. fathoms water a league off the land.

Ianuary 1587

The third day of the foreſayd moneth we fell with another great white cape, which ſtandeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from which Cape there runneth a lowe beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan, which is in diuers places 5. or 6. leagues wide, and in two ſeuerall places more narrow. Vnder this Cape wee anchored and loſt an anchor, for it was a great ſtorme of foule weather, and laſted three dayes very dangerous.

They enter the Streights the 6. of Ianuarie.
A Spaniard taken in the Streights of Magellan.

The 6. day we put in for the Streights.

The 7. day betweene the mouth of the Streights and the narroweſt place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whoſe name was Hernando, who was there with 23. Spaniards more, which were all that remayned of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in theſe ſtreights of Magellan, all the reſt being dead with famine. And the ſame day wee paſſed through the narroweſt of the Streights, where the aforeſayd Spanyard ſhewed vs the hull of a ſmall Barke, which we iudged to be a Barke called The Iohn Thomas. It is from the mouth of the ſtreights vnto the narroweſt of the Streights 14. leagues, and the courſe lieth Weſt and by North. The mouth of the ſtreights ſtandeth in 52. degrees.

The Barke Iohn Thomas, one of ſir Francis Drakes conſorts.

From the narroweſt of the Streights vnto Pengwin Iland is 10. leagues, and lyeth Weſt Southweſt ſome what to the Southward, where wee anchored the 8. day, and killed and ſalted great ſtore of Pengwins for victuals.

King Philips citie late deſolate in the Streights of Magellan, which our Generall called Port famine.

The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Iland, and ranne South Southweſt to King Philips citie which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or citie had foure Forts, and euery Fort had in it one caſt peece, which peeces were buryed in the ground, the cariages were ſtanding in their places vnburied: wee digged for them and had them all. They had contriued their Citie very well, and ſeated it in the beſt place of the Streights for wood and water: they had builded vp their Churches by themſelues: they had Lawes very ſeuere among themſelues, for they had erected a Gibet, whereon they had done execution vpon ſome of their company. It ſeemed vnto vs that their whole liuing for a great ſpace was altogether vpon muſkles and lympits: for there was not any thing elſe to bee had, except ſome Deere which came out of the mountaines downe to the freſh riuers to drinke. Theſe Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Streights, to the ende that no other nation ſhould haue paſſage through into the South ſea ſauing onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will ſo to haue it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the leaſt, they could neuer haue any thing to growe or in any wiſe proſper. And on the other ſide the Indians oftentimes preyed vpon them, vntill their victuals grewe ſo ſhort, (their ſtore being ſpent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and hauing no meanes to renew the ſame) that they dyed like dogges in their houſes, and in their clothes, wherein we found them ſtill at our comming, vntill that in the ende the towne being wonderfully taynted with the ſmell and the ſauour of the dead people, the reſt which remayned aliue were driuen to burie ſuch things as they had there in their towne either for prouiſion or for furniture, and ſo to forſake the towne, and to goe along the ſea-ſide, and ſeeke their victuals to preſerue them from ſteruing, taking nothing with them, but euery man his harquebuze and his furniture that was able to cary it (for ſome were not able to cary them for weakeneſſe) and ſo liued for the ſpace of a yeere and more with rootes, leaues, and ſometimes a foule which they might kill with their peece. To conclude, they were determined to haue trauailed towards the riuer of Plate, only being left aliue 23. perſons, whereof two were women, which were the remainder of 4. hundred. In this place we watered and wooded well and quietly. Our Generall named this towne Port famine: it ſtandeth in 53. degrees by obſeruation to the Southward.

Gods enemie to the Spaniards.

Port famine in 53. degrees.

Cape Froward in 54 degrees.
Muſkle Coue.

The 14. day we departed from this place, and ran South ſouthweſt, and from thence ſouthweſt vnto cape Froward 5. leagues Weſt Southweſt, which Cape is the Southermoſt part of all the ſtreights, and ſtandeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which cape we ran Weſt and by north 5. leagues, and put into a bay or Coue on the ſouth ſide, which we called Muſkle-Coue, becauſe there were great ſtore of them: we rode therein 6. dayes, the wind being ſtill Weſterly.

Elizabeth Bay.

The 21. day of Ianuarie we departed from Muſkle-coue, and went Northweſt and by Weſt 10. leagues to a very faire ſandie Baye on the North ſide, which our Generall called Elizabeth Baye, and as wee rode there that night, one of our men dyed which went in the Hugh Gallant, whoſe name was Grey, a Carpenter by his occupation, and was buryed there in that Baye.

The 22. wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about 2. leagues from that place, where there was a freſh water riuer, where our Generall went vp with the ſhip-boate about three myles, which riuer hath very good and pleaſant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion ſoyle, and ſo we ſaw none other ground els in all the Streights but that was craggie rocks and monſtrous high hilles and mountaines. In this riuer are great ſtore of Sauages which wee ſawe, and had conference with them: They were men-eaters, and fedde altogether vpon rawe fleſh, and other filthie foode: which people had preyed vpon ſome of the Spaniardes before ſpoken of. For they had gotten kniues and peeces of Rapiers to make dartes of. They vſed all the meanes they could poſſibly to haue allured vs vp farther into the riuer, of purpoſe to haue betrayed vs, which being eſpyed by our Generall, hee cauſed vs to ſhoote at them with our harquebuzes, whereby we killed many of them. So wee ſayled from this riuer to the Chanell of Saint Ierome, which is 2. leagues off.

The moſt brutiſh Sauages that euer were ſeene.

The Chanell of Saint Ierome.

From the riuer of Saint Ierome about three or foure leagues, wee ranne Weſt vnto a Cape which is on the North ſide: and from that Cape vnto the mouth of the Streights the courſe lyeth Northweſt and by Weſt, and Northweſt. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Streights to the Southward we lay in Harborough vntill the three and twentieth of Februarie, by reaſon of contrary windes and moſt vile and filthie fowle weather, with ſuch rayne and vehement ſtormie windes which came downe from the mountaines and high hilles, that they hazarded the beſt cables and anchors that we had for to holde, which if they had fayled, wee had bene in great danger to haue bene caſt away, or at the leaſt famiſhed. For during this time, which was a full moneth, we fedde almoſt altogether vpon muſkles, and limpits, and birds, or ſuch as we could get on ſhore, ſeeking euery day for them, as the fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie weather.

Februarie 1587.

There is at euery myle or two myles ende an Harborough on both ſides of the land. And there are betweene the riuer of Saint Ierome and the mouth of the Streights going into the South ſea about 34. leagues by eſtimation. So that the length of the whole Streights is about 90. leagues. And the ſaid mouth of the Streights ſtandeth in the ſame height that the entrance ſtandeth in when we paſſe out of the North ſea, which is about 52. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the Southward of the line.

The ſtreights of Magellan are about 90. leagues long.

The Weſterne mouth of the Streights is in 52. degrees and 2. terces.

The 24. day of February wee entred into the South ſea: and on the South ſide of the going out of the Streights is a faire high Cape with a lowe poynt adioyning vnto it: and on the North ſide are 4. or 5. Ilands, which lye 6. leagues off the mayne, and much broken and ſunken ground about them: by noone the ſame day wee had brought theſe Ilands Eaſt of vs 5. leagues off; the winde being Southerly.

Their entrance into the South ſea the 24 of Februarie.

Ilands in the South ſea called Las Anegadas.

The firſt of March a ſtorme tooke vs at North, which night the ſhips loſt the company of the Hugh Gallant, beeing in 49. $\frac{1}{2}$ and 45. leagues from the land. This ſtorme continued 3. or 4. dayes, and for that time we in the Hugh Gallant being ſeparated from the other 2. ſhips, looked euery houre to ſinke, our barke was ſo leake, and our ſelues ſo dilivered and weakened with freeing it of water, that we ſlept not in three dayes and three nights.

March 1.

Extreme danger of the Hugh Gallant by a great leake.

The 15. of March in the morning the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of S. Mary and the mayne, where ſhe met with the Admiral and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha 2. dayes, which ſtandeth in the Southerly latitude of 38. degrees: at which place ſome of our men went on ſhore with the Vice-admirals boate, where the Indians fought with them with their bowes and arrowes, and were marueilous warie of their Caliuers. Theſe Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke vs for Spaniards, as afterward we learned.

The Iſle of Mocha in 38. degrees not ſubiect to the Spaniards.

This place which is called Arauco is wonderfull rich, and full of golde mynes, and yet could it not be ſubdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they alwayes returned with the greateſt loſſe of men. For theſe Indians are marueilous deſperate and careleſſe of their liues to liue at their owne libertie and freedome.

Arauco is the richeſt place in the South ſea for golde, and is not ſubdued by the Spaniards as yet.

The 15. day aforeſayde in the afternoone wee weighed anchor, and ranne vnder the Weſt ſide of Saint Marie Iland, where we ridde very well in 6. fathoms water, and very faire ground all that night.

Saint Marie Iland in 37. degrees and 1. terce, which is ſubdued to the Spaniards.

The 16. day our General went on ſhore himſelfe with 70. or 80. men euery one with his furniture: there came downe to vs certaine Indians with two which were the principals of the Iland to welcome vs on ſhore, thinking we had bin Spaniards, for it is ſubdued by them: who brought vs vp to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church with croſſes & altars in it. And there were about this Church 2. or 3. ſtore houſes, which were full of wheate and barley ready threſhed and made vp in cades of ſtrawe to the quantitie of a buſhel of corne in euery cade. The wheate and barly was as faire, as cleane, and euery way as good as any we haue in England. There were alſo the like cades ful of potato rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made vp in the ſtore houſes for the Spaniards againſt they ſhould come for their tribute. This Iland alſo yeeldeth many ſorts of fruits, hogs, and hens. Theſe Indians are held in ſuch ſlauery by them, that they dare not

A Church with croſſes and altars.

eate

The Indians of S. Mary Iland made all Chriſtians.

eate a hen or an hogge themſelues. But the Spaniards haue made them all in that Iland Chriſtians. Thus we fitted our ſelues here with corne aſmuch as we would haue, and as many hogges as we had ſalt to powder them withall, and great ſtore of hennes, with a number of bags of Potato rootes, and about 500. dried dogge-fiſhes, and Guinie wheate, which is called Maiz. And hauing taken as much as we would haue, yet we left maruellous great ſtore behind vs. Our General had the two principals of the Iland aboord our ſhippe, and prouided great cheere for them, and made them merie with wine: and they in the ende perceiuing vs to bee no Spaniards, made ſignes, as neere as our Generall could perceiue, that if wee would goe ouer vnto the mayne land vnto Arauco, that there was much Golde, making vs ſignes, that we ſhould haue great ſtore of riches. But becauſe we could not vnderſtand them, our Generall made ſome haſte, and within 2. or three dayes we furniſhed our ſelues.

Arauco rich in golde.

The 18. day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day Northnortheaſt about 10. leagues, and at night lay with a ſhort ſayle off and on the coaſt.

The Conception.

The 19. wee ranne in Eaſt Northeaſt with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where wee anchored vnder an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land.

The 20. wee departed from The Conception, and went into a litle Baye which was ſandie, where we ſaw freſh water and cattell, but we ſtayed not there.

Quintero ſtandeth in 33. degrees 50. minutes.

The 30. day we came into the Bay of Quintero, which ſtandeth in 33. degrees & 50 minutes.

The ſaid day preſently after we were come vnto an ancre in the Bay, there was a Neteherd or one that kept cattle which lay vpon the point of the hill aſleepe, which when he awaked and had eſpied three ſhippes which were come into the Bay, before wee could get on ſhore, he had caught an horſe which was feeding by, and rode his way as faſt as euer hee might: and our Generall with 30. ſhot with him went on ſhore. He had not bene on land one houre, but there came 3. horſemen with bright ſwords towards vs ſo hard as they might ride, vntill they came within ſome twentie or thirtie ſcore of vs, and ſo ſtayed, and would come no neerer vnto vs: ſo our Generall ſent vnto them a couple of our men with their ſhotte, and one Fernando, which was the Spaniard that wee had taken vp at the mouth of the Streights, which was one of the 400. that were ſterued there. But the Spaniards would not ſuffer our men to come neere with their ſhot, but made ſignes that one of our men ſhould come alone vnto them: ſo the ſaid Fernando the Spaniard went vnto them, and our two men ſtood not farre from them. They had great conference, and in the end Fernando came backe from them, and told our Generall that he had parled with them for ſome victuals, who had promiſed as much as we would haue. Our General ſent him backe againe with another meſſage and another ſhotte with him: and being come neere vnto them, they would not ſuffer any more then one to approch them, whereupon our men let the Spaniard goe vnto them alone himſelfe: who being ſome good diſtance from them, they ſtayed but a ſmall time together, but that the ſaid Fernando leaped vp behind one of them and rid away with them, for all his deepe and damnable othes which he had made continually to our general and all his company neuer to forſake him, but to die on his ſide before he would be falſe. Our Generall ſeeing how he was dealt withall, filled water all that day with good watch, and caried it aboord: and night being come, he determined the next day to ſend into the countrey to find their towne, and to haue taken the ſpoyle of it, and to haue fired it if they could haue found it.

The periurie of a Spaniard.

Our men march 7. or 8. miles into their [illegible] land.

The laſt of March Captaine Hauers went vp into the Countrey with 50. or 60. men with their ſhot and furniture with them, and we trauailed 7. or 8. miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we eſpied a number of herdes of cattell, of kine and bullockes which were wonderfull wilde: we ſaw alſo great ſtore of horſes, mares, and coltes which were very wilde and vnhandled: there is alſo great ſtore of hares and conies, and plenty of partriges and other wildfoules. The countrey is very fruitful with faire freſh riuers all along full of wilde foule of all ſorts. Hauing trauailed ſo farre that we could goe no further for the monſtrous high mountaines, we reſted our ſelues at a very fayre freſh Riuer running in and alongſt faire lowe medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where euery man drunke of the Riuer, and refreſhed themſelues. Hauing ſo done, we returned to our Ships the likeſt way that we thought their Towne ſhould bee: ſo wee trauailed all the day long, not ſeeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there were two hundred horſemen abroad that ſame day by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from vs, who had tolde them that our force was but ſmall, and that wee were wonderfully weake: who though they did eſpie vs that day, yet durſt they not giue the on-ſette vpon vs. For wee marched along in array, and obſerued good order, whereby wee ſeemed a great number more then we were, vntill we came vnto our ſhips that night againe.

The next day being the firſt of Aprill 1587, our men went on ſhoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the waters ſide: and being earely hard at their buſineſſe were in no readineſſe. In which meane while there came powring downe from the hilles almoſt 200 horſemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelue of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken priſoners, the reſt were reſcued by our ſouldiers which came from the rocks to meete with them, who being but fifteene of vs that had any weapons on ſhoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the end with loſſe of ſome foure and twentie of their men, after we had ſkirmiſhed with them an houre.

24 Spaniards ſlaine.

The names of our men that were ſlaine were theſe.

Thomas Lucas of London, ſouldier.
Richard Wheeler of London.
Robert Pitcher of Norffolke, ſouldier.
Iohn Langſton of Glouceſterſhire.
William Kingman of Dorſetſhire, ſouldier.
William Hilles of Cornewall.
Out of the Admirall.

1 William Byet of Weymouth.
2 Laurence Gameſby, of Newcaſtle.
Killed out of the viceadmi.

1 Henry Blackenals of Weymouth.
2 Williams Steuens of Plymmouth, gunner.
3 William Pitte of Shereborne in Dorſetſhire.
4 Humphrey Derricke of London.
Killed out of the Hugh Gallant.

After the loſſe of theſe men, wee rid in the roade, and watered in deſpight of them with good watch and ward, vntill the fift of the ſayd moneth.

The fift day wee departed out of this bay of Quintero: and off from the bay there lyeth a little Iland about a league diſtant, whereon there are great ſtore of penguins and other fowles; whereof we tooke to ſerue our turnes, and ſailed away North, and North and by Weſt: for ſo lyeth the coaſt along in this place.

A little Iland full of penguins.

The fifteenth wee came thwart of a place which is called Morro moreno, which ſtandeth in 23 degrees ½, and is an excellent good harborough: and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough: and a ſhip may go in at either end of the Iland: here we went with our Generall on ſhore to the number of 30 men: and at our going on ſhore vpon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe from the rockes to meete with vs, with freſh water and wood on their backes. They are in maruellous awe of the Spaniards, and very ſimple people, and liue maruellous ſauagely: For they brought vs to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where wee ſaw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the ſkin of ſome beaſt layd vpon the ground: and ouer them in ſtead of houſes, is nothing but fiue or ſixe ſticks layd acroſſe, which ſtand vpon two forkes with ſtickes on the ground and a fewe boughes layd on it. Their diet is raw fiſh, which ſtinketh moſt vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their canoa and all that they haue: for wee opened one of their graues, and ſaw the order of them. Their canoas or boates are maruellous artificially made of two ſkinnes like vnto bladders, and are blowen full at one ende with quilles: they haue two of theſe bladders blowen full, which are ſowen together and made faſt with a ſinew of ſome wild beaſt; which when they are in the water ſwell, ſo that they are as tight as may bee. They goe to ſea in theſe boates, and catch very much fiſh with them, and pay much of it for tribute vnto the Spaniards: but they vſe it maruellous beaſtly.

Morro moreno in 23 degrees and a halfe.

Moſt artificiall boates.

Tribute payd in fiſh.

The 23 in the morning we tooke a ſmall barke which came out of Arica road, which wee kept and called The George: the men forſooke it, and went away with their boate. Our admirals pinneſſe [illegible] the boate, & the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our admirals pinneſſe could not recouer the boat before it got on ſhoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and layd aboord a great ſhippe of an hundreth tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare ſhip was left alone. They made three or foure very faire ſhots at the pinneſſe as ſhee was comming in, but miſſed her very narrowly with a Minion ſhot which they had in the fort. Whereupon wee came into the road with the admirall and the Hugh Gallant: but the Content which was viceadmirall was behinde out of ſight: by meanes where-

A barke taken, which they called The George.

Arica ſtandeth in 18 degrees 31 minutes.

A ſhip taken.

of, and for want of her boate to land men withall wee landed not: otherwiſe if wee had bene together, our Generall with the companie would reſolutely haue landed to take the towne, whatſoeuer had come of it. The cauſe why the Content ſtayed behind was, that ſhee had found about 14 leagues to the Southward of Arica, in a place where the Spaniards had landed, a whole ſhips lading of botijas of wine of Caſtillia, whereof the ſayd Content tooke into her as many as ſhee could conueniently carrie, and came after vs into the road of Arica the ſame day. By this time wee perceiued that the towne had gathered all their power together, and alſo conueyed all their treaſure away, and buried it before wee were come neere the towne: for they had heard of vs. Nowe becauſe it was very populous with the ayde of one or two places vp in [illegible] land, our Generall ſawe there was no landing without loſſe of many men: wherefore hee g[illegible] ouer that enterpriſe. While wee rid in the road they ſhot at vs, and our ſhips ſhot at them againe for euery ſhot two. Moreouer, our pinneſſe went in hard almoſt to the ſhoare, and fetched out another barke which rid there in deſpight of all their forts though they ſhot ſtill at the pinneſſe, which they could neuer hit. After theſe things our Generall ſent a boate on ſhoare with a flag of truce to knowe if they would redeeme their great ſhippe or no; but they would not: for they had receiued ſpeciall commandement from the viceroy from Lima, not to buy any ſhippe, nor to ranſome any man vpon paine of death. Our Generall did this in hope to haue redeemed ſome of our men, which were taken priſoners on ſhoare by the horſemen at Quintero, otherwiſe hee would haue made them no offer of parley.

Great ſtore of wine found.

Another barke taken in the road.

The fourth barke taken.

A watchhouſe.

The 25 riding ſtil in the ſaid road, we ſpied a ſaile comming from the Southward, and our Generall ſent out his pinneſſe to meete her, with all our boates; but the towne made ſuch ſignes from the hill with fires and tokens out of the watch-houſe, that before our pinneſſe could get to them, they ran the barke on ſhoare two miles to the Southward of the towne; but they had ſmall leaſure to carrie any thing with them; but all the men ſkaped, among whom there were certaine friers: for wee ſawe them in their friers weedes as they ran on ſhoare: many horſemen came from the towne to reſcue them, and to carrie them away, otherwiſe wee had landed and taken or killed them. So wee went aboord the barke as ſhe lay ſunke, and fetched out the pillage: but there was nothing in it of any value, and came aboord our ſhippes againe the ſame night: and the next morning wee ſet the great ſhippe on fire in the road, and ſunke one of the barkes, and carried the other along with vs, and ſo departed from thence, and went away Northw[illegible]

The firſt barke of aduiſe taken.

The 27 day wee tooke a ſmall barke, which came from S. Iago neere vnto Quintero, where wee loſt our men firſt. In this barke was one George a Greeke, a reaſonable pilot for all the coaſt of Chili. They were ſent to the citie of Lima with letters of aduiſo of vs, and of the loſſe of our men. There were alſo in the ſayde barke one Flemming and three Spaniards: and they were all ſworne and receiued the Sacrament before they came to ſea by three or foure friers, that if wee ſhould chance to meete them, they ſhould throw thoſe letters ouer boord: which, (as wee were giuing them chaſe with our pinneſſe) before wee could fetch them vp, they had accordingly throwen away. Yet our Generall wrought ſo with them, that they did confeſſe it: but hee was faine to cauſe them to be tormented with their thumbes in a wrinch, and to continue them at ſeuerall times with extreme paine. Alſo hee made the old Flemming beleeue that hee would hang him; and the rope being about his necke hee was pulled vp a little from the hatches, and yet hee would not confeſſe, chuſing [illegible]ther to die, then hee would bee periured. In the end it was confeſſed by one of the Spaniards, whereupon wee burnt the barke, and carried the men with vs.

A good minde if he had bene in a good cauſe.

The third of May wee came into a [illegible] where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and Piſca, where ſome o[illegible]anded and tooke certaine houſes, wherein was bread, wine, figs and hennes: but the ſea went ſo high, [illegible]at wee could not land at the beſt of the townes without ſinking of our boats, and great hazard of vs all. This place ſtandeth in thirteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Southward of the line.

The bay of Piſca in 13 deg. $\frac{2}{3}$.

The fi[illegible] of May wee departed from this harbour, leauing the Content our viceadmirall within at an Iland of ſeales, by which meanes at that time wee loſt her companie.

An Iland of Seales.

The ninth wee gaue chaſe to a ſaile, namely, Our admirall, The Hugh Gallant, and The George which wee had taken before comming out of the roade of Arica; The Content which was our viceadmirall being ſtill loſt: but wee could not fetch it. The George made after it, but loſt it that night.

The tenth day the Hugh Gallant (in which barke I Francis Pretie was) loſt companie of our admirall.

The Hugh Gallant loſt companie of the fleete, and met not vntill the ſeuenteenth.

The eleuenth we which were in the Hugh Gallant put into a bay which ſtandeth in 12 degrees $\frac{2}{3}$, in which bay wee found a riuer of freſh water about eight of the clocke at night; and though we were but of ſmall force, and no more but one barke and 18 men in it, yet wee went on ſhoare to fill water: where hauing filled one boates lading, while our boate was in going aboord, two or three of our companie which were on ſhoare, as they were going a little from the watering place with their furniture about them, eſpied where there were foure or fiue hundred bagges of meale on an heape couered with a fewe reedes. So that night we filled water and tooke as much meale as wee thought good: which fell out well for vs that were then loſt and ſtoode in neede of victuals: and by breake of day in the morning wee came aboord, and there ſtayed and rode vntill the afternoone. In which meane time the towne ſeeing vs ride there ſtill, brought downe much cattell to the ſea ſide to haue intiſed vs to come on ſhoare: but wee ſawe their intent, and weyed anker and departed the twelft day.

400 bags of meale found.

The 13 day at night wee put into a bay which ſtandeth in 9 degrees and ⅓, where wee ſawe horſemen: and that night wee landed, namely, M. Bruer Captaine, my ſelfe Francis Pretie, Arthur Warford, Iohn Way Preacher, Iohn Newman, Andrew Wyght, William Gargefield, and Henry Hilliard. And we 8 onely, hauing euery man his harquebuze and his furniture about him, marched three quarters of a mile along the ſea ſide, where wee found a boate of fiue or ſixe tunnes haled vp drie on the ſhoare about a cables length from the water: and with extreme labour wee lanched the barke: when it was on flote, Captaine Bruer and I went in, while the reſt of our companie were fetching their things: but ſuddenly it was readie to ſinke: And the Captaine and I ſtoode vp to the knees lading out water with our targets: but it ſunke downe faſter then wee were able to free it, inſomuch as in the end wee had much adoe to ſaue our ſelues from drowning. When wee were out, wee ſtood in great feare that our owne boate wherein wee came on ſhoare was ſunke: for wee could no where ſee it. Howbeit the Captaine commanded them to keepe it off, for feare of the great ſurge that went by the ſhoare. Yet in the end wee ſpied it, and went aboord by two and two, and were driuen to wade vp to the arme-holes 60 paces into the ſea before wee could get into the boate, by reaſon of the ſhoalneſſe: and then departed the foureteenth day in the morning.

A bay in 9. degrees and ⅓.

Iohn Way a preacher.

The 16 wee tooke with the Hugh Gallant, being but ſixteene men of vs in it, a great ſhippe which came from Guaianil, which was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hundred tuns, hauing foure and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Gonſaluo de Ribas, whom wee carried along with vs, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The ſhippe was laden with nothing but timber and victuals: wherefore wee left her ſeuen leagues from the land very leake and ready to ſinke in 7 degrees to the Southward of the line: wee ſunke her boate and tooke away her foreſaile and certaine victuals.

A ſhip of 300 tunnes taken after halfe an houres fight.

Seuen degrees of Southerly latitude.

The 17 of May wee met with our admirall againe, and all the reſt of our fleete. They had taken two ſhips, the one laden with ſugar, moloſſes, maiz, Cordouan-ſkinnes, montego de Porco, many packes of pintados, many Indian coates, and ſome marmalade, and 1000 hennes: and the other ſhip was laden with wheate-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of theſe ſhips which had the chiefe marchandiſe in it, was worth twentie thouſand pounds, if it had bene in England or in any other place of Chriſtendome where wee might haue ſolde it. Wee filled all our ſhips with as much as wee could beſtow of theſe goods: the reſt wee burnt and the ſhips alſo; and ſet the men and women that were not killed on ſhoare.

They met their fleete againe.

Two rich ſhips taken.

One ſhippe worth 20000 pounds.

The 20 day in the morning wee came into the road of Paita, and being at an anker, our Generall landed with ſixtie or ſeuentie men, ſkirmiſhed with them of the towne, and draue them all to flight to the top of the hill which is ouer the towne, except a few ſlaues and ſome other which were of the meaner ſort, who were commanded by the gouernours to ſtay below in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, hauing with them a bloodie enſigne, being in number about one hundred men. Nowe as wee were rowing betweene the ſhips and the ſhoare, our gunner ſhot off a great peece out of one of the barkes, and the ſhot fel among them, and draue them to flie from the fort as faſt as they might runne, who got them vp vpon an hill, and from thence ſhot among vs with their ſmall ſhot. After wee were landed and had taken the towne, wee ran vpon them, and chaſed them ſo fiercely vp the hilles for the ſpace of an houre, that wee draue them in the ende away perforce, and being got vp the hilles, wee found where they had layd all their ſtuffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there vpon the mountaines. We alſo found the quantitie of 25 pounds weight in ſiluer in pieces of eight rials, and abundance of houſhold ſtuffe and ſtorehouſes full of all kinde of wares: but our Generall would not ſuffer any man to carrie much cloth or apparell away, becauſe they ſhould not cloy themſelues with burthens: for hee knew not whether our enemies were prouided with furniture according to the number of their men: for they were fiue men to one of vs: and wee had an Engliſh mile and an halfe to our ſhips. Thus

The bay of Paita in 5 degrees 4 min.

A new fort in building.

The towne of Paita taken and burnt.

25 pounds weight in ſiluer.

The towne of Puna had 200 houſes in it. A barke ſet on fire.

wee came downe in ſafetie to the towne, which was very well builded, and maruellous cleane kept in euery ſtreete, with a towne-houſe or Guild hall in the middeſt, and had to the number of two hundred houſes at the leaſt in it. Wee ſet it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of fiue or ſixe thouſand pounds: there was alſo a barke riding in the roade which wee ſet on fire, and departed, directing our courſe to the Iland of Puna.

The Iland of Puna within 3 degrees the Equinoctial to the South. A great ſhip ſunke.

The 25 day of May wee arriued at the Iland of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where wee found a great ſhippe of the burthen of 250 tunnes riding at an anker with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a ſpeciall good place for that purpoſe. Wee ſunke it, and went on ſhoare where the lord of the Iland dwelt, which was by the waters ſide, who had a ſumptuous houſe maruellous well contriued with very many ſingular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of euery chamber was framed a gallerie with a ſtately proſpect into the ſea on the one ſide, and into the Iland on the other ſide, with a maruellous great hall below, and a very great ſtorehouſe at the one ende of the hall, which was filled with botijas of pitch and baſh to make cables withall: for the moſt part of the cables in the South ſea are made vpon that Iland.

Great ſtore of cables made in Puna.

This great Caſique doth make all the Indians vpon the Iland to worke and to drudge for him: and hee himſelfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a maruellous faire woman which is a Spaniard, by reaſon of his pleaſant habitation and of his great wealth.

This Spaniſh woman his wife is honoured as a Queene in the Iland, and neuer goeth on the ground vpon her feete: but holdeth it too baſe a thing for her: But when her pleaſure is to take the ayre, or to goe abroad, ſhee is alwayes carried in a ſhadowe like vnto an horſe-litter vpon foure mens ſhoulders, with a veile or canopie ouer her for the ſunne or the winde, hauing her gentlewomen ſtill attending about her with a great troope of the beſt men of the Iland with her. But both ſhee and the lorde of the Iland with all the Indians in the towne were newly fled out of the Iland before wee could get to an anker, by reaſon wee were becalmed before wee could get in, and were gone ouer vnto the maine lande, hauing carried away with them to the ſumme of 100000 crownes, which wee knew by a captaine of the Iland an Indian, which was left there with ſome other vpon the Iland vnder him, whom wee had taken at ſea as wee were comming into the road, being in a balſa or canoa for a ſpie to ſee what wee were.

The 27 our Generall himſelfe with certaine ſhot and ſome targettiers went ouer into the maine vnto the place where this foreſayde Indian captaine which wee had taken had tolde vs that the Caſique, which was the lord of all the Iland, was gone vnto, and had caried all his treaſure with him: but at our comming to the place which wee went to lande at, wee found newly arriued there foure or fiue great balſas, which were laden with plantans, bags of meale, and many other kinds of victuals. Our Generall maruelled what they were and what they meant, aſking the Indian guide and commanding him to ſpeake the trueth vpon his life: being then bound faſt, hee anſwered being very much abaſhed, as well as our companie were, that hee neither knewe from whence they ſhould come, nor who they ſhould bee: for there was neuer a man in any one of the balſas: and becauſe hee had told our Generall before, that it was an eaſie matter to take the ſayd Caſique and all his treaſure, and that there were but three or foure houſes ſtanding in a deſert place and no reſiſtance, and that if hee found it not ſo, hee ſhould hang him. Againe being demaunded to ſpeake vpon his life what hee thought theſe Balſas ſhould bee, hee anſwered that hee could not ſay from whence they ſhould come, except it were to bring 60 ſouldiers, which hee did heare were to go to a place called Guaiaquil, which was about 6 leagues from the ſaide yland, where two or three of the kings ſhippes were on the ſtocks in building, where are continually an hundred ſouldiers in garriſons who had heard of vs, and had ſent for ſixtie more for feare of burning of the ſhippes and towne. Our Generall not any whit diſcouraged either at the ſight of the balſas vnlooked for, or for hearing of the threeſcore ſouldiers not vntill then ſpoken of, with a braue courage animating his companie in the exployte, went preſently forward, being in the night in a moſt deſert path in the woods, vntill ſuch time as hee came to the place; where, as it ſeemed, they had kept watch either at the waters ſide, or at the houſes, or elſe at both, and were newly gone out of the houſes, hauing ſo ſhort warning, that they left the meate both boyling and roſting at the fire and were fledde with their treaſure with them, or elſe buried it where it could not bee found, being alſo in the night. Our companie tooke hennes and ſuch things as wee thought good, and came away.

The towne of Guaiaquil.

A little Iland neere vnto Puna.

The 29 day of May our Generall went in the ſhip-boate into a little Iland there by, whereas the ſayd Caſique which was the lord of Puna had cauſed all the hangings of his chambers, which were of cordouan leather all guilded ouer, and painted very faire and rich, with all his houſhold ſtuffe, and all the ſhips tackling which was riding in the road at our comming in, with great ſtore of nailes, ſpikes of yron, and very many other things to be conueyed: all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requiſite for the ſhips buſineſſe.

This Iland is very pleaſant for all things requiſite, and fruitful: but there are no mines of gold nor ſiluer in it. There are at the leaſt 200 houſes in the towne about the Caſiques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more vpon the Iland, which is almoſt as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one ſide of the Caſiques houſe a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower end a well of freſh water, and round about it are trees ſet, whereon bombaſin cotton groweth after this maner: The tops of the trees grow full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a ſeede of the bigneſſe of a peaſe, and in euery codde there are ſeuen or eight of theſe ſeedes: and if the cotton bee not gathered when it is ripe, then theſe ſeedes fall from it, and ſpring againe.

The Ile of Puna is almoſt as big as the Ile of Wight.

Cotton trees.

There are alſo in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, alſo pōpions, melons, cucumbers, radiſhes, roſemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the houſe there is alſo another orchard, where grow orenges ſweete and ſower, limmons, pomegranates and lymes, with diuers other fruits.

An excellent orchard.

There is very good paſture ground in this Iland; and withall many horſes, oxen, bullockes, ſheepe very fat and faire, great ſtore of goates which be very tame, and are vſed continually to bee milked. They haue moreouer abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a maruellous bigneſſe.

There was alſo a very large and great church hard by the Caſiques houſe, whither hee cauſed all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare maſſe: for he himſelfe was made a Chriſtian when he was maried to the Spaniſh woman before ſpoken of, and vpon his conuerſion he cauſed the reſt of his ſubiects to be Chriſtened. In this church was an high altar with a crucifixe, and fiue belles hanging in the nether end thereof. We burnt the church and brought the belles away.

By this time wee had haled on ground our admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great houſe both night and day.

The ſecond grauing of their ſhips.

The ſecond day of Iune in the morning, by and by after breake of day, euery one of the watch being gone abroad to ſeeke to fetch in victuals, ſome one way, ſome another, ſome for hennes, ſome for ſheepe, ſome for goats, vpon the ſudden there came down vpon vs an hundred Spaniſh ſouldiers with muskets and an enſigne, which were landed on the other ſide of the Iland that night, and all the Indians of the Iland with them, euery one with weapons and their baggage after them: which was by meanes of a Negro, whoſe name was Emmanuel, which fled from vs at our firſt landing there. Thus being taken at aduantage we had the worſt: for our companie was not paſt ſixteene or twentie; whereof they had ſlaine one or two before they were come to the houſes: yet we ſkirmiſhed with them an houre and an halfe: at the laſt being ſore ouercharged with multitudes, we were driuen down from the hill to the waters ſide, and there kept them play a while, vntill in the end Zacharie Saxie, who with his halberd had kept the way of the hill, and ſlaine a couple of them, as hee breathed himſelfe being ſomewhat tired, had an honourable death and a ſhort: for a ſhot ſtrooke him to the heart: who feeling himſelfe mortally wounded cryed to God for mercie, and fell downe preſently dead. But ſoone after the enemie was driuen ſomewhat to retire from the bankes ſide to the greene: and in the ende our boate came and carried as many of our men away as could goe in her, which was in hazard of ſinking while they haſtened into it: And one of our men whoſe name was Robert Maddocke was ſhot through the head with his owne peece, being a ſnap-hance, as hee was haſting into the boate. But foure of vs were left behinde which the boate could not carrie: to wit, my ſelfe Francis Pretie, Thomas Andrewes, Steuen Gunner, and Richard Roſe: which had our ſhot readie and retired our ſelues vnto a cliffe, vntill the boate came againe, which was preſently after they had carried the reſt aboord. There were ſixe and fortie of the enemies ſlaine by vs, whereof they had dragged ſome into buſhes, and ſome into olde houſes, which wee found afterward. Wee loſt twelue men in maner following.

The firſt ſkirmiſh with the Spaniards.

Zacharie Saxie ſlaine honorably.

Robert Maddocke ſlaine with his owne peece.

46 Spaniards and Indians ſlaine.

Slaine by the enemie.
1 Zacharie Saxie,
2 Neales Iohnſon,
3 William Geirgifield,
4 Nicolas Hendie,
5 Henry Cooper.

1 Robert Maddocke, killed with his peece.

1 Henry Mawdley, burnt.

1 Edward the gunners man,
2 Ambroſe the muſitian,
drowned.

1 Walter Tilliard,
2 Edward Smith,
3 Henry Aſelye,
taken priſoners.

The ſecond ſkirmiſh with the Spaniards. The chiefe towne in Puna burnt.

The ſelfe ſame day being the ſecond of Iune, we went on ſhoare againe with ſeuentie men, and had a freſh ſkirmiſh with the enemies, and draue them to retire, being an hundred Spaniards ſeruing with muſkets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes and darts. This done, wee ſet fire on the towne and burnt it to the ground, hauing in it to the number of three hundred houſes: and ſhortly after made hauocke of their fieldes, orchards and gardens, and burnt foure great ſhips more which were in building on the ſtockes.

The third of Iune the Content which was our viceadmirall was haled on ground, to graue at the ſame place in deſpight of the Spaniards: and alſo our pinneſſe which the Spaniards had burned, was new trimmed.

They arriued at Puna the 25 of May. The Hugh Gallant a barke of 40 tuns ſunke.

The fift day of Iune wee departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleuen dayes, and turned vp for a place which is called Rio dolce, where wee watered: at which place alſo wee ſunke our rereadmirall called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes.

The tenth day of the ſame moneth wee ſet the Indians on ſhoare, which we had taken before in a balſa as we were comming into the road of Puna.

Rio dolce.

The eleuenth day wee departed from the ſayd Rio dolce.

The twelfe of Iune wee doubled the Equinoctial line, and continued our courſe Northwarde all that moneth.

The firſt of Iulie wee had ſight of the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna, being foure leagues diſtant from land in the latitude of ten degrees to the Northward of the line.

Michael Sancius a Marſillian.

The ninth of Iulie wee tooke a new ſhip of the burthen of 120 tunnes, wherein was one Michael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to ſerue his turne to water along the coaſt: for hee was one of the beſt coaſters in the South ſea. This Michael Sancius was a Prouenſal, borne in Marſeils, and was the firſt man that tolde vs newes of the great ſhip called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

A great new ſhip burnt.

There were ſixe men more in this new ſhippe: we tooke her ſailes, her ropes, and fire-wood, to ſerue our turnes, ſet her on fire, and kept the men.

The ſecond barke of aduiſe taken. Sonſonate in the prouince of Guatimala. A barke burnt.

The tenth we tooke another barke which was going with aduiſe of vs and our ſhips all along the coaſt, as Michael Sancius tolde vs: but all the companie that were in the barke were fledde on ſhoare. None of both theſe ſhips had any goods in them. For they came both from Sonſonate in the prouince of Guatimala; the new ſhippe, for feare we ſhould haue taken her in the road, and the barke, to carrie newes of vs along the coaſt; which barke alſo wee ſet on fire.

The riuer of Copalita.

Aguatulco in 15 degrees and 40 minutes Northward.

The 26 day of Iuly wee came to an anker at 10 fathoms in the riuer of Copalita, where wee made account to water. And the ſame night wee departed with 30 men in the pinneſſe, and rowed to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforeſayd riuer; and ſtandeth in 15 degrees 40 minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctial line.

A barke burnt. Anile. Cacaos. Aguatulco a towne of 100 houſes burnt.

Cacaos goe for money in Nueua Eſpanna.

The 27 in the morning by the breake of day wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where wee found a barke of 50 tunnes, which was come from Sonſonate laden with cacaos and anile which they had there landed: and the men were all fled on ſhoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the church and cuſtome houſe which was very faire and large: in which houſe were 600 bags of anile to dye cloth; euery bag whereof was worth 40 crownes, and 400 bags of cacaos; euery bag whereof is worth ten crownes. Theſe cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For 150 of them are in value one rial of plate in ready payment. They are very like vnto an almond, but are nothing ſo pleaſant in taſte: they eate them, and make drinke of them. This the owner of the ſhippe tolde vs. I found in this towne before wee burnt it, a flaſket full of boxes of balme. After we had ſpoyled and burnt the towne, wherein there were ſome hundred houſes, the owner of the ſhippe came downe out of the hilles with a flag of truce vnto vs, which before with the reſt of all the townſmen was run away at our firſt comming; and at length came aboord our pinneſſe vpon Captaine Hauers worde of ſafe returne. We carried him to the riuer of Copalita where our ſhippes rode: and when hee came to our Generall, hee cauſed him to bee ſet on ſhoare in ſafetie the ſame night, becauſe hee came vpon the captaines word.

Our Generall entred two miles into the maine land with 30 men.

The 28 day we ſet ſaile from Copalita, becauſe the ſea was ſo great there, that wee could not fill water, and ran the ſame night into the roade of Aguatulco.

The 29 our Generall landed and went on ſhoare with thirtie men two miles into the woods, where wee tooke a Meſtizo, whoſe name was Michael de Truxillo, who was cuſtomer of that towne, and wee found with him two chambers full of his ſtuffe: wee brought him and his ſtuffe aboord. And whereas I ſay he was a Meſtizo, it is to be vnderſtood that a Meſtizo is one which hath a Spaniard to his father and an Indian to his mother.

The ſecond day of Auguſt, we had watered, and examined the ſaid Mellizo, and ſet him on ſhore againe and departed from the port of Aguatulco the ſame night, which ſtandeth as I ſayd before in 15 degrees and 40 minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

Our departure from Aguatulco.

Here wee ouerſlipped the hauen of Acapulco, from whence the ſhippes are ſet foorth for the Philippinas.

The foure and twentieth day of Auguſt, our Generall with 30 of vs went with the pinneſſe vnto an hauen called Puerto de Natiuidad, where wee had intelligence by Michael Sancius that there ſhould bee a pinneſſe, but before wee could get thither the ſayde pinneſſe was gone to fiſh for pearles 12 leagues farther, as we were informed by certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a mullato in this place, in his bedde, which was ſent with letters of aduiſe concerning vs along the coaſt, of Nueua Galicia, whoſe horſe wee killed, tooke his letters, left him behinde, ſet fire on the houſes, and burnt two new ſhippes of 200 tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the ſtockes, and came aboord of our ſhippes againe.

Puerto de Natiuidad in 19 degrees.

The third poſte of aduiſe taken.

Puerto de Natiuidad burnt.

Two new ſhips burnt.

The ſixe and twentie day of Auguſt, wee came into the bay of S. Iago, where wee watered at a freſh Riuer, along which riuer many plantans are growing: here is great abundance of freſh fiſh. Heere alſo certaine of our companie dragged for pearles and caught ſome quantitie.

The riuer of Sant Iago.

Pearles taken.

The ſecond of September wee departed from Sant Iago at foure of the clocke in the euening. This bay of Sant Iago ſtandeth in nineteene degrees and eighteene minuts to the Northward of the lyne.

The 3 of September wee arriued in a litle bay a league to the Weſtwarde off Port de Natiuidad called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in: and the ſame day about twelue of the clocke our Generall landed with thirtie men or there about, and went vp to a towne of Indians which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan: there were in it about 20 or 30 houſes and a Church, which we defaced and came aboord againe the ſame night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the ſight of vs.

The bay of Malacca.

The towne of Acatlan burnt.

The fourth of September, wee departed from the roade of Malacca, and ſayled along the coaſt.

The 8 we came to the roade of Chaccalla, in which bay there are two litle houſes by the waters ſide. This bay is 18 leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes.

The road of Chaccalla.

The 9 in the morning our Generall ſent vp Captaine Hauers with fortie men of vs before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, wee went vnto a place about two leagues vp into the countrey in a moſt villanous deſert path through the woods and wilderneſſe: and in the ende we came to a place where wee tooke three houſholders with their wiues and children and ſome Indians, one carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, wee bound them all and made them to come to the ſea ſide with vs.

Our Generall made their wiues to fetch vs Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pineaples and other fruites whereof they had abundance, and ſo let their huſbandes depart, except Sembrano the Spaniſh Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal; and the tenth day wee departed the roade.

The twelfth day wee arriued at a little Iſland called the Iſle of Sant Andrewe, on which there is great ſtore of fowle and wood: where wee dryed and ſalted as many of the fowles as we thought good: wee alſo killed there abundance of ſeales, and Iguanos which are a kinde of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long ſharpe tayle, ſtrange to them which haue not ſeene them; but they are very good meate. Wee rode here vntill the ſeuenteenth day, at which time wee departed.

The Iſle of Sant Andrew.

Iguanos good meate.

The 24 day wee arriued in the roade of Maſſatlan, which ſtandeth in 23 degrees ½, iuſt vnder the Tropicke of Cancer: It is a very great riuer within, but is barred at the mouth: and vpon the North ſide of the barre without, is good freſh water: but there is very euill filling of it: becauſe at a lowe water it is ſhoald halfe a mile off the ſhoare. There is great ſtore of freſh fiſh in that bay: and good fruites vp into the countrey, whereof wee had ſome, though not without danger.

Maſſatlan in 23 degrees, and an halfe.

The ſeuen and twentieth day of September, wee departed from the roade of Maſſatlan and ran to an iland which is a league to the Northward the ſayd Maſſatlan, where wee trimmed our ſhips and new built our pinneſſe: and there is a litle iland a quarter of a league from it, on which are ſeales; where a Spaniſh priſoner, whoſe name was Domingo, being ſent to waſh ſhirtes with one of our men to keep him, made a ſcape, & ſwam to the maine, which was an Engliſh mile diſtant: at which place we had ſeen 30 or 40 Spaniards & Indians, which were horſemen, and kept watch there,

An iland a league Northwarde of Maſſatlan.

The eſcape of one Domingo a Spaniard.

Chiametla.

Freſh water at 2 or 3 foote deepe in the ſand.

there,which came from a towne called Chiametla,which was 11 leagues vp into the countrey,as Michael Santius told vs. We found vpon the iſland where we trimmed our pinneſſe,freſh water by the aſſiſtance of God in that our great neede by digging two or three foote deepe in the ſande, where no water nor ſigne of water was before to be perceiued. Otherwiſe we had gon backe 20 or 30 leagues to water: which might haue bene occaſion that we might haue miſſed our prey wee had long wayted for. But God rayſed one Flores a Spaniard,which was alſo a priſoner with vs, to make a motion to digge in the ſands. Now our Generall hauing had experience ones before of the like,commanded to put his motion in practiſe,and in digging three foote deepe wee found very good and freſh water. So we watered our ſhips,and might haue filled a thouſand tunnes more, if we had would.

We ſtayed in this iſland vntill the 9 day of October,at which time we departed at night for the cape of S. Lucar,which is on the Weſt ſide of the point of California.

The cape of S. Lucar on the point of California.
Aguada Segura.

The 14 of October we fell with the cape of S. Lucar,which cape is very like the Needles at the iſle of Wight; and within the ſaid cape is a great bay called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which bay falleth a faire freſh riuer, about which many Indians vſe to keepe: wee watered in the riuer and lay off and on from the ſaide cape of S. Lucar vntill the fourth of Nouember, and had the windes hanging ſtill Weſterly.

California in 23 degrees and two thirds.

The fight betweene the great S. Anna and vs.

The ſecond encounter.

The third encounter.

The great S. Anna yeelded.

One hundreth and two and twenty thouſand pezos of gold.
A pezo is 8 s.

The 4 of Nouember the Deſire and the Content,wherein were the number of Engliſh men onely liuing,beating vp and downe vpon the headland of California,which ſtandeth in 23 degrees and ⅔ to the Northward, betwene ſeuen and 8 of the clocke in the morning one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ſhip going vp into the top eſpied a ſayle bearing in from the ſea with the cape; whereupon hee cryed out with no ſmall ioy to himſelfe and the whole company, A ſayle, A ſayle, with which cheerefull word the maſter of the ſhip and diuers others of the company went alſo vp into the maine top,who perceiuing the ſpeech to be very true gaue information vnto our Generall of theſe happy newes,who was no leſſe glad then the cauſe required: whereupon he gaue in charge preſently vnto the whole company to put all things in readines,which being performed we gaue the chaſe ſome 3 or 4 houres,ſtanding with our beſt aduantage and working for the winde. In the afternoone we gat vp vnto them,giuing them the broad ſide with our great ordinance and a volee of ſmall ſhot,and preſently layed the ſhip aboord,whereof the king of Spaine was owner,which was Admiral of the ſouth ſea,called the S. Anna, & thought to be 700 tunnes in burthen. Now as we were ready on their ſhips ſide to enter her, being not paſt 50 or 60 men at the vttermoſt in our ſhip, we perceiued that the Captaine of the ſaid ſhip had made fights fore and after,and layd their ſailes cloſe on their poope,their mid ſhip,with their fore caſtle,and hauing not one man to be ſeene,ſtood cloſe vnder their fights,with lances,iauelings,rapiers,& targets,& an innumerable ſort of great ſtones,which they threw ouerboord vpon our heads and into our ſhip ſo faſt and being ſo many of them,that they put vs off the ſhippe againe, with the loſſe of 2 of our men which were ſlaine,& with the hurting of 4 or 5. But for al this we new trimmed our ſailes,and fitted euery man his furniture,and gaue them a freſh incounter with our great ordinance and alſo with our ſmall ſhot,raking them through and through, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine ſtill like a valiant man with his company ſtood very ſtoutely vnto his cloſe fights,not yeelding as yet: Our General encouraging his men a freſh with the whole noyſe of trumpets gaue them the third encounter with our great ordinance and all our ſmall ſhot to the great diſcomforting of our enemies raking them through in diuers places,killing and ſpoiling many of their men. They being thus diſcomforted and ſpoiled,and their ſhippe being in hazard of ſinking by reaſon of the great ſhot which were made,whereof ſome were vnder water, within 5 or 6 houres fight ſet out a flagge of truce and parled for mercy, deſiring our Generall to ſaue their liues and to take their goods, and that they would preſently yeeld. Our Generall of his goodnes promiſed them mercy,and willed them to ſtrike their ſayles, and to hoyſe out their boate and to come aboord: which newes they were ful glad to heare of,and preſently ſtrooke their ſailes, hoyſed their boat out, and one of their cheife marchants came aboord vnto our Generall: and falling downe vpon his knees,offered to haue kiſſed our Generals feete, and craued mercie: our General moſt graciouſly pardoned both him and the reſt vpon promiſe of their true dealing with him and his company concerning ſuch riches as were in the ſhippe: and ſent for the Captaine and their Pilote, who at their comming vſed the like dutie and reuerence as the former did. The Generall of his great mercy & humanitie, promiſed their liues and good vſage. The ſayd Captaine and Pilote preſently certified the Generall what goods they had within boord,to wit,an hundreth and 22 thouſand pezos of golde: and the reſt of the riches that the ſhip was laden with was in ſilkes, ſattens, damaſks,with muſke & diuers other marchandize,and great ſtore of al maner of victuals with the choyſe of many conſerues of all ſortes for to eate, and of ſundry ſorts of very good wines. Theſe things being made knowne to the Generall by the aforeſaide Captaine and Pilote, they were commanded to ſtay aboord the Deſire, and on the 6 day of Nouember following wee went into an harbour which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

The marchandiſe in the great ſhip.

Here the whole company of the Spaniardes, both of men and women to the number of 190 perſons were ſet on ſhore: where they had a fayre riuer of freſh water, with great ſtore of freſh fiſh, foule, and wood, and alſo many hares and conies vpon the maine land. Our generall alſo gaue them great ſtore of victuals, of garuanſos, peaſon, and ſome wine. Alſo they had all the ſailes of their ſhippe to make them tents on ſhore, with licence to take ſuch ſtore of plankes as ſhould bee ſufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoyſing in of our goods, ſharing of the treaſure, and alotting to euery man his portion. In deuiſion whereof the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie againſt our Generall, eſpecially thoſe which were in the Content, which neuertheleſſe were after a ſort pacified for the time.

The Spaniardes ſet on ſhore to the number of 190.

Mutinie againſt the Generall.

On the 17 day of Nouember, which is the day of the happy Coronation of her Maieſtie, our Generall commanded all his ordinance to be ſhot off, with the ſmall ſhot both in his owne ſhippe where himſelfe went, and alſo in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the ſame night we had many fireworkes and more ordinance diſcharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the moſt part of them had neuer ſeene the like before.

This ended, our Generall diſcharged the Captaine, gaue him a royall reward, with prouiſion for his defence againſt the Indians and his company, both of ſwords, targets, pieces, ſhot, and powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, he tooke out of this great ſhippe two yong lads borne in Iapon, which could both wright and reade their owne language, the eldeſt being about 20 yeers olde was named Chriſtopher, the other was called Coſmus, about 17 yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke alſo with him out of their ſhip, 3 boyes borne in the iſles of Manilla, the one about 15, the other about 13, and the yongeſt about 9 yeeres old. The name of the eldeſt was Alphonſo, the ſecond Anthony de Daſi, the third remaineth with the right honourable the Counteſſe of Eſſex. He alſo tooke from them, one Nicholas Roderigo a Portugall, who hath not onely bene in Canton and other parts of China, but alſo in the iſlands of Iapon being a countrey moſt rich in ſiluer mynes, and hath alſo bene in the Philippinas.

Two boyes of Iapon.

Three boyes of Manilla.

Nicolas Roderigo, a Portugal.

Hee tooke alſo from them a Spaniard whoſe name was Thomas de Erſola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco and the coaſt of Nueua Eſpanna vnto the iſlands of Ladrones, where the Spaniardes doe put in to water, ſayling betweene Acapulco and the Philippinas: in which iſles of Ladrones, they finde freſh water, plantans, and potato rootes: howbeit the people be very rude and heathens. The 19 day of Nouember aforeſaid, about 3 of the clock in the afternoone, our Generall cauſed the kings ſhippe to be ſet on fire, which hauing to the quantitie of 500 tunnes of goods in her we ſaw burnt vnto the water, and then gaue them a piece of ordinance and ſet ſayle ioyfully homewardes towardes England with a fayre winde, which by this time was come about to Eaſtnortheaſt: and night growing neere, we left the Content a ſterne of vs, which was not as yet come out of the road. And here thinking ſhe would haue ouertaken vs, we loſt her companie and neuer ſaw her after. Wee were ſayling from this hauen of Aguada Segura in California vnto the iles of Ladrones the reſt of Nouember, and all December, and ſo forth vntil the 3 of Ianuarie 1588, with a faire winde for the ſpace 45 dayes: and we eſteemed it to be betweene 17 and 18 hundred leagues. The 3 day of Ianuary by ſixe of the clocke in the morning wee had ſight of one of the iſlands of Ladrones called the iſland of Guana, ſtanding in 13 degrees⅔ toward the North, and ſayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by 1 or 2 of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were come vp within 2 leagues of the iſland, where we met with 60 or 70 ſailes of canoas full of Sauages, who came off to ſea vnto vs, and brought with them in their boates plantans, cocos, potato rootes, and freſh fiſh, which they had caught at ſea, and helde them vp vnto vs for to truck or exchange with vs; which when we perceiued, we made faſt litle pieces of old iron vpon ſmall cords and fiſhing lines, and ſo vered the iron vnto their canoas, and they caught hold of them and tooke off the iron, and in exchange of it they would make faſt vnto the ſame line either a potato roote, or a bundle of plantans, which we haled in: and thus our company exchanged with them vntil they had ſatiſfied themſelues with as much as did content them: yet we could not be rid of them. For afterward they were ſo thicke about the ſhip, that it ſtemmed & brake 1 or 2 of their canoas: but the men ſaued themſelues being in euery canoa 4, 6, or 8 perſons all naked & excellent ſwimmers and diuers. They are of a tawny colour & maruellous fat, & bigger ordinarily of ſtature thẽ the moſt part of our men in England, wearing their haire maruellous long; yet ſome of them haue it made vp and tyed with a knot on the crowne, & ſome with 2 knots, much like vnto

A Spaniſh Pilote.

Acapulco is the hauen whence they ſet forth to the Philippinas.

Good watering at the Ladrones.

The winde at Eaſtnortheaſt.

The Content, whereof Steuen Hare was maſter, left behind in the road.

The iſland of Guana one of the Ladrones in 13 degrees and two thirds.

Commodities of the iſles of Ladrones.

The colour and ſtature of the people of the iſles of Ladrones.

Their images. Artificial canoas.

Canoas ſayling right againſt the winde.

The nimblenes of the people of the Ladrones.

their images which wee ſaw them haue carued in wood, and ſtanding in the head of their boates like vnto the images of the deuill. Their canoas were as artificially made as any that euer wee had ſeene: conſidering they were made and contriued without any edge-toole. They are not aboue halfe a yard in bredth and in length ſome ſeuen or eight yardes, and their heades and ſternes are both alike, they are made out with raftes of canes and reedes on the ſtarrebordſide, with maſte and ſayle: their ſayle is made of mattes of ſedges, ſquare or triangle wiſe: and they ſaile as well right againſt the winde, as before the winde: Theſe Sauages followed vs ſo long, that we could not be ridde of them: vntill in the end our General commanded ſome halfe dozen harquebuzes to be made ready; and himſelfe ſtrooke one of them and the reſt ſhot at them: but they were ſo yare and nimble, that we could not diſcerne whether they were killed or no, becauſe they could fall backward into the ſea, and preuent vs by diuing.

Cabo del Spirito Santo, one of the iſles of the Philippinas in 13 degrees. From Guana an iſle of The Ladrones to Cabo del Spirito Santo is 310 leagues.

The deſcription of the towne of Manilla. Trade from Acapulco to Manilla. Marchandiſe of China. Marchants called Sanguelos Siluer exchanged waight for waight for golde.

The 14 day of January lying at hull with our ſhip all the middle watch, from 12 at night vntil foure in the morning, by the breake of day wee fell with an headland of the iſles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo which is of very great bignes and length, high land in the middeſt of it, and very low land as the Cape lyeth Eaſt and Weſt, trending farre into the ſea to the weſtward. This cape or iſland is diſtant from the ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, 310 leagues. We were in ſayling of this courſe eleuen dayes with ſkant windes and ſome foule weather, bearing no ſayle two or three nights. This iſland ſtandeth in 13 degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole land: and it is ſhort of the chiefeſt iſland of the Philippinas called Manilla about 60 leagues. Manilla is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards to the number of ſixe or ſeuen hundred perſons: which dwell in a towne vnwalled, which hath 3 or 4 ſmall blocke houſes, part made of wood, and part of ſtone beeing indeede of no great ſtrength: they haue one or two ſmall Gallies belong to the towne. It is a very rich place of golde and many other commodities; and they haue yeerely trafficke from Acapulco in Nueua Eſpanna, and alſo 20 or 30 ſhippes from China and from the Sanguelos, which bring them many ſorts of marchandize. The marchants of China and the Sanguelos are part Moores and part heathen people. They bring great ſtore of gold with them, which they trafficke and exchange for ſiluer, and giue waight for waight. Theſe Sanguelos are men of marueilous capacitie in deuiſing and making all maner of things, eſpecially in all handie craftes and ſciences: and euery one is ſo expert, perfect, and ſkilfull in his facultie, as fewe or no Chriſtians are able to goe beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing & imbrodering vpon ſatten, ſilke, or lawne, either beaſt, fowle, fiſh or worme, for liuelines and perfectnes, both in ſilke, ſiluer, golde & pearle, they excell. Alſo the 14 day at night wee entred the ſtreights betweene the iſland of Luçon, & the iland of Camlaia.

The iſland of Capul at which our men ſtayed 9 dayes.

The fifteenth of January wee fell with an iſland called Capul, and had betwixt the ſayd iſland and another iſland but an narrowe paſſage, and a marueilous rippling of a very great tyde with a ledge of rockes lying off the poynt of the iſland of Capul: and no danger but water ynough a fayre bredth off: and within the point a fayre bay and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboord the ſhore within a cables length. About 10 of the clocke in the morning wee came to an anker.

One of the chiefe gouernours of the iſland came aboord vs.

Our ſhippe was no ſooner come to an anker, but preſently there came a canoa rowing aboord vs; wherein was one of the chief Caſiques of the iſland, whereof there be ſeuen, who ſuppoſing that we were Spaniardes, brought vs potato rootes, which they call camotes, and greene cocos, in exchange whereof we gaue his company pieces of linnen to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a basket of potato rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meat, and excellent ſweete either roſted or boyled.

Hennes and hogges.

This Caſiques ſkinne was carued and cut with ſundry and many ſtrakes and deuiſes all ouer his body. We kept him ſtill aboord and cauſed him to ſend thoſe men which brought him aboord backe to the iſland to cauſe the reſt of the principals to come aboord: who were no ſooner gone on ſhore, but preſently the people of the iſland came downe with their cocos and potato rootes, and the reſt of the principals likewiſe came aboord and brought with them hennes and hogges: and they vſed the ſame order with vs which they doe with the Spaniardes. For they tooke for euery hog (which they cal Balboye) eight rials of plate, and for euery henne or cocke one riall of plate. Thus we rode at anker all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, cocos, hennes, hogges, and ſuch things as they brought, refreſhing our ſelues marueilouſly well.

The ſame day at night beeing the fifteenth of January 1588, Nicolas Roderigo the Portugal, whom wee tooke out of the great Santa Anna at the Cape of California, deſired to ſpeake with our General in ſecret: which when our General vnderſtood, he ſent for him, & aſked him what he had to ſay vnto him. The Portugal made him this anſwere, that although he had offended his worſhip heretofore, yet nowe hee had vowed his faith and true ſeruice vnto him, and in reſpect thereof he neither could nor would cõceale ſuch treaſon as was in working againſt him and his company: and that was this. That the Spaniard which was taken out of the great ſant Anne for a Pilote, whoſe name was Thomas de Erſola, had written a letter, and ſecretly ſealed it and locked it vp in his cheſte, meaning to conuey it by the inhabitants of this iſland to Manilla, the contents whereof were: That there had bene two Engliſh ſhips along the coaſt of *Chili*, *Peru*, *Nueua Eſpanna*, and *Nueua Galicia*, and that they had taken many ſhippes and marchandize in them, and burnt diuers townes, and ſpoiled all that euer they could come vnto, and that they had taken the kings ſhip which came from Manilla and all his treaſure, with all the marchandize that was therein; and had ſet all the people on ſhore, taking himſelfe away perforce. Therefore he willed them that they ſhould make ſtrong their bulwarks with their two Gallies, and all ſuch prouiſion as they could poſſibly make. He farther ſignified, that wee were riding at an iſland called *Capul*, which was at the end of the iſland of *Manilla*, being but one ſhippe with ſmall force in it, and that the other ſhip, as he ſuppoſed, was gone for the North-weſt paſſage, ſtanding in 55 degrees: and that if they could vſe any meanes to ſurprize vs being there at an anker, they ſhould diſpatch it: for our force was but ſmall, and our men but weake, and that the place where we roade was but 50 leagues from them. Otherwiſe if they let vs eſcape, within fewe yeeres they muſt make account to haue their towne beſieged and ſacked with an armie of Engliſh. This information being giuen, our Generall called for him, and charged him with theſe things, which at the firſt he vtterly denyed: but in the ende, the matter being made manifeſt and knowen of certaintie by eſpeciall tryall and proofes, the next morning our Generall willed that he ſhould be hanged: which was accordingly performed the 16 of January.

The treaſon of the Spaniſh Pilote reuealed.

The copy of the Spaniſh Pilotes letter to the gouernour of Manilla, which was found in his cheſte, and tranſlated by Timothy Shotten.

Capul adioyning vpon the South iſle of Manilla.

The North-weſt paſſage.

50 leagues from Manilla.

The Spaniſh Pilote hanged for his trecherie.

We roade for the ſpace of nine dayes about this iſland of Capul, where we had diuerſe kindes of freſh victuals, with excellent freſh water in euery bay, and great ſtore of wood. The people of this iſland go almoſt all naked and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a ſtroope about their waſtes, of ſome kinde of linnen of their owne weauing, which is made of plantan leaues, and another ſtroope comming from their backe vnder their twiſtes, which couereth their priuie parts, and is made faſt to their girdles at their nauels.

The maner of the people of Capul.

Theſe people vſe a ſtrange kinde of order among them, which is this. Euery man and manchilde among them hath a nayle of Tynne thruſt quite through the head of his priuie part, being ſplit in the lower ende and riuetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a crowne: which is driuen through their priuities when they be yong, and the place groweth vp againe, without any great paine to the child: and they take this nayle out and in, as occaſion ſerueth: and for the truth thereof we our ſelues haue taken one of theſe nayles from a ſonne of one of the kings which was of the age of 10 yeeres, who did weare the ſame in his priuie member.

A ſtrange thing.

This cuſtome was granted at the requeſt of the women of the countrey, who finding their men to be giuen to the fowle ſinne of Sodomie, deſired ſome remedie againſt that miſchiefe, and obteined this before named of the magiſtrates. Moreouer all the males are circumciſed, hauing the foreſkinne of their fleſh cut away. Theſe people wholly worſhip the deuill, and often times haue conference with him, which appeareth vnto them in moſt vgly and monſtrous ſhape.

Circumciſion.

On the 23 day of January, our Generall M. Thomas Candiſh cauſed al the principals of this iſland, and of an hundred iſlands more, which he had made to pay tribute vnto him (which tribute was in hogges, hennes potatoes and cocos,) to appeare before him, and made himſelfe and his company knowne vnto them, that they were Engliſh men, and enemies to the Spaniardes: and thereupon ſpredde his Enſigne and ſounded vp the drummes, which they much marueiled at: to conclude, they promiſed both themſelues and all the iſlands thereabout to ayde him, whenſoeuer hee ſhoulde come againe to ouercome the Spaniardes. Alſo our Generall gaue them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniardes, money backe againe for all their tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marueilous friendly, and rowed about our ſhippe to ſhewe vs pleaſure marueilous ſwiftly: at the laſt our generall cauſed a ſaker to be ſhot off, whereat they wondered, and with great contentment tooke their leaues of vs.

The inhabitants of Capul with all the iſlands adioyning, promiſe to ayde the Engliſh againſt the Spaniards.

The next day being the twentie foure of Januarie, wee ſette ſayle about ſixe of the clock in the morning, and ran along the coaſt of the iſland of Manilla, ſhaping our courſe Northweſt betweene the iſle of Manilla, and the iſle of Masbat.

Our departure from the iſland of Capul.

The iſle of Masbat.

The 28 day in the morning about 7 of the clocke, riding at an anker betwixt 2 iſlands, wee ſpied a Frigat vnder her two coarſes, comming out betweene 2 other iſlands, which as we imagined came frõ Manilla, ſayling cloſe aboord the ſhore along the maine iſland of Panama: we chaſed this frigat along the ſhore, & gat very faſt vpon it, vntill in the end we came ſo neere that it ſtood in to the

The iſland of Panama.

ſhore cloſe by a winde, vntill ſhee was becalmed and was driuen to ſtricke her ſayle, and banked vp with her oares: whereupon we came vnto an anker with our ſhip, a league and an halfe from the place where the Frigate rowed in; and manned our boat with halfe a dozen ſhot and as many men with ſwords, which did row the boat: thus we made after the Frigate which had hoyſed ſaile and ran into a riuer, which we could not find. But as we rowed along the ſhore, our boate came into very ſhallow water, where many weares and ſticks were ſet vp in diuers places in the ſea, from whence 2 or 3 canoas came forth, whereof one made ſomewhat neere vnto vs, with 3 or 4 Indians in it: we called vnto them: but they would not come neerer vnto vs, but rowed from vs: whom wee durſt not followe too farre for feare of bringing our ſelues to much to the leewarde of our ſhip. Here, as we looked about vs, we eſpied another Balſa or canoa of a great bignes which they which were in her, did ſet along as we do viually ſet a barge with long ſtaues or poles, which was builded vp with great canes, and below hard by the water made to row with oares; wherein were about 5 or 6 Indians and one Spaniard: nowe as wee were come almoſt at the Balſa, wee ran a ground with our boate; but one or two of our men leaped ouer-bord and freed it againe preſently, and keeping thwarte her head, we layed her abord and tooke in to vs the Spaniard, but the Indians leaped into the ſea and diued and roſe farre off againe from vs. Preſently vpon the taking of this canoa, there ſhewed vpon the ſand a band of ſouldiers marching with an enſigne hauing a red Croſſe like the flagge of England, which were about 50 or 60 Spaniardes, which were lately come from Manilla to that towne which is called Ragaun in a Barke to fetch a new ſhippe of the kings, which was building in a riuer within the bay, and ſtayed there but for certain yrons that did ſerue for the rudder of the ſaid ſhip, which they looked for euery day.

Markes of ſhallow water.

A Balſa is a great canoa.

A Spaniard of Manilla taken.

50 or 60 Spaniards ſhew themſelues.

A newe ſhippe of the kings in building.

This band of men ſhot at vs from the ſhore with their muſkets, but hyt none of vs, and wee ſhot at them againe: they alſo manned a Frigate and ſent it out after our boat to haue taken vs, but we with ſaile and oares went from them: and when they perceiued that they could not fetch vs, but that they muſt come within danger of the ordinance of our ſhip, they ſtood in with the ſhore againe and landed their men, and preſently ſent their Frigate about the point, but whether we know not. So we came abord with this one Spaniard, which was neither ſouldier nor ſayler, but one that was come among the reſt from Manilla, and had bene in the hoſpital there a long time before, and was a very ſimple ſoule, and ſuch a one as could anſwere to very little that hee was aſked, concerning the ſtate of the countrey. Here wee roade at anker all that night, and perceiued that the Spaniards had diſperſed their band into 2 or 3 parts, and kept great watch in ſeueral ſteedes with fires and ſhooting off their pieces. This iſland hath much plaine ground in it in many places, and many fayre and ſtraight trees do grow vpon it, fit for to make excellent good maſtes for all ſorts of ſhips. There are alſo mynes of very fine gold in it which are in the cuſtodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great iſland, which is not ſubdued by the Spaniards, nor any other nation. The people which inhabite it are all Negros; and the iſland is called the iſland of Negros: and is almoſt as bigge as England, ſtanding in 9 degrees: the moſt part of it ſeemeth to be very lowe land, and by all likelihood is very fruitfull.

They manned out a Frigate after vs.

An hoſpitall in Manilla.

Mynes of very fine gold in the Iſland of Panama.

The iſland of Negros in 9 degrees.

The 29 day of January aboute ſixe of the clocke in the morning we ſet ſaile, ſending our boate before vntil it was two of the clock in the afternoone, paſſing all this time as it were through a ſtraight betwixt the ſaid 2 iſlands of Panama, and the iſland of Negros, and about 16 leagues off we eſpied a fayre opening, trending Southweſt and by South, at which time our boate came abord, and our Generall ſent commendations to the Spaniſh captaine which wee came from the euening before by the Spaniard which we tooke, and willed him to prouide good ſtore of gold: for he meant for to ſee him with his company at Manilla within fewe yeeres, and that he did but want a bigger boate to haue landed his men, or elſe hee would haue ſeene him then: and ſo cauſed him to be ſet on ſhore.

Their departure from the Philippinas.

The 8 day of February by 8 of the clocke in the morning we eſpied an iſland neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which ſtandeth in one degree from the Equinoctial line Northward.

Batochina.

The 14 day of February we fell with 11 or 12 very ſmall iſlands, lying very low and flat, full of trees, and paſſed by ſome iſlands which be ſuncke and haue the dry ſands lying in the maine ſea. Theſe iſlands neere the Malucoes, ſtand in 3 degrees and 10 min. to the South-ward of the lyne.

11 or 12. ſmall ylands in 3 degrees 10 min. to the South-ward.

On the 17 day, one Iohn Gameford a Cooper dyed, which had bene ſicke of an olde diſeaſe a long time. The 20 day wee fell with certaine other iſlands which had many ſmall iſlands among them, ſtanding 4 degrees to the South-ward of the lyne. On the 21 day of Februarie, being Aſhwedneſday Captaine Hauers dyed of a moſt feruent and peſtilent ague which held him furiouſly ſome 7 or 8 dayes, to the no ſmall griefe of our Generall and of all the reſt of the company, who cauſed two Falcons and one Sacre to be ſhot off, with all the ſmall ſhotte in the ſhip, who

Ilands in 4 degrees ſouthward of the line.

The death of captaine Hauers.

who after he was ſhrowded in a ſheete and a prayer ſayd, was heued ouer boord with great lamentation of vs all. Moreouer, preſently after his death my ſelfe with diuers others in the ſhip fell marueilouſly ſicke, and ſo continued in very great paine for the ſpace of three weekes or a moneth by reaſon of the extreeme heat and vntemperatneſſe of the Climate.

March 1588.

Our arriual at Iaua maior.

The firſt day of March hauing paſſed through the Straights of Iaua minor and Iaua maior, wee came to an anker vnder the Southweſt parts of Iaua maior: where wee eſpied certaine of the people which were fiſhing by the ſea ſide in a bay which was vnder the yland. Then our Generall taking into the ſhip-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could ſpeake the Moriſco tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward thoſe fiſhers, which hauing eſpied our boat ranne on ſhoare into the wood for feare of our men: but our Generall cauſed his Negro to call vnto them: who no ſooner heard him call, but preſently one of them came out to the ſhore ſide and made anſwere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for freſh water, which they found, and cauſed the fiſher to goe to the King and to certifie him of a ſhippe that was come to haue traffique for victuals, and for diamants, pearles, or any other riche iewels that hee had: for which hee ſhould haue either golde or other marchandiſe in exchange. The fiſher anſwered that we ſhould haue all maner of victuals that wee would requeſt. Thus the boat came aboord againe. Within a while after wee went about to furniſh our ſhippe throughly with wood and water.

The Moriſco or, Arabian tongue common in Iaua.

About the eighth of March two or three Canoas came from the towne vnto vs with egges, hennes, freſh fiſh, oranges, and lymes, and brought worde wee ſhould haue had victuals more plentifully, but that they were ſo farre to bee brought to vs where wee ridde. Which when our Generall heard hee weighed anker and ſtoode in neerer for the towne: and as wee were vnder ſaile wee mette with one of the kings canoas comming towarde vs: whereupon wee ſhoke the ſhippe in the winde and ſtayed for the canoa vntill it came aboord of vs, and ſtoode into the bay which was hard by and came to an anker. In this canoa was the Kings Secretarie, who had on his head a piece of died linen cloth folded vp like vnto a Turkes Tuliban: he was all naked ſauing about his waſte, his breaſt was carued with the broade arrowe vpon it; hee went barefooted: he had an interpretour with him, which was a Meſtizo, that is, halfe an Indian and halfe a Portugall, who could ſpeake very good Portugeſe. This Secretarie ſignified vnto our Generall that he had brought him an hogge, hennes, egges, freſh fiſh, ſugar-canes and wine: (which wine was as ſtrong as any aquauitæ and as cleare as any rocke water:) he tolde him farther that hee would bring victuals ſo ſufficiently for him, as hee and his company would requeſt, and that within the ſpace of foure dayes. Our Generall vſed him ſingularly well, banquetted him moſt royally with the choyce of many and ſundry conſerues, wines both ſweete and other, and cauſed his Muſitians to make him muſicke. This done our Generall tolde him that hee and his company were Engliſhmen; and that wee had bene at China and had had traffique there with them, and that wee were come thither to diſcouer, and purpoſed to goe to Malaca. The people of Iaua tolde our Generall that there were certaine Portugals in the yland which lay there as Factours continually to traffique with them, to buy Negros, cloues, pepper, ſugar, and many other commodities. This Secretarie of the King with his interpretour lay one night aboord our ſhippe. The ſame night, becauſe they lay aboord, in the euening at the ſetting of the watch, our Generall commanded euery man in the ſhippe to prouide his harquebuze and his ſhotte, and ſo with ſhooting off 40. or 50. ſmall ſhot and one Sacre, himſelfe ſet the watch with them. This was no ſmall marueile vnto theſe heathen people, who had not commonly ſeene any ſhippe ſo furniſhed with men and Ordinance. The next morning wee diſmiſſed the Secretarie and his interpretour with all humanitie.

A King of Iaua his Secretary.

Nipa wine.

Cloues, pepper, ſugar, and many other commodities in Iaua maior.

The fourth day after, which was the 12. of March, according to their appointment came the Kings canoas; but the winde being ſomewhat ſkant they could not get aboord that night, but put into a bay vnder the yland vntill the next day, and preſently after the breake of day there came to the number of 9. or 10. of the Kings canoas ſo deepely laden with victuals as they could ſwim, with two great liue oxen, halfe a ſkore of wonderfull great and fat hogges, a number of hennes which were aliue, drakes, geeſe, eggs, plantans, ſugar canes, ſugar in plates, cocos, ſweet oranges and ſowre, lymes, great ſtore of wine and aquauitæ, ſalt to ſeaſon victuals withall, and almoſt all maner of victuals elſe, with diuers of the Kings officers which were there. Among all the reſt of the people in one of theſe canoas came two Portugales, which were of middle ſtature, and men of marueilous proper perſonage; they were each of them in a looſe ierkin, and hoſe, which came downe from the waſte to the ancle, becauſe of the vſe of the Countrey, and partly becauſe it was Lent, and a time for doing of their penance, (for they accompt it as a thing

Nine or 10. of the Kings canoas.

Two Portugals in Iaua.

Enquirie of Don Antonio.

of great diſlike among theſe heathens to weare either hoſe or ſhoes on their feete) they had on each of them a very faire and a white lawne ſhirt, with falling bands on the ſame, very decently, onely their bare legs excepted. Theſe Portugales were no ſmall ioy vnto our Generall and all the reſt of our company: For we had not ſeene any Chriſtian that was our friend of a yeere and an halfe before. Our Generall vſed and intreated them ſingularly well, with banquets and muſicke: They told vs that they were no leſſe glad to ſee vs, then wee to ſee them, and enquired of the eſtate of their countrey, and what was become of Don Antonio their King, and whether hee were liuing or no: for that they had not of long time bene in Portugall, and that the Spaniards had alwayes brought them worde that hee was dead. Then our Generall ſatiſfied them in euery demaund; Aſſuring them, that their King was aliue, and in England, and had honourable allowance of our Queene, and that there was warre betweene Spaine and England, and that we were come vnder the King of Portugall into the South ſea, and had warred vpon the Spaniards there, and had fired, ſpoiled and ſunke all the ſhips along the coaſt that we could meete withall, to the number of eighteene or twentie ſailes. With this report they were ſufficiently ſatiſfied.

The ſtate of Iaua.

Raia Bolamboam.

The wiues kill themſelues after their husbands deaths.

A ſtrange order.

On the other ſide they declared vnto vs the ſtate of the yland of [illegible]. Firſt the plentifulnes and great choiſe and ſtore of victuals of all ſorts, & of all maner of fruits as before is ſet downe: Then the great and rich marchandize which are there to be had. Then they deſcribed the properties and nature of the people as followeth. The name of the King of that part of the yland was Raia Bolamboam, who was a man had in great maieſtie and feare among them. The common people may not bargaine, ſell, or exchange any thing with any other nation, without ſpeciall licence from their king: and if any ſo doe, it is preſent death for him. The King himſelfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred wiues, his ſonne hath fiftie. The cuſtome of the countrey is, that whenſoeuer the king doeth die, they take the body ſo dead and burne it and preſerue the aſhes of him, and within fiue dayes next after, the wiues of the ſaid king ſo dead, according to the cuſtome and vſe of their countrey, euery one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the women, which was neereſt vnto him in accompt, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball reſteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the Eaſtward, and euery one with a dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a Criſe, and is as ſharpe as a raſor) ſtab themſelues to the heart, and with their hands all to bee-bath themſelues in their owne blood, and falling grouelling on their faces ſo ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it ſeemeth to any hearer to be ſtrange.

Faire women in Iaua.

The men of themſelues be very politique and ſubtile, and ſingularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they vndertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their king. For example: if their king command them to vndertake any exploit, be it neuer ſo dangerous or deſperate, they dare not nor will not refuſe it, though they die euery man in the execution of the ſame. For hee will cut off the heads of euery one of them which returne aliue without bringing of their purpoſe to paſſe: which is ſuch a thing among them, as it maketh them the moſt valiant people in all the Southeaſt parts of the world: for they neuer feare any death. For being in fight with any nation, if any of them feeleth himſelfe hurt with launce or ſword, he will willingly runne himſelfe vpon the weapon quite through his body to procure his death the more ſpeedily, and in this deſperate ſort ende his dayes, or ouercome his enemie. Moreouer, although the men be tawny of colour and go continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion and go more appareled.

Don Antonio might be receiued as King in the Eaſt Indies.

They depart from Iaua the 16 of March 1588.

After they had thus deſcribed the ſtate of the yland, and the orders and facions of the people; they told vs farther, that if their king Don Antonio would come vnto them, they would warrant him to haue all the Malucos at commandement, beſides China, Sangles, and the yles of the Philippinas, and that hee might be aſſured to haue all the Indians on his ſide that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented theſe Portugals, and the people of Iaua which brought vs victuals in their Canoas, they tooke their leaues of vs with promiſe of all good entertainment at our returne, and our Generall gaue them three great pieces of Ordinance at their departing. Thus the next day being the 16. of March we ſet ſaile towards the Cape of good hope, called by the Portugals Cabo de buena Eſperança on the Southermoſt coaſt of Africa.

The reſt of March and all the moneth of April wee ſpent in trauerſing that mightie and vaſte Sea, betweene the yle of Iaua and the maine of Africa, obſeruing the heauens, the Croſiers or South-pole, the other ſtarres, the foules, which are markes vnto the Sea men of faire weather, foule weather, approching of lands or ylands, the winds, the tempeſts, the raines & thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

The 10. day of May we had a ſtorme at the Weſt, and it blew ſo hard that it was as much as the ſhip could ſteere cloſe by vnder the winde: and the ſtorme continued al that day and al that night.

The next day being the 11. of May in the morning one of the company went into the top, and eſpied land bearing North and North and by Weſt off vs, & about noone wee eſpied land to beare Weſt off vs, which as we did imagine was the cape of Buena Eſperança, whereof indeed we were ſhort ſome 40. or 50. leagues: and by reaſon of the ſkantneſſe of the winde we ſtood along to the Southeaſt vntill midnight; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Weſtward.

The 12. and 13. dayes we were becalmed, and the ſky was very hazie and thicke vntill the 14. day at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the ſky cleared, and we eſpied the land againe which was the cape called Cabo Falſo, which is ſhort of the Cape de buena Eſperança 40 or 50 leagues. This Cape is very eaſie to be knowen. For there are right ouer it three very high hilles ſtanding but a ſmal way one off another, and the hieſt ſtandeth in the middeſt, and the ground is much lower by the ſeaſide. The Cape of Good hope beareth Weſt and by South from the ſaid Cabo Falſo.

Cabo Falſo.

The 16. day of May about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came vp at Eaſt a very ſtiffe gale, which helde vntill it was Saturday with as much winde as euer the ſhip could goe before: at which time by ſixe of the clocke in the morning wee eſpied the promontorie or headland, called the Cape de Buena Eſperança, which is a reaſonable hie land, & at the Weſtermoſt point a litle off the maine do ſhew two hammocks, the one vpon the other, and three other hammocks lying further off into the ſea, yet low land betweene and adioyning vnto the ſea.

They double the Cape de Buena Sperança.

This cape of Buena Eſperança is ſet down and accompted for two thouſand leagues from the yland of Iaua in the Portugall ſea carts: but it is not ſo much almoſt by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our ſhip. We were in running of theſe eighteene hundred and fiftie leagues iuſt nine weekes.

From Iaua to the Cape of Bona Sperança is but 1850. leagues.
Iune 1588.

The eighth day of Iune by breake of day we fell in ſight of the yland of S. Helena, ſeuen or eight leagues ſhort of it, hauing but a ſmall gale of winde, or almoſt none at all: inſomuch as we could not get vnto it that day, but ſtood off and on all that night.

The next day being the 9. of Iune hauing a prettie eaſie gale of wind we ſtood in with the ſhore, our boat being ſent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone we came vnto an ancker in 12. fathoms water two or three cables length from the ſhore, in a very faire and ſmooth bay vnder the Northweſt ſide of the yland.

They anker at the yland of S. Helena the 9. of Iune.

This yland is very high land, and lieth in the maine ſea ſtanding as it were in the middeſt of the ſea betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Braſilia and the coaſt of Guinea: And is in 15. degrees and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line, and is diſtant from the Cape of Buena Eſperança betweene 5. and 6. hundreth leagues.

S. Helena is in the latitude of 15. degrees 48. min. to the Southward.

The ſame day about two or three of the clocke in the afternoone wee went on ſhore, where wee found a maruellous faire & pleaſant valley, wherein diuers handſome buildings and houſes were ſet vp, and eſpecially one which was a Church, which was tyled & whited on the outſide very faire, and made with a porch, and within the Church at the vpper end was ſet an altar, whereon ſtood a very large table ſet in a frame hauing in it the picture of our Sauiour CHRIST vpon the Croſſe and the image of our Lady praying, with diuers other hiſtories curiouſly painted in the ſame. The ſides of the Church were all hanged with ſtained clothes hauing many deuiſes drawen in them.

There are two houſes adioyning to the Church, on each ſide one, which ſerue for kitchins to dreſſe meate in, with neceſſary roomes and houſes of office: the couerings of the ſaide houſes are made flat, whereon is planted a very faire vine, and through both the ſaide houſes runneth a very good and holſome ſtreame of freſh water.

There is alſo right ouer againſt the ſaide Church a faire cauſey made vp with ſtones reaching vnto a valley by the ſeaſide, in which valley is planted a garden, wherein grow great ſtore of pompions and melons: And vpon the ſaide cauſey is a frame erected whereon hange two bells wherewith they ring to Maſſe; and hard vnto it is a Croſſe ſet vp, which is ſquared, framed and made very artificially of free ſtone, whereon is carued in cyphers what time it was builded, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1571.

This valley is the faireſt and largeſt lowe plot in all the yland, and it is maruellous ſweete and pleaſant, and planted in euery place either with fruite trees, or with herbes. There are figtrees, which beare fruit continually, & maruellous plentifully: for on euery tree you ſhal haue bloſſoms, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at ones: and it is ſo all the yeere long: the reaſon is that the yland ſtandeth ſo neere the Sunne. There be alſo great ſtore of lymon trees, orange trees, pomegranate trees, pomecitron trees, date trees, which beare fruite as the fig trees do, and are planted carefully and very artificially with very pleaſant walkes vnder and betweene them, and the ſaide walkes bee ouerſhadowed with the leaues of the trees: and in euery voyde place is planted parceley, ſorell,

The great ſtore of diuers excellent fruits in S. Helena.

ſorell, baſill, fenell, annis ſeede, muſtard ſeede, radiſhes, and many ſpeciall good hearbes: and the freſh water brooke runneth through diuers places of this orchard, and may with very ſmall paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

This freſh water ſtreame commeth from the tops of the mountaines, and falleth from the cliffe into the valley the height of a cable, and hath many armes out of it, which refreſh the whole yland, and almoſt euery tree in it. The yland is altogether high mountaines and ſteepe valleis, except it be in the tops of ſome hilles, and downe below in ſome of the valleis, where maruellous ſtore of all theſe kinds of fruits before ſpoken of do grow: there is greater ſtore growing in the tops of the mountaines then below in the valleis: but it is wonderfull labourſome and alſo dangerous trauelling vp vnto them and downe againe, by reaſon of the height and ſteepeneſſe of the hilles.

Abundance of partridges in S.Helena.

There is alſo vpon this yland great ſtore of partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haſt to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get vp into the ſteepe cliffes: we killed ſome of them with a fowling piece. They differ very much from our partridges which are in England both in bigneſſe and alſo in colour. For they be within a little as bigge as an henne, and are of an aſhe colour, and liue in couies twelue, ſixteene, and twentie together: you cannot go ten or twelue ſcore but you ſhall ſee or ſpring one or two couies at the leaſt.

Great ſtore of feſants.

There are likewiſe no leſſe ſtore of feſants in the yland, which are alſo maruellous bigge and fat, ſurpaſſing thoſe which are in our countrey in bigneſſe and in numbers of a company. They differ not very much in colour from the partridges before ſpoken of.

Turkies in great quantitie.

Wee found moreouer in this place great ſtore of Guinie cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the ſame bigneſſe which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Exceeding numbers of goates.

There are in this yland thouſands of goates, which the Spaniards call Cabritos, which [illegible] very wilde: you ſhall ſee one or two hundred of them together, and ſometimes you may be[illegible] them going in a flocke almoſt a mile long. Some of them, (whether it be the nature of the br[illegible] them, or of the country I wot not) are as big as an aſſe, with a maine like an horſe and a beard hanging downe to the very ground: they wil clime vp the cliffes which are ſo ſteepe that a man would thinke it a thing vnpoſſible for any liuing thing to goe there. We tooke and killed many of them for all their ſwiftnes: for there be thouſands of them vpon the mountaines.

Plentie of ſwine.

Here are in like maner great ſtore of ſwine which be very wilde and very fat, and of a maruellous bignes: they keepe altogether vpon the mountaines, and will very ſeldome abide any man to come neere them, except it be by meere chance when they be found aſleepe, or otherwiſe, according to their kinde, be taken layed in the mire.

We found in the houſes at our comming 3. ſlaues which were Negros, & one which was borne in the yland of Iaua, which tolde vs that the Eaſt Indian fleete, which were in number 5. ſailes, the leaſt whereof were in burthen 8. or 900. tunnes, all laden with ſpices and Calicut cloth, with ſtore of treaſure and very rich ſtones and pearles, were gone from the ſaide yland of S.Helena but 20. dayes before we came thither.

This yland hath bene found of long time by the Portugals, and hath bene altogether planted by them, for their refreſhing as they come from the Eaſt Indies. And when they come they haue all things plentiful for their reliefe, by reaſon that they ſuffer none to inhabit there that might ſpend vp the fruit of the yland, except ſome very few ſicke perſons in their company, which they ſtand in doubt will not liue vntill they come home, whom they leaue there to refreſh themſelues, and take away the yeere following with the other Fleete if they liue ſo long. They touch here rather in their comming home from the Eaſt Indies, then at their going thither, becauſe they are thoroughly furniſhed with corne when they ſet out of Portugal, but are but meanely victualed at their comming from the Indies, where there groweth little corne.

Our departure from S.Helena.

The 20. day of Iune hauing taken in wood & water and refreſhed our ſelues with ſuch things as we found there, and made cleane our ſhip, we ſet ſaile about 8. of the clocke in the night toward England. At our ſetting ſaile wee had the winde at Southeaſt, and we haled away Northweſt and by Weſt. The winde is commonly off the ſhore at this yland of S.Helena.

Iuly 1588.

On wedneſday being the thirde day of Iuly we went away Northweſt the winde being ſtill at Southeaſt: at which time we were in 1. degree and 48. minuts to the Southward of the Equinoctial line.

The twelfth day of the ſaid moneth of Iuly it was very little winde, and toward night it was calme and blew no winde at all, and ſo continued vntil it was munday being the 15. day of Iuly.

On Wedneſday the 17. day of the abouſaid moneth wee had the winde ſkant at Weſt northweſt. Wee found the wind continually to blow at Eaſt, and Northeaſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt after we were in 3.or 4.degrees to the Northward; and it altered not vntill we came betweene 30.and 40.degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctial Line.

On Wedneſday the 21.day of Auguſt the wind came vp at Southweſt a faire gale: by which day at noone we were in 38.degrees of Northerly latitude.

On friday in the morning being the 23.day of Auguſt,at foure of the clocke we haled Eaſt,and Eaſt and by South for the Northermoſt ylands of the Açores.

On Saturday the 24.day of the ſaid moneth by 5.of the clocke in the morning we fel in ſight of the two ylands of Flores and Coruo ſtanding in 39. degrees and ½. and ſailed away Northeaſt.

Coruo and Flores,two ilands of the Acores.

The third of September we met with a Flemiſh hulke which came from Lisbone, & declared vnto vs the ouerthrowing of the Spaniſh Fleete, to the ſinguler reioycing and comfort of vs all.

The 9.of September, after a terrible tempeſt which caried away moſt part of our ſailes, by the mercifull fauour of the Almightie we recouered our long wiſhed port of Plimmouth in England,from whence we ſet foorth at the beginning of our voyage.

CERTEINE RARE AND SPECIAL NOTES moſt properly belonging to the voyage of M. Thomas Candiſh next before deſcribed; concerning the heights,ſoundings,lyings of lands,diſtances of places,the variation of the Compaſſe, the iuſt length of time ſpent in ſayling betweene diuers places, and their abode in them, as alſo the places of their harbour and anckering, and the depths of the ſame, with the obſeruation of the windes on ſeuerall coaſtes:

Written by *M.Thomas Fuller* of *Ipſwich*, who was Maſter in *The deſire* of M. *Thomas Candiſh* in his foreſaid proſperous voyage about the world.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coaſt of *Barbarie*.

INprimis Cape Cantin ſtandeth in the latitude of	32.degr.	4.min.
Item the yland of Mogador ſtandeth in	31.degr.	30.min.
Item Cape d'oro ſtandeth in	30.degr.	20.min.
Item the ylands of the Canaries about	28.degr.	
Item Cape Bojador ſtandeth in	27.degr.	30.min.
Item Cape Verde ſtandeth in	14.degr.	30.min.
Item the Cape of Sierra Liona in	8.degr.	
Item an yland called Ilha Verde in	7.degr.	30.min.

A note of the heights of certaine places from the coaſt of *Braſill* to the South ſea.

INprimis Cape Frio ſtandeth in the latitude of	23.degr.	30.min.
Item the yland of S.Sebaſtian in	24.degr.	
Item Port deſire ſtandeth in	47.degr.	50.min.
Item Seales bay ſtandeth in	48.degr.	20.min.
Item Port S.Iulian ſtandeth in	50.degr.	
Item The white riuer ſtandeth in	50.degr.	30.min.
Item Cape Ioy ſtandeth in	52.degr.	40.min.
Item Port famine within the Straights of Magellan ſtandeth in	53.degr.	50.min.
Item Cape froward within the Straights of Magellan ſtandeth in	54.degr.	15.min.
Item Cape deſire in the entring into the South ſea ſtandeth in	53.degr.	10.min.

A note of the heights of certaine places on the coaſt of *Chili* and *Peru* in the South ſea.

INprimis the yland of Mocha ſtandeth in the latitude of	38.degr.	30.min.
Item the yland of S.Mary in	37.degr.	15.min.
Item the bay of *Valpares in	33.degr.	40.min.
Item the bay of Quintero in	33.degr.	20.min.
Item Coquimbo in	29.degr.	30.min.
Item Morro moreno in	23.degr.	20.min.
Item Arica ſtandeth in	18.degr.	30.min.
Item the bay of Piſca ſtandeth in	13.degr.	30.min.
Item the bay of Lima ſtandeth in	11.degr.	50.min.

*Valparaiſo.

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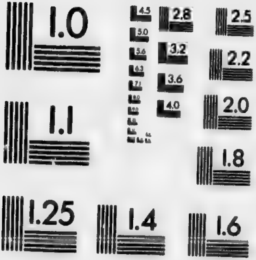

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	Item Santos ſtandeth in	9. degr.	20. min.
	Item the bay of Cherrepe in	6. degr.	30. min.
	Item the bay of Paita, in	5. degr.	4. min.
	Item the yland of Puna, in	2. degr.	50. min.
	Item Cape Sant Francisco to the North of the Equinoctiall, in	1. degr.	

A note of the height of certaine places to the Northwards of the *Equinoctiall* line, on the coaſt of *New Spaine.*

	INprimis, Panama ſtandeth in the latitude of	9. degrees.	
	Item the yland called Iſla de Canoas, in	9. degr.	10. min.
	Item Cape Blanco, in	10. degr.	10. min.
	Item Rio Lexo, in	12. degr.	40. min.
*Or, Guatulco.	Item *Aguatulco, in	15. degr.	50. min.
	Item Acapulco, in	17. degr.	20. min.
	Item Sant Iago, in	18. degr.	50. min.
	Item Cape de los Corrientes, in	20. degr.	30. min.
	Item the bay of Xaliſco, in	21. degr.	30. min.
*Las tres Marias.	Item the ylands of the *Maries, in	21. degr.	20. min.
	Item the yland of Saint Andrew, in	22. degr.	
	Item the ylands of Ciametlan, in	23. degr.	40. min.
	Item, that the Cape of Santa Clara on the point of California is in	23. degrees.	

A note of the heights of certaine places beginning from the ylands of the *Ladrones* and paſſing by the *Philippinas*, the *Malucos, Iaua minor, Iaua maior*, the Cape of *Bona Sperança*, and the yle of *Santa Helena.*

	INprim. one of the ylands of the Ladrones called Guana ſtandeth in	13. degr.	50. min.
	Item Cape De Spirito Santo on the yle of Luçon ſtandeth in	13. degr.	
	Item the yland of Capul in	12. degr.	30. min.
	Item that the yland of Seboyon ſtandeth in	12. degr.	
Or Panama.	Item that the Eaſterly end of the yland of * Pannay is in	11. degr.	
	Item that the opening betweene the South head of Pannay and the South head of Iſla de los Negros is in	10. degr.	10. min.
	Item that the South-head of Iſla de los Negros is in	9. degr.	10. min.
	Item that the North-head of the yland Mindanao is in	7. degr.	50. min.
	Item the South-head of Mindanao called Cape Cannel is in	6. degr.	40. min.
	Item the Cape of Batochina is in		10. min.
To the Southwards of the Line.	*Item that 12. ſmall ylands ſtand in	3. degr.	
	Item the latitude of two other ylands is in	4. degr.	10. min.
	Item the Weſterly head of Iaua minor is toward the South in	8. degr.	30. min.
	Item the Eaſterly head of Iaua maior is toward the South in	8. degr.	20. min.
	Item Malaca ſtandeth to the Northward in	2. degr.	
	Item Cape Falſo on the promontory of Africa, ſtandeth in	34. degr.	20. min.
	Item the Cape of Bona Sperança ſtandeth in	34. degr.	40. min.
	Item the yland of Santa Helena ſtandeth in	15. degr.	40. min.
	Item the Cape of S. Auguſtine ſtandeth Southward in	8. degr.	40. min.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Barbarie* from *Rio del Oro* vnto *Cape Blanco.*

INprimis about 3. leagues off Rio del Oro you ſhall haue very faire ſhoulding, fine white ſand 18. fathoms, and ſo alongſt vnto Cape Blanco two or three leagues off the ſhore you ſhall haue 18. and 20. fathoms. And when you come within one league of the Cape you ſhall haue twelue or thirteene fathoms, browne ſand, very faire ſhoulding. And if you will hall in with Cape Blanco, beware you come not within ſeuen or eight fathoms of the Cape: for there lyeth a ſand off the Cape.

Alſo about 7. or eight leagues off the Cape lyeth a long ſhould next hand Southweſt and by South off the Cape.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Guiny*.

ITem, Going vnto Sierra Leona, hauing the cape Eaſtnortheaſt off you, 7 leagues off, you ſhall haue 22 fadome browne ſand. And halling in you ſhall finde very faire ſhoalding. You may be bold to borrow on the Southermoſt ſhore: but take heed of a rocke that lieth in the faire way a good birth off the ſhore, but there is no feare of it: for it lieth aboue the water, and is diſtant two miles off the South ſhore.

Item, You may be bolde to borrow hard by the rocke; for on the North ſide going in there lieth one long ſand which runneth Southeaſt and Northweſt, and lieth diſtant from the South ſhore 2 leagues. And you ſhall anker in 14 or 15 fadoms hard by the ſhore.

Alſo going vnto the iſland called Illha Verde, the which iland lieth 10 leagues to the Southward of Sierra Leona, the courſe is Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt: and you ſhall haue betweene them 9 or 10 fadome. And if you will anker at the ſayd iland, you ſhall haue 5 or 6 fadome hard by the ſhore.

Alſo you muſt haue eſpeciall care of a great current that ſetteth alongſt the coaſt of Guiny to the Eaſtward.

Item, And if you be bound vnto the Southwards, you muſt go Weſtſouthweſt off, for feare of the ſhoald that is called Madera Bomba, the which ſhoald is to the Southwards of the iland.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Braſil*.

ITem, Unto the Northwards of Cape Frio, the cape bearing ſouthweſt off you, about 17 or 18 leagues off, you ſhall haue 45 fadoms ſtreamy ground: and running Southweſt, you ſhall finde 32 fadoms blacke ſand; and then running Weſtſouthweſt into a deepe bay, which lieth tenne leagues to the Northwards of the cape, you ſhall haue 22 fadoms oaze: that depth you ſhall haue all alongſt, except you be farre into the bay; and then you ſhall haue 16 fadoms all oazie.

Item, To the Northwards of Cape Frio, about 6 or 7 leagues, you ſhall haue many ſmall iſlands.

Item, To the Northwards of the cape 6 leagues, you ſhall haue two ſmall iſlands one mile diſtant the one from the other, and they are diſtant from the maine fiue leagues. And betweene thoſe ilands and the cape you ſhall haue very many iſlands hard aboord the maine.

Item, The cape bearing Weſt of you two leagues off, you ſhall haue 55 fadoms oaze. Alſo you ſhall know when you are ſhot about the cape vnto the Southwards, by deeping of the water.

Alſo if you will go for S. Sebaſtian from the cape, you muſt go Weſt and South, and Weſtſouthweſt among. And the diſtance from the cape vnto S. Sebaſtian is 50 leagues. And being ſhot into the bay any thing nere the ſhore, you ſhall haue 24 fadoms all oazie.

And halling in for S. Sebaſtian, you ſhall know it by two little iſlands which be round: and thoſe ilands lie from the iland of S. Sebaſtian next hand Eaſt and by South; and are diſtant the one from the other about foure leagues.

Alſo off the Southermoſt end of S. Sebaſtian, there lieth one iland about 6 leagues off; which iland is called the Alcatrarza, and there lie foure little ilands about it. Alſo you may know it by the trending of the land vnto the Southwards.

Item, If you will go in at the Northermoſt end of S. Sebaſtian, you muſt take heed of a ſand that lieth on the Northeaſt part of the iland: but you may be bolde to borrow on the iland: for the ſand lieth off the maine ſide. Alſo you may anker on the Northermoſt part of the iland in tenne fadoms; and the maine is diſtant from you where you ſhall ride two leagues off.

Item, If you will come in at the Southermoſt end of the iland of S. Sebaſtian, your courſe from the Alcatrarza is Southweſt & Northeaſt, and their diſtance is 6 leagues the one from the other.

Item, Unto the Southwards of the riuer Plate, being in the latitude of 45 degrees and 60 leagues off the maine, you ſhall haue ſhoalding in 60 fadoms or 65 fadoms oazie ſand: and then halling in for the ſhore Weſtſouthweſt 16 leagues, you ſhall haue 50 fadoms oaze, and you ſhall haue faire ſhoalding all along.

Item, In the latitude of 47 ½ you ſhall ſee about one mile in length, not paſſing one league off the ſhore, a ledge of broken ground, but no danger. Alſo you ſhall haue very faire ſhoalding all along the coaſt; and the land lying South and North vntill you come vnto port Deſire, which ſtandeth in 48 degrees.

Item, If you will go into port Deſire, on the North ſide there lieth one ledge of rocks about a league diſtant from the ſhore. Alſo on the North ſide at the mouth of the harborow, there lie a couple of rocks, which are at halfe flood vnder water: but be bolde to borrow on the Southermoſt ſhore; for there is no danger: and you ſhall haue no leſſe then 6 fadoms water at a low water, the harborow lying Eaſt and Weſt. Alſo you may know the harborow by one litle iland that lieth Southeaſt off the mouth of the harborow, and it is diſtant 4 leagues. Furthermore you may know the harborow by an high rocke that ſtandeth on the South ſide; and this rocke is very much like a watchtower. Alſo if you be any thing in, you may anker in 5 fadoms at a low water.

Item, It floweth there South and North, and higheth at ſpring tides 3 fadoms and an halfe water; and in the offing the flood ſetteth to the Northward.

Item, In the latitude of 48 degrees 50 minuts you ſhall haue 44 fadoms blacke ſand about 5 leagues off: and about 3 leagues off you ſhall haue 25 fadoms, and great ſhingle ſtones.

Item, in the latitude of 49 degrees ½ you ſhall haue ſounding in 38 fadoms ozie ſand.

Item, In the latitude of 51 degrees 10 minuts you ſhall haue ſoundings 4 leagues from the ſhore in 44 fadoms ſmall blacke ſtones.

Soundings within the entrance of the Streights.

ITem, About 2 leagues from the Northermoſt ſhore you ſhall haue 38 fadoms blacke ſand, and all along you ſhall haue deepe water, not leſſe then 18 or 20 fadoms in the faire way.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Chili* in the South ſea.

ITem, In the latitude of 36 degrees you ſhall haue ſoundings in 12 fadoms, 2 miles from the land, browne ſand.

Item, In the latitude of 35 degrees, you ſhall haue ſoundings one league off from the land in 10 fadoms white ſand.

Soundings on the coaſt of *New Spaine* in the South ſea.

ITem, In the latitude of 14 degrees to the North of the line, you ſhall haue ſoundings 4 leagues from the land in 30 fadoms, browne ſand.

Item, From the latitude of 14 degrees vnto the latitude of 15 degrees, you ſhall haue faire ſhoalding 3 leagues from the land.

Soundings on the coaſt of *Africa* vnto the Eaſtward of the cape of *Buena Eſperança* 40 leagues.

ITem, To the Eaſtwards of the cape of Buena Eſperança 40 leagues, in the latitude of 34 degrees and 10 minuts, 8 leagues from the land, you ſhall haue 65 fadome, and browne ſand.

A note of the lying of the land vnto the Southward of *Port Deſire.*

IN primis, Seales bay ſtandeth vnto the Southwards of Port Deſire 12 leagues Southſouthweſt. Furthermore, vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 3 leagues, you ſhall haue very low land. Alſo more vnto the Southwards of Seales bay 7 leagues, in the heighth of 48 degrees 40 minuts, you ſhall ſee a rocke 5 leagues off the ſhore, the land lying Southweſt and by South.

Item, In the latitude of 49 degrees ½, you ſhall ſee a ſmall flat Iland, about a league and halfe off the ſhore, the land lying Southweſt and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 49 degrees ½ vnto the latitude of 50 degrees, the land lieth South and by Weſt, and is high land.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Southweſt and by South. Furthermore, from the latitude of 50 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, the land lieth South and by Weſt, North and by Eaſt.

Item, In the ſayd latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts, there goeth in an harborow, which is to be knowen by a long beache that lieth on the South ſide of the harborow. Moreouer, the ſayd harborow ſtandeth 12 leagues vnto the Northwards of Cape Ioy. Furthermore, from the latitude of 52 degrees 17 minuts vnto the latitude of 52 degrees 40 minuts (in which heigth ſtandeth Cape Ioy) the land lieth Southſoutheaſt, and Northnorthweſt.

Item, Comming from the Northwards, you ſhall ſee before you come to Cape Ioy, a very long beach, about the length of 8 leagues, being 5 leagues ſhort of the cape vnto the Northwards. Alſo vnto the Southwards of the cape, you ſhall ſee another beach, about a league long, adioyning hard vnder the cape; about which beach is the entrance of the Streights of Magellan, the which Straights are in breadth fiue leagues ouer, from the cape vnto the South ſhore, lying South and by Eaſt.

Item, From Cape Ioy, being the entrance of the ſtreight of Magellan, vnto the firſt narrow paſſage of the ſayd ſtreight; the courſe is Weſt and by North, and Eaſt and by South, and are diſtant 18 leagues; the land being in breadth from the one ſide to the other one league.

The entrance of the ſtreight.

Item, From the firſt narrow vnto the ſecond narrow paſſage, the courſe is Weſt & by South, and Eaſt and by North; and the diſtance is 12 leagues: and in breadth the one ſide is from the other about two leagues ouer.

Item, From the ſecond narrow vnto the iſlands that be called Elizabeth, Bartholomew, and Penguin ilands, the diſtance is 5 leagues, and the courſe is Southweſt and Northeaſt: the ilands being diſtant a league and an halfe the one from the other.

Item, From the ſayd ilands vnto Port Famine is 16 leagues: the courſe is Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt. Moreouer, from Port Famine vnto Cape Froward, the courſe is South and by Weſt, and North and by Eaſt: and they are diſtant 8 leagues aſunder.

Item, From Cape Froward vnto S. Ieromes riuer, is 16 leagues: the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt. Alſo from S. Ieromes riuer vnto the vttermoſt land on the South ſide, the which is called Cabo Deſeado, the courſe is Northweſt & ſomewhat to the Northward, and are diſtant 30 leagues. So the whole length of the ſtreight of Magellan is 105 leagues.

The end of the ſtreight.

A note of the lying of the lands in the South ſea.

IN primis, There ſtand in the latitude of 52 degrees and 50 minuts, three or foure ilands, about 8 leagues from Cabo Deſeado: the courſe is Northnorthweſt, and Southſoutheaſt. And thoſe ilands ſtand in the mouth of the ſtreight of Magellan, at the going into the South ſea.

Item, From the latitude of 52 degrees 50 minuts, vnto the latitude of 51 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

Item, From the latitude of 50 degrees vnto the latitude of 38 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth Northeaſt and by North, Southweſt and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 38 degrees 30 minuts vnto the latitude of 37 degrees 14 minuts, the land lieth North and South.

Item, From the iland of S. Marie, being in the latitude of 37 degrees 14 min. vnto the heighth of 36 degrees 14 minuts, in which height ſtandeth The bay of Conception, the courſe is Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance 12 leagues.

The bay of Conception.

Item, From the latitude of 36 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northeaſt and by North, Southweſt and by South.

Item, From the latitude of 35 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 33 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

Item, In the latitude of 34 degrees you ſhall ſee about fiue miles off from the ſhore a banke of ſand, on the which you ſhall haue but ſhoald water.

Item, From the latitude of 33 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

33 deg. 20 mi. In which height ſtandeth Quintero.

Item, From the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts vnto the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

27 deg. 40 mi. In which height ſtandeth Copiapo.

Item, In the latitude of 29 degrees 20 minuts, there lie two ilands diſtant 4 leagues aſunder, and about one league from the maine.

Item, From the latitude of 27 degrees 40 minuts vnto the latitude of 23 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by Eaſt, South and by Weſt.

Item, From the latitude of 25 degrees vnto the latitude of 23 degrees and 30 minuts, the land is very high.

23 deg. 30 mi. In which height ſtandeth Morro moreno.

Item, From the latitude of 23 degrees vnto the latitude of 22 degrees, the land lieth Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt.

Item, From the latitude of 22 degrees vnto the latitude of 18 degrees and 30 minuts, the land lieth North and by Eaſt, South and by Weſt.

18 deg. 30 mi. In which height ſtandeth Arica.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees 30 minuts, vnto the latitude of 18 degrees, the land lieth Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

Item, From the latitude of 18 degrees vnto the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, the land lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt: in which heigth there lie two or three ilands, which ilands lie off a place where are two townes called Paraca, and Piſca.

13 deg. 30 mi. In which height ſtand Paraca & Piſca.

Item, From the latitude of 13 degrees 30 minuts, vnto the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, the land lieth Northnorthweſt, and Southſoutheaſt.

11 deg. 50. mi. In which height ſtand the ilands of Lobos.

Item, From the latitude of 11 degrees 50 minuts, vnto the latitude of 6 degrees, the land lieth North and by West, South and by East. Alſo you ſhall ſee two ilands, which be called The Ilands of Lobos, that ſtand in the latitude of 6 degrees.

5. degrees. In which height ſtandeth Paita.

Item, From the latitude of 6 degrees, vnto the latitude of 5 degrees, the land lieth Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

Item, From the latitude of 5 degrees vnto the latitude of 4 degrees, the land lieth Northweſt and Southeaſt: in which height of 4 degrees ſtandeth Cape Blanco.

2. deg. 50 min. In which height ſtandeth the iland of P

Item, From the latitude of 4 degrees vnto the latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts (in which latitude of 2 degrees 50 minuts ſtandeth the iland of Puna) the courſe is Northeaſt and Southweſt.

A note of the diſtance betweene certeine places on the coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*.

IN primis, From the iland of Mocha vnto the iland of S. Mary, the courſe is North and South, and the diſtance is 25 leagues. Leagues 25.

Item, From the iland of S. Mary vnto the bay of Conception, the courſe is Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance is 12 leagues. Leagues 12.

Item, From the bay of Conception vnto the port of Valpariſo, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 80 leagues. Leagues 80.

Item, From the port of Valpariſo vnto the bay of Quintero, the courſe is Northeaſt and by North, and Southweſt and South, and the diſtance is 7 leagues. Leagues 7. In which bay of Quintero there lieth one ſmall iland.

Item, From the bay of Quintero vnto the bay of Coquimbo, the courſe is Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 72 leagues: in which height ſtand two ilands. Leagues 72.

Item, From the bay of Coquimbo vnto the bay of Copiapo, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 55 leagues: in which height ſtandeth one iland. Leagues 55.

Item, From the bay of Copiapo vnto the bay of Morro moreno, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 70 leagues. Leagues 70.

Item, From the bay of Morro moreno, vnto the bay of Arica, the courſe is North & by Eaſt, South & by Weſt, and the diſtance is 90 leagues: in which bay of Arica ſtandeth one ſmall iland. Leagues 90.

Item, From the bay of Arica vnto the bay of Parraca, the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the diſtance is 120 leagues: in which bay of Parraca ſtand three or foure ilands. Leagues 120.

Item, From the bay of Parraca vnto the bay of Lima, the courſe is Northweſt and by North, Southeaſt and by South, and the diſtance is 35 leagues: in the bay of Lima is one iland. Leagues 35.

Item, From the bay of Lima vnto the bay of Cherrepe, the courſe is North & by Weſt, South and by Eaſt, and the diſtance is 90 leagues. Leagues 90.

Leagues 45. Item, From the bay of Cherrepe vnto the bay of Paita it is 45 leagues, the courſe is 20 leags Weſtnorthweſt vnto two ilands that be called The ilands of Lobos, and from thence vnto the bay of Paita it is 25 leagues, the courſe is North and by Eaſt.

Item, From Paita vnto Cape Blanco, the courſe is North and by Weſt, South and by Eaſt, and the diſtance is 25 leagues. Leagues 25.

Item, From Cape Blanco vnto the iland of Puna, the courſe is Eaſtnortheaſt and Weſtſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 25 leagues: Leagues 25. and you ſhall ſee one iland that is called Santa Clara, which ſtandeth 10 leagues to the Southward of Puna. Leagues in all are 751.

A note of certeine places vnto the Northwards of the Line.

IN primis, From Cape Blanco vnto Cape S. Laurence, the courſe is North & by Eaſt, South and by Weſt, and the diſtance 60 leagues. Leagues 60.

Item, From Cape S. Lorenço vnto Cape S. Franciſco, the courſe is North & by Eaſt, South and by Weſt, and the diſtance is 40 leagues. Leagues 40.

Item, From Cape S. Franciſco vnto the cape that is called Cape Blanco, which cape is on the coaſt of New Spaine, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 160 Leagues 160. leagues: and you ſhall haue a great current that ſetteth out of the bay of Panama; and the ſayd current ſetteth South out.

Item, From Cape Blanco vnto the Port de Veles, the courſe is Northeaſt and Southweſt, and the diſtance 8 leagues. Leagues 8.

Item, From the Port de Veles vnto the port of S. Iohn, the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the diſtance is 17 leagues. Leagues 17.

Item, From the port of S. Iohn vnto Rio Lexo, the courſe is Northweſt, and Southeaſt, and the diſtance is 40 leagues. Leagues 40

Item, From Rio Lexo vnto the gulfe of Fonſecco, the courſe is Weſtnorthweſt, and Eaſtſoutheaſt, and they are diſtant 14 leagues. Leagues 14

Item, In the mouth of Rio Lexo there lieth one iland, and you muſt goe in on the Northweſt part of that iland; on the which iland you may be bolde for to borrow on: and you muſt goe from that iland Southeaſt vp.

Item, That in the gulfe of Fonſecco you ſhall haue lying ten ilands, whereof three be peopled with Indians, whereon you may haue water, wood, and ſalt.

Item, On the Weſt ſide of the gulfe of Fonſecco there is one towne of Indians, which is called Mapal, in which towne there is great ſtore of beeues.

Item, From the riuer Lexo vnto the bay of Sonſonate, the courſe is Eaſt and Weſt, and the diſtance is 60 leagues. Leagues 60

Item, From the bay of Sonſonate vnto the port of Aguatulco, the courſe is Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt, and the diſtance 160 leagues. Leagues 160

Item, From the bay of Coppeleto vnto the port of Aguatulco it is 2 leagues, the courſe is Weſt and by North, Eaſt and by South. Leagues 2

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Angeles, the courſe is Eaſt and Weſt, and they are diſtant 12 leagues. Leagues 12

Item, From the port of Aguatulco vnto the port of Acapulco, the courſe is Weſt & by North, Eaſt and by South, and the diſtance is 78 leagues. Leagues 78

Item, From the port of Acapulco vnto the port of S. Iago, the courſe is Weſt and by North, Eaſt and by South, and the diſtance is 80 leagues. Leagues 80

Item, From the port of S. Iago vnto the port of Natiuidad, the courſe is Eaſt and Weſt, and the diſtance is 7 leagues. Leagues 7

Item, From the port of Natiuidad vnto port of the ilands of Chiametla, the courſe is Eaſt and Weſt, and the diſtance is 10 leagues. Leagues 10

Item, From the ilands of Chiametla vnto Cape de los Corrientes, the courſe is Northweſt and by Weſt, Southeaſt and by Eaſt, and the diſtance is 30 leagues. Leagues 30

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the bay of Xaliſco, the courſe is Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 18 leagues. Leagues 18

Item, From the bay of Xaliſco vnto the port of Chiametlan, the courſe is Northnortheaſt and Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance is 30 leagues. Leagues 30

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the ilands called Las tres Marias, the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the diſtance is 20 leagues. Leagues 20

Item, From the Cape de los Corrientes vnto the cape of Santa Clara on the point of California, the courſe is Weſtnorthweſt, and Eaſtſoutheaſt, and the diſtance is 108 leagues. Leagues 108

A note from the coaſt of *America* vnto the Weſtwards.

ITem, From the cape of Santa Clara vnto the ilands of The Ladrones, the courſe is Weſt and by South, Eaſt and by North, and the diſtance betweene them is 1850 leagues. Leagues 1850

Item, That the Southermoſt iland of the Ladrones ſtandeth in the latitude of 12 degrees and 10 minuts, and from thence vnto the Northermoſt iland, the courſe is Northnortheaſt & Southſouthweſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 200 leagues: and the ſaid Northermoſt iland ſtandeth in 21 degrees 10 minutes.

Item, From one of the ilands of the Ladrones, which ſtandeth in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minuts, which iland is called * Guaihamme, vnto the Cape de Spirito ſanto, which cape is vpon one of the ilands of the Philippinas, the courſe is Weſt and to the Southwards, and the diſtance is 320 leagues. Or Guana. Leagues 320

Item, From the cape of Spirito ſanto vnto the mouth of the entrance of the Streights of the Philippinas, the courſe is Weſt and by North, Eaſt and by South, and the diſtance is 15 leagues. Leagues 15

Item, From the mouth of the Streights vnto the iland of Capul, the courſe is Southweſt and by Weſt 6 leagues. Leagues 6

Item, From the iland of Capul vnto the North head of the iland called Masbat, the courſe is Northweſt and Southeaſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 15 leagues. Leagues 15

Item, From the North head of the iland called Masbat vnto the iland called Seboion, the courſe is Weſtſouthweſt and Eaſtnortheaſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 15 leagues. Leagues 15 Leagues in all 2414

A note

A note of our courſe kept from the iland *Seboion* vnto the Southwards.

Leagues 22. ITem, From the iland of Seboion vnto the Eaſt end of the iland called Pannay, the courſe is Southeaſt and by South, Northweſt and by Weſt, and the diſtance is 22 leagues.

Item, That off the Eaſter end of the iland of Pannay there lie certeine ſmall ilands, vnto the number of 120 or more, and you ſhall haue ſhoald water among them.

Leagues 18. Item, From the Eaſter end of Pannay vnto a bay that is called The bay of Lago grande, on the ſame iland, the courſe is Weſtſouthweſt, and Eaſtnortheaſt, and the diſtance is 18 leagues.

Leagues 6. Item, From the bay of Lago grande vnto the iland that is called Yſla de los Negros, is the diſtance of 6 leagues Southeaſt and Northweſt.

Leagues 10. Item, From the bay of Lago grande vnto three ſmall ilands that ſtand in the latitude of 10 degrees, the courſe is South and by Weſt 12 leagues. Furthermore, from thoſe three ilands vnto the Weſtermoſt end of Yſla de los Negros, the courſe is Southweſt and Northeaſt 10 leagues, where we were cleere of the ilands of the Philippinas.

Leagues 30. Item, From the South end of Yſla de los Negros vnto the North head of the iland called Mindanao, the courſe is South and North, and the diſtance is 30 leagues.

Leagues 26. Item, From the North end of Mindanao vnto the South head of the ſayd iland, which is called Cape Cannal, the courſe is South and by Weſt, North and by Eaſt, and the diſtance is 26 leagues.

Leagues 12. Item, From the cape of Cannal betweene the South and the Weſtſouthweſt about 10 or 12 leagues off you ſhall haue great ſtore of ſmall ilands, about the number of 240 or more.

Leagues 100. Item, From the cape of Cannal vnto the cape of Batochina, the courſe is Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt, and the diſtance is 100 leagues, and betweene them ſetteth a great current vnto the Eaſtward.

Leagues 220. Item, From the cape of Batochina vnto the Weſt head of Iaua minor, the courſe is Southweſt and by South, Northeaſt and by North, and the diſtance betweene them is 220 leagues.

Leagues 18. Item, From the Weſt end of Iaua minor vnto the Eaſt end of Iaua maior, the courſe is Weſt and by North, and Eaſt & by South, and the diſtance betweene them is 18 leagues: in the which courſe there lieth one *iland betweene them, which iland is in length 14 leagues.

* This is the iſle of Baly.

Leagues 1800. Item, From the Eaſt end of Iaua maior vnto the cape of Buena Eſperança, the courſe is Weſt and by South, and Weſtſouthweſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 1800 leagues.

Leagues 30. Item, That Cape Falſo ſtandeth 30 leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape de Buena Eſperança, & off the ſayd Cape Falſo you ſhal haue ſhoalding 20 leagues off in 80 or 90 fadoms; & the courſe is from Cape Falſo vnto the cape of Buena Eſperança Weſtnorthweſt and Eaſtſoutheaſt.

Leagues in all are 2292.

A note of the diſtance and courſe from the cape of *Buena Eſperanza* vnto the Northwards.

Leagues 600. ITem, From the cape of Buena Eſperança vnto the iland of Santa Helena, the courſe is Northweſt, and Northweſt and by Weſt, and the diſtance betweene them is 600 leagues.

Leagues 1200. Item, From the iland of Santa Helena vnto the iland of Flores, the courſe betweene them is Northnorthweſt, and Northweſt and by North, and the diſtance betweene them is 1200 leagues.

Item, From the iland of Flores vnto the lands end of England, the courſe is betweene the Eaſtnortheaſt, and the Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and the diſtance betweene them is foure hundred and fifty leagues.

A note of the variation of our Compaſſe.

IN primis, The variation of our compaſſe on the coaſt of New Spaine in the South ſea in the latitude of 12 degrees, was one point to the Eaſtwards.

Item, the variation of our compaſſe betweene the cape of California and the ilands of the Philippinas, was one point and an halfe vnto the Eaſtward, that was, that the North did ſtand North and by Eaſt, and halfe a point vnto the Eaſt.

Item, The variation of our compaſſe betweene the ilands of Maluco and the cape of Buena Eſperança, was two points and an halfe at the moſt to the Weſtward, that was, that the Northnortheaſt was our North.

A note of our time ſpent in ſailing betvveene certeine places out of *England*, 1586.

In primis, We were ſailing betweene England and the coaſt of Guinea from the 21 day of July vnto the 26 day of Auguſt vnto the hauen called Sierra leona, where we watered and ſtayed vntill the 6 day of September.

Of our abode tenne dayes, where we watered.

Item, Wee departed from the coaſt of Guinea for the coaſt of Braſil the 10 day of September, and wee had ſight of the coaſt of Braſil the 26 day of October, being ſixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Frio: and from thence wee were ſailing vnto the iland of S. Sebaſtian vntill the 31 and laſt day of October, where we watered and ſet vp our pinneſſe: and we ankered on the Northweſt part of the iland in tenne fadoms, and ſtayed there vntill the 23 day of Nouember.

Of our abode foure & twenty dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 23 day of Nouember we departed from the iland of Sant Sebaſtian, keeping our courſe South and by Weſt vnto the port that is called Port Deſire, where we arriued the 17 day of December; in which port we graued our ſhippe: and we ſtayed there vntill the 28 day of December, where we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Of our abode eleuen dayes, where we graued our ſhippe.

Item, The eight and twentieth day of December wee departed from the Port of Deſire toward the Streight of Magellan, where wee arriued the third day of January: and wee remained in the Streights vntill the foure and twentieth day of February; where we watered in many places on the South ſide, hauing the winde all that while betweene the Weſtſouthweſt and the Northweſt.

Of our abode two & fiftie dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed out of the Streights the 24 day of February toward the iland of Mocha, which iſland we had ſight of the 14 day of March.

Item, The 14 day of March at night we ankered in the bay of Marroccos; where we rode in 9 fadoms water.

Item, The 15 day of March we ankered in the iland of Saint Marie, on the North part of the iſland in eight fadoms water, blacke ſand, where we ſtayed foure dayes.

Of our abode foure dayes.

Item, The 19 day of March we departed from the iſland of Saint Marie, and the ſame day we ankered in the bay of Conception, where we ſtayed vntill the next day: and there we rode in ten fadoms water, ſhingle ſtones.

Item, The 20 day of March we departed from the bay of Conception, and the thirtieth day of March we arriued in the bay of Quintero, where we watered: and there the firſt day of April we had twelue of our men ſlaine, being on land for water: and we ſtayed there ſixe dayes: and we ankered in 7 fadoms water, white ſand.

Of our abode 6 dayes, where we watered.

Item, We departed from the bay of Quintero the 5 day of April, and we arriued at the bay of Arica the 24 day of April, and we ankered in 7 fadoms water.

Of our abode three dayes.

Item, The 27 day of April we departed from the bay of Arica, and the third day of May we arriued in the bay of Piſca, and we ankered in 4 fadoms water in oaze.

Of our abode two dayes.

Item, The 5 day of May we departed from the bay of Piſca, and the 12 day we ankered in the bay of Cherrepe, where we ankered in 7 fadoms water, in white ſand.

Of our abode ſixe dayes.

Item, The 18 day of May we departed from the bay of Cherrepe, and the 20 day of May we arriued in the bay of Payta, where we ankered in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode one day.

Item, The 20 day of May we departed from the bay of Paita, and the 26 day of May we ankered at the iland of Puna, and we ankered in 5 fadoms.

Item, From the iland of Puna we departed the fourth day of June vnto Rio dolce in the main, where we watered, and we ankered in 10 fadoms water, browne ſand.

Of our abode 9 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 12 day of June we departed from the place where we watered, being bound for the coaſt of New Spaine, and the 29 day of July wee arriued in the port of Aguatulco, where wee watered, and ankered in 6 fadoms water.

Of our abode 8 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 3 day of Auguſt we departed from the port of Aguatulco, and the 26 day of Auguſt we arriued at the port of S. Iago, where wee watered, and ſtayed there vntill the ſecond day of September, and ankered in 6 fadoms.

Of our abode 7 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 2 of September we departed from the port of S. Iago, and the 3 day of September we put into a port one league vnto the Weſtwards of Natiuidad, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water.

Of our abode one day.

Item, The 4 day of September wee departed from the port of Natiuidad, and the 7 day of September we put into the bay of Xaliſco, where we ankered in 9 fadoms water, and the 10 day of

Of our abode three dayes.

of September we departed from the bay of Xaliſco, and the 12 day of September we ankered at the iſland of S. Andrew, where we ankered in 17 fadoms water.

Of our abode fiue dayes.

Item, The 17 day of September we departed from the iſland of S. Andrew, and the 24 day of September we put into the bay of Chiametlan, where we ankered in 8 fadoms water, and the 26 of September we departed from the bay of Chiametlan, and the 28 day wee ankered vnder the iſlands of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms.

Of our abode 2 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 9 day of October wee departed from the iſlands of Chiametlan, and croſſing ouer the mouth of Mar vermejo, the 14 day of October we had ſight of the cape of California.

Of our abode twelue dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 15 day of October we lay off the cape of S. Lucas, and the 4 day of Nouember we tooke the great and rich ſhip called Santa Anna, comming from the Philippinas: and the 5 day of Nouember we put into the port of S. Lucas, where we put all the people on ſhore, and burnt the Santa Anna: and we ankered in 12 fadoms water.

Of our abode 14 dayes, where we watered.

Item, The 19 day of Nouember we departed from the port of S. Lucas, and the 3 day of Ianuary wee had ſight of one of the iſlands of the Ladrones, which iſland is called The iſland of *Iwana, ſtanding in the latitude of 13 degrees and 50 minutes.

*Guam.

Item, The 3 day of Ianuary we departed from the iland of Iwana, and the 14 day of Ianuarie we had ſight of the cape of Spirito ſanto, and the ſame day we put into the Streights of the Philippinas: and the 15 day of Ianuary we ankered vnder the iland of Capul, on the which iland we watered and wooded.

Of our abode nine dayes.

Item, The 24 of Ianuary we departed from the iland of Capul, and the 28 day of Ianuary we arriued in the bay of Lago grande, which bay is in the iſland of Pannay, where there were Spaniards building of a new ſhip.

Spaniards building of a new ſhip in the Philippinas.

Item, The 29 of Ianuary wee departed from the bay of Lago grande, and the ſame day at night wee were cleere from the iſlands of the Philippinas, ſhaping our courſe towards the ilands of Maluco.

Dayes 30.

Item, From the 29 day of Ianuary vnto the firſt day of March, we were nauigating betweene the Weſt end of the iſland of Pannay and the Weſt end of the iſland of Iaua minor.

Of our abode eleuen dayes, where we watered.
Iaua maior.

Item, The firſt day of March wee paſſed the Streights at the Weſt head of the iſland of Iaua minor, and the 5 day of March we ankered in a bay at the Weſter end of Iaua maior, where wee watered, and had great ſtore of victuals from the towne of Polambo.

Dayes 56.
The cape of Buena Eſperança.

Item, The 16 day of March wee departed from the iſland of Iaua maior, and the 11 day of May we had ſight of the land 40 leagues vnto the Eaſtwards of the cape of Buena Eſperança, the land being low land.

A note from the cape of *Buena Eſperança* vnto the Northwards.

Of our abode twelue dayes, where we watered.

ITem, The 21 day of May wee departed from the cape of Buena Eſperança, and the 8 day of Iune we ankered on the Northweſt part of the iland of Santa Helena, where we watered, and made our abode 12 dayes.

Dayes 14.

Item, The 20 day of Iune at night wee departed from the iſland of Santa Helena, and the 4 day of Iuly we paſſed vnder the Equinoctiall line.

The ſpace of our nauigation betweene thoſe ilands was threeſcore & fiue dayes.

Item, The 20 day of Iune at night wee departed from the iſland of Santa Helena, and the 25 day of Auguſt in the morning wee had ſight of the iſlands of Flores and Coruo in the latitude of 40 degrees.

Item, The 9 day of September 1588 wee arriued, after a long and terrible tempeſt, in the Narrow ſeas, in the hauen of Plimmouth in ſafetie, by the gracious and moſt mercifull protection of the Almighty, to whom therefore be rendered immortall praiſe and thankeſgiuing now and for euer. Amen.

A note of our ankering in thoſe places where we arriued after our departure from *England* 1586.

Fadoms 10.

IN primis, Wee ankered in the harborow of Sierra leona in 10 fadoms water: and a Northweſt winde in that rode is the woorſt that can blow.

Fadoms 6.

Item, You may anker vnder the iſland that is called Ilha Verde in 6 fadoms water: and the winde being at the Weſtnorthweſt is the woorſt winde that can blow.

Fadoms 10.

Item, You may anker vnder the iſland of S. Sebaſtian on the Northweſt part in 10 fadoms: and a Weſtſouthweſt winde is the woorſt winde.

Item, You may anker in Port Deſire in 5 fadoms water, and a Weſt and by South winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 5.*

Item, You may anker vnder Cape Ioy without the mouth of the Streights of Magellan in 7 fadoms water. *Fadoms 7*

Item, You may anker within the Straights of Magellan, vntill you come vnto the firſt narrowing in 25 or 30 fadoms water, in the mid way of the Streights. *Fadoms 25.*

Item, You may anker in the ſecond narrow of the Streights in 16 fadoms water. *Fadoms 16.*

Item, You may anker vnder Penguin iſland on which ſide you pleaſe in 6 or 7 fadoms water. *Fadoms 7*

Item, You may anker in Port Famine in 5 or 6 fadoms water, and a Southſoutheaſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 6.*

Item, You may anker in Muskle coue, which coue is on the South ſide, and is 7 leagues to the Southwards of Cape Froward, and you ſhall ride in 12 fadoms. *Fadoms 12.*

Item, You may anker in Elizabeth bay, which bay is on the North ſide of the Streights in 8 fadoms water. *Fadoms 8.*

Item, From Elizabeth bay vnto Cabo deſeado, you may anker on both ſides of the Streights in many places.

A note of our ankering after we were entred into the South ſea.

IN primis, You may anker in the bay of Mocha in 7 or 8 fadoms water, and there a Northeaſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 8.*

Item, You may anker on the North ſide of S. Mary iſland in nine fadoms water: and there a Northnorthweſt winde is the woorſt winde. *Fadoms 9.*

Item, You may anker in the bay of Conception vnder one ſmall iſland in 9 fadoms water, and a Northnorthweſt winde is the woorſt winde in that bay. *Fadoms 9.*

Item, You may anker in the bay of Quintero in 7 fadoms water, and a Northnorthweſt winde is the worſt winde. *Fadoms 7.*

Item, You may anker in the bay of Arica in 6 fadoms, and in that bay a Weſtnorthweſt winde is the woorſt winde. *Fadoms 6.*

Item, You may anker in the bay of Piſca and Paraca in fiue fadoms: and in that bay a Northnorthweſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 5.*

Item, You may anker in the bay of Cherepe in 8 fadoms, and there from the Northweſt vnto the Southeaſt it is open. *Fadoms 8.*

Item, You may anker in the bay of Paita in 7 fadoms water: and there a Northnortheaſt wind is the woorſt winde. *Fadoms 7.*

Item, You may anker on the Northeaſt part of the iſland of Puna in 4 fadoms: and a Northeaſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 4.*

Item, You may anker at Rio dolce, where wee watered, vnto the Eaſtwards of the iſland of Puna in 10 fadoms. *Fadoms 10.*

A note of what depths we ankered in on the coaſt of *New Spaine.*

ITem, You may anker in the port of Aguatulco in ſixe fadoms water: and a Southſouthweſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 6.*

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Iago in 6 fadoms water: and a Weſtſouthweſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 6.*

Item, You may anker in the port of Natiuidad in 8 fadoms water: and a Southeaſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 8.*

Item, You may anker in the bay of Xaliſco in 9 fadoms water: and a Weſtſouthweſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 9.*

Item, You may anker on the Northweſt part of the iſland of S. Andrew in 17 fadoms water. *Fadoms 17.*

Item, You may anker vnder the iſland of Chiametlan in 4 fadoms water: and a Southeaſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 4.*

Item, You may anker in the port of S. Lucas on the Cape of California in 12 fadoms water: and a Southeaſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 12.*

A note of what depths we ankered in, among the Ilands of the *Philippinas.*

ITem, You may anker on the Southweſt part of the iſland of Capul in 6 fadoms water: and a Weſtſouthweſt winde is the woorſt. *Fadoms 6.*

Item, You may anker all along the South part of the iſland of Panna in ſhoald water, in the
Fadoms 10 depth of 10 or 12 fadoms.

Item, You may anker in the bay of Lago grande in ſeuen fadoms water, which bay is on the Southſide of the iſland of Panna.

Fadoms 16 Item, You may anker at the Eaſt end of Iaua maior in 16 fadoms water, and an Eaſtſoutheaſt winde is the worſt.

Fadoms 12 Item, You may anker on the North part of the iſland of Santa Helena in 12 fadoms water.

A note of our finding of the winds for the moſt part of our voyage 1586.

IN primis, From the 21 day of Iuly vnto the 19 day of Auguſt we found the winde at Northnortheaſt, being in the latitude of 7 degrees.

To ẏ South ſide of the Equinoctiall. Item, From the 19 day of Auguſt vnto the 28 day of September, wee found the wind for the moſt part betweene the Weſt and the Southweſt, being in 24 degrees.

Item, From the 28 day of September vnto the 30 day of October, we found the windes betweene the Northeaſt and the Eaſtnortheaſt.

Item, From the 23 of Nouember, from the iſland of S. Sebaſtian, vnto the 30 day of Nouember, we found the winde betweene the Southeaſt and the Southſoutheaſt, being in 36 degrees.

Item, From the 30 day of Nouember vnto the 6 day of December, we found the windes to be betweene the Weſt and the Southweſt.

Item, From the 6 day of December vnto the firſt day of Ianuary, we found the winds for the moſt part betweene the North and the Northeaſt, being then in the latitude of 52 degrees.

Item, From the firſt day of Ianuary vnto the 23 day of February, we found the windes to be betweene the Northweſt and the Weſtſouthweſt, wee being all that time in the Streights of Magellan.

Item, From the 23 day of February vnto the firſt day of March, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southeaſt, being then in the South ſea in the latitude of 48 degrees.

Item, From the firſt day of March vnto the 7 day of March, we found the winde to be at the North and the Northnortheaſt in the latitude of 43 degrees.

Item, From the 7 day of March vnto the 14 day of March, wee found the windes to be betweene the South and the Southweſt, in the latitude of 37 degrees.

1587. Item, From the 14 day of March vnto the 28 day of May, we found the winds to be betweene the South and the Southweſt, in the latitude of 3 degrees to the South of the Line.

A note of the varying of our windes to the North of the Equinoctiall line on the coaſt of *New Spaine*.

ITem, From the 28 day of May vnto the 5 day of Iuly, we found the winds for the moſt part to be betweene the Southſoutheaſt, and the Southſouthweſt, being in the latitude of 10 degrees to the Northward of the Line on the coaſt of New Spaine.

Item, From the 5 day of Iuly vnto the 14 day of October, we found the windes for the moſt part to be at the Eaſtnortheaſt in the latitude of 23 degrees Northward, and almoſt vnder the tropicke of Cancer.

A note of the windes which we found betweene the coaſt of *New Spaine* and Iſlands of the *Philippinas* on the coaſt of *Aſia*.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1587 we departed from the cape of Santa Clara on the coaſt of California the 19 day of Nouember, and we found the winds to be betweene the Eaſt and the Eaſtnortheaſt, vntill the 29 day of Ianuary; departing then from the Iſlands of the Philippinas, being in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 29 day of Ianuary vnto the 19 day of March, wee found the windes for the moſt part betweene the Northnortheaſt and the Northweſt, being then among the Iland of Maluco, in the latitude of 9 degrees.

Item, From the 19 day of March vnto the 20 day of May, wee found the windes for the moſt part betweene the South and the Eaſtſoutheaſt, being then betweene the Ilands of Maluco, and the cape of Buena Eſperança, in the latitude of 34 degrees to the South of the Line.

Item, From the 20 day of May vnto the 11 day of Iuly, we found the winds for the moſt part betweene the South and the Southeaſt, being then betweene the cape of Buena Eſperança, and and 15 degrees vnto the Southward of the line.

Item, From the 11 day of Iuly vnto the 18 day of Auguſt, we found the winds for the moſt part betweene the Northeaſt and Eaſtnortheaſt, being then betweene the latitude of 15 degrees to the Southward of the line, and 38 degrees vnto the Northwards of the line.

A letter of M. *Thomas Candiſh* to the right honourable the Lord *Hunſdon*, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Maieſties moſt honourable Priuy Councell, touching the ſucceſſe of his voyage about the world.

Right honourable, as your fauour heretofore hath bene moſt greatly extended towards me, ſo I humbly deſire a continuance thereof: and though there be no meanes in me to deſerue the ſame, yet the vttermoſt of my ſeruices ſhall not be wanting, whenſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe your honour to diſpoſe thereof. I am humbly to deſire your honour to make knowen vnto her Maieſty the deſire I haue had to doe her Maieſty ſeruice in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath pleaſed God to giue her the victory ouer part of her enemies, ſo I truſt yer long to ſee her ouerthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they haue maintained and made their warres, are now perfectly diſcouered: and if it pleaſe her Maieſty, with a very ſmall power ſhe may take the ſpoile of them all. It hath pleaſed the Almighty to ſuffer mee to circompaſſe the whole globe of the world, entring in at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the cape de Buena Eſperança. In which voyage I haue either diſcouered or brought certeine intelligence of all the rich places of the world that euer were knowen or diſcouered by any Chriſtian. I nauigated alongſt the coaſt of Chili, Peru, and Nueua Eſpanna, where I made great ſpoiles: I burnt and ſunke 19 ſailes of ſhips ſmall and great. All the villages and townes that euer I landed at, I burnt and ſpoiled: and had I not bene diſcouered vpon the coaſt, I had taken great quantitie of treaſure. The matter of moſt profit vnto me was a great ſhip of the kings which I tooke at California, which ſhip came from the Philippinas, being one of the richeſt of merchandize that euer paſſed thoſe ſeas, as the kings regiſter and merchants accounts did ſhew; for it did amount in value to * in Mexico to be ſolde. Which goods (for that my ſhips were not able to conteine the leaſt part of them) I was inforced to ſet on fire. From the cape of California, being the vttermoſt part of all Nueua Eſpanna, I nauigated to the Ilands of the Philippinas hard vpon the coaſt of China; of which countrey I haue brought ſuch intelligence as hath not bene heard of in theſe parts. The ſtatelineſſe and riches of which countrey I feare to make report of, leaſt I ſhould not be credited: for if I had not knowen ſufficiently the incomparable wealth of that countrey, I ſhould haue bene as incredulous thereof, as others will be that haue not had the like experience. I ſailed along the Ilands of the Malucos, where among ſome of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our countrey men may haue trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themſelues. From thence I paſſed by the cape of Buena Eſperança, and found out by the way homeward the iland of S. Helena, where the Portugals vſe to relieue themſelues: and from that iland God hath ſuffered me to returne into England. All which ſeruices with my ſelfe I humbly proſtrate at her Maieſties feet, deſiring the Almighty long to continue her reigne among vs: for at this day ſhe is the moſt famous and victorious prince that liueth in the world.

Thus humbly deſiring pardon of your honour for my tediouſneſſe, I leaue your lordſhip to the tuition of the Almighty. Plimmouth this ninth of September 1588.

Your honours moſt humble to command,
THOMAS CANDISH.

Certeine notes or references taken out of the large map of *China*, brought home by M. *Thomas Candiſh* 1588.

The great kingdome of the Mogores is vpon the Northweſt, and falleth vpon Tanaſſarin beyond Malaca, and ioyneth vpon Bengala: they are men of warre, and vſe no fight but on horſebacke: they go in their apparell like Portugals.

2 A city, wherein is captaine a Chinian, a man very deformed, hauing vnder him many men of warre: he maketh warre both againſt the Tartarians and the Mogores; lying betweene them: and lieth without the circuit of the wall.

3 Certeine hils, beyond which the Tartarians do inhabit, who heretofore were great friends with the Chinians, and now mainteine continuall warres againſt them, ſo great, that ſometimes there are ſlaine in a battell 100000 of men adioyning vpon Moſcouie: and they haue in their warres all kinde of armour.

4 The prouince of Canſas hath 4 great cities, and 20 ſmall cities, and 77 townes & caſtles: it conteineth in length 55 leagues, it hath 362000 houſes of great men that pay tribute, and 13900 men of warre: and hath 47000 horſes, which are the kings, kept for his defence.

It is as colde at Paquin as in Flanders.

5 The great city of Paquin, where the king doth lie, hath belonging to it 8 great cities, and 18 ſmall cities, with 118 townes and caſtles: it hath 418789 houſes of great men, which pay tribute, it hath horſemen for the warre 258100. This city is in the latitude of 50 degrees to the Northwards, being there as colde as it is vſually in Flanders.

6 The great city of Canton, wherein are many men of warre, to keepe that paſſage from the Tartars.

7 The prouince of Soychin hath 7 great cities, and 16 ſmall, with 12 townes and caſtles, and one great city, to which many doe repaire to fight againſt the Tartars: it hath 17 leagues in length, and hath 164118 great houſes, which pay tribute, and 96000 men of warre.

8 The prouince of Santo hath 6 great cities, and 14 ſmall, with 90 townes and caſtles: it is 82 leagues long, and hath 77555 great houſes, which pay tribute, 63808 horſemen, and 31000 footmen of warre.

9 The prouince of Oyman hath 7 great cities, and 13 ſmall, and 90 townes and caſtles, being 470 leagues long, and 132958 great houſes that pay tribute, 82800 men of warre. Out of this city commeth copper, quicke-ſiluer, and blacke lead.

* Or Quicheu.

10 The prouince of *Cutchew hath 8 great cities, and 12 ſmall, and 83 townes, which make armor to fight with the Iawes, which do inhabit beyond Cauchinchina: it is 100 leagues broad, and hath 32920 horſemen and footmen, with 405670 great houſes which pay tribute, whereof the men of warre are payed.

11 The prouince of Languyn hath 14 great cities, and 17 ſmall, and 95 townes and caſtles: it is 120 leagues ouer, and hath 962818 great houſes which pay tribute, it hath 208900 men of warre, whereof there are 52500 Tartar horſemen that take wages.

12 The prouince of Vquam hath 14 great cities, and 19 ſmall, 150 townes and caſtles, and is 210 leagues broad, and 53161 houſes that pay tribute, and 71600 men of warre.

13 The prouince of Som hath 7 great cities, and 11 ſmall, and 105 townes and caſtles, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath houſes that pay tribute 139567, and men of warre 345632.

14 The prouince of Eſſiran hath 11 great cities, and 75 ſmall, and 80 townes and caſtles, and is 440 leagues broad, and hath great houſes that doe pay tribute 1242135, and 339000 men of warre.

15 This lake lieth behinde Siam, and before Champa, and doth ioyne with the Lappians, and from thence commeth all the water that ſerueth the kingdome of China: and the Indians & the Chinians doe report this lake to be the whole world, and ſo they paint the ſea, the moone, and the ſtarres within it.

16 The prouince of Canſay hath 13 cities, and a chiefe citie, and 73 townes and caſtles, and is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houſes that pay tribute 1393629, and 12700 men of warre.

17 The prouince of Cuauſa hath 12 great cities, 45 ſmall, and 51 townes and caſtles: it is 260 leagues broad, and hath great houſes that pay tribute 1306390, and men of warre both footmen and horſemen 100100.

18 The prouince of Vanam hath 14 great cities, and 36 ſmall, and 34 townes and caſtles, and is 88 leagues broad, with 589296 great houſes that pay tribute, and 15100 men of warre.

Garriſons againſt the Iapons.

19 The prouince of Fuckin hath 8 great cities, and one principall city, and 54 townes and caſtles, and two great cities of gariſon, to keepe watch vpon the Iapons, and is 200 leagues broad, and hath 5009532 great houſes that pay tribute, and 4003225 men of the kings guard.

20 The prouince of Canton hath 40 great cities, and 7 ſmall, and 77 townes and caſtles, and a city that putteth forth hundreds of ſhips for the keeping of Cauchinchina, and is 380 leagues in breadth, and hath 483383 great houſes which pay tribute, and 39400 men of warre.

21 The port of Cauchinchina ſtandeth in the latitude of ſixteene degrees and a halfe to the Northward.

22 The citie Champa ſtandeth in fourteene degrees to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall.

23 The prouince of Enam hath 7. great cities, and 13. ſmall, and 90. townes and caſtles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great houſes that pay tribute, and 15100. ſouldiers.

Horſemen 454528. Footmen 7459057.

The totall ſumme 7923785.

A briefe relation of a voyage of *The Delight* a ſhip of *Briſtoll* one of the conſorts of M. *Iohn Chidley* eſquire and M. *Paul Wheele*, made vnto the Straight of *Magellan*: with diuers accidents that happened vnto the company, during their 6. weekes abode there: Begun in the yeere 1589. Written by *W. Magoths*.

The firſt of Auguſt 1589. the worſhipfull M. Iohn Chidley of Chidley in the countie of Deuon eſquire, with M. Paul Wheele and Captaine Andrew Mericke ſet forth from Plimmouth with three tall ſhips, the one called The wilde man of three hundred tunnes, wherein went for General the aforeſaid M. Iohn Chidley and Beniamin Wood as Maſter, the other called The white Lion, whereof M. Paul Wheele was captaine and Iohn Ellis Maſter, of the burthen of 340. tunnes: the third The delight of Briſtol, wherein went M. Andrew Merick as Captaine, and Robert Burnet Maſter, with two pinneſſes of 14. or 15. tunnes a piece. The Generall in his ſhip had 180. perſons: M. Paul Wheele had 140, in our owne ſhip we were 91. men and boyes. Our voyage was intended by The Streight of Magellan for The South Sea, and chiefly for the famous prouince of Arauco on the coaſt of Chili. We kept company together to the yles of the Canaries and ſo forward to Cape Blanco ſtanding neere the Northerly latitude of 20. degrees on the coaſt of Barbarie, where ſome of our people went on ſhoare finding nothing to their content. Within 12. dayes after our departure from this place The Delight, wherein I William Magoths was, loſt the company of the other two great ſhips, and the two ſmall pinneſſes. Howbeit we conſtantly kept our courſe according to our directions along the coaſt of Braſil, and by the Riuer of Plate, without touching any where on land vntill we came to Port deſire in the latitude of 48. degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctial. Before we arriued at this place there died of our company by Gods viſitation of ſundry diſeaſes 16. perſons. T[illegible] ſtayed in this harborough 17. dayes to graue our ſhip & refreſh our wearied people, hoping here to haue met with our conſorts: which fell out contrary to our expectations. During our abode in this place we found two little ſprings of freſh water, which were vpon the Northweſterly part of the land, & lighted vpon good ſtore of ſeales both old and young. From hence we ſailed toward the Streight of Magelan, and entred the ſame about the firſt of Ianuary. And comming to Penguin yland within the Streight we tooke and ſalted certaine hogſheads of Penguins, which muſt be eaten with ſpeed: for wee found them to be of no long continuance; we alſo furniſhed our ſelues with freſh water. And here at the laſt ſending off our boat to the yland for the reſt of our prouiſion, wee loſt her and 15. men in her by force of foule weather; but what became of them we could not tel. Here alſo in this ſtorme we loſt two anckers. From hence we paſſed farther into the Streight, and by Port famine we ſpake with a Spaniard, who told vs that he had liued in thoſe parts 6. yeeres, and that he was one of the 400. men that were ſent thither by the king of Spaine in the yere 1582, to fortifie and inhabit there, to hinder the paſſage of all ſtrangers that way into the South ſea. But that and the other Spaniſh colonie being both deſtroyed by famine, he ſaid he had liued in an houſe by himſelfe a long time, and relieued himſelfe with his caleeuer vntil our comming thither. Here we made a boat of the bords of our cheſts; which being finiſhed wee ſent 7. armed men in the ſame on land on the North ſhore, being wafted on land by the Sauages with certaine white ſkinnes; who as ſoone as they came on ſhore were preſently killed by an 100. of the wilde people in the ſight of 2. of our men, which rowed them on ſhoare, which two onely eſcaped backe againe to vs with the boat. After this traiterous ſlaughter of our men, we fell backe againe with our ſhip to the Northeaſtward of Port famine to a certaine road, where we refreſhed our ſelues with muſkles, and tooke in water & wood. At this time wee tooke in the Spaniard aforeſaid, and ſo ſailed forward againe into the Streight. Wee paſſed 7. or 8. times 10. leagues Weſtward beyond Cape Froward, being ſtill encountered with mightie Northweſt winds. Theſe winds and the current were ſo vehement againſt vs, that they forced vs backe aſmuch in two houres, as we were getting vp in 8. houres. Thus after wee had ſpent 6. weekes in the Streight ſtriuing againſt the furie of the elements, and hauing at ſundry times partly by caſualtie, and partly by ſicknes loſt 38. of our beſtmen, and 3. anckers, and now hauing but one ancker left vs, and ſmall ſtore of victuals, and, which was not the leaſt miſchiefe,

M. Chidleys voyage intended partly for Arauco in Chili.

Cape Blanco.

The Delight looſeth the company of the reſt of the Fleet.

Port deſire.

Two ſprings of freſh water found at Port deſire.

They enter into the Streight of Magelan.

They looſe 15. of their men by tempeſt.

A Spaniard taken at Port famine.

Seuen of our men killed by the treaſon of the Sauages on the North ſhore.

They paſſed 7. or 8. times ten leagues Weſtward of Cape Froward.

They returne homeward.

The yle of S. Sebaſtian in 24. degr. of ſoutherly latitude on the coaſt of Braſil.

They land at Monuille de Hage 8. miles Weſt of Cherbourg.

The wracke of the ſhip by the malice of the Normans.

They arriue in England.

diuers of our company raiſing dangerous mutinies: we conſulted, though ſomewhat with the lateſt, for the ſafegard of our liues to returne while there was ſome ſmall hope remayning: and ſo ſet ſaile out of The Streight homeward about the 14. of Februarie 1590. We returned backe againe by The riuer of Plate; and ſailing neere the coſt of Braſill we met with a Portugal ſhip of 80. tunnes, which rode at an ancker vpon the coaſt, who as ſoone as ſhe deſcried vs to chaſe her, incontinently weyed, & ran her ſelfe on ground betwene the yland of S. Sebaſtian and the maine land. But we for want of a good boat, and by reaſon of the foule weather, were neither able to bord her, nor to goe on ſhore. Thence in extreeme miſery we ſhaped our courſe for the yles of Cape Verde, and ſo paſſing to the yles of The Açores, the Canaries being ſomething out of our courſe; the firſt land that wee mette withall in our Narrow ſea was The yle of Alderney. And hauing now but ſixe men of all our company left aliue, the Maſter and his two mates and chiefe Mariners being dead, wee ran in with Monuille de Hage eight miles to the Weſt of Cherbourg in Normandie. Where the next day after our comming to an ancker, hauing but one in all left, being the laſt of Auguſt 1590. by the foule weather that roſe the ancker came home, and our ſhip draue on the rocks: And the Normans which were commanded by the gouernour of Cherbourg (who came downe to vs that night) to haue layd out another ancker for her, neglecting his commandement, ſuffered her miſerably to be ſplitted, with deſire to enrich themſelues by her wracke. Within few dayes after this laſt miſchance foure of vs being Engliſhmen departed from Cherbourgh, and paſſed home for England in a barke of Weymouth, leauing the two ſtrangers there behinde vs.

The names of vs ſixe that returned of all our company were theſe.

1 William Magoths of Briſtol.
2 Richard Buſh.
3 Iohn Reade.
4 Richard Hodgkins of Weſtburie neere Briſtol.

The two ſtrangers.

5 Gabriel Valeroſa a Portugal.
6 Peter, a Briton.

A petition made by certaine of the company of the *Delight* of *Briſtol* vnto the Maſter of the ſaid ſhip *Robert Burnet*, one of the conſorts of M. *Chidley*, being in the Streights of *Magellan* the 12. of February 1589.

WE haue thought good to ſhew vnto you (being our Maſter) our whole mindes and griefes in writing: that whereas our Captaine Matthew Hawlſe, and Walter Street doe beginne to take into the Captaines cabin this 12. of Febr. both bread and butter, (ſuch as was put in for the prouiſion of the ſhippe and company) only to feed themſelues, and a few others, which are of their meſſe: meaning thereby rather to ſterue vs, then to keepe vs ſtrong and in health: And likewiſe vpon the ſame, hee hath taken into his cabin certaine furniture, as ſwords, caleeuers and muſquets: We therefore not well knowing their intents herein, except by certaine wordes caſt out at vnwares, wee may coniecture, that your death, which God forbid, by them hath bene determined: doe all moſt humbly deſire you being our Maſter, and hauing charge of the ſhippe, and vs, this preſent voyage committed vnto you, to conſider: Firſt, that by Gods viſitation wee haue loſt 16. men, and that ſo much the rather becauſe they were not alotted ſuch neceſſary prouiſion, as was in the ſhip to be had. Alſo to conſider the great loſſe of 15. of our men with our boat at Penguin-yland within the Streights of Magellan: and of 7. good and ſeruiceable men beſides neere Port famine: and of three anckers, and our Carpenter. Ouer and beſides all theſe calamities to conſider how you haue (without all reaſon and conſcience) bene ouerthwarted, diſgraced, and outcountenanced by your mate Street, and Matthew Hawlſe: Alſo what danger you now are ſubiect vnto, your death hauing bene ſo often conſpired, and what danger we ſhould be in, if it were (which God forbid) effected. Furthermore, to weigh with your ſelfe the great want of many neceſſaries in our ſhip: namely that we haue but 6. ſailers, (beſides your ſelfe and your mate Street, whom wee dare not truſt,) Alſo that wee haue but one ancker, likewiſe the lacke of our boate and a Carpenter, of ropes, of pitch, trenailes, bolts, and plankes, and the want of a ſkilfull Chirurgian. And whereas a view being taken of our prouiſion there was found but fiue moneths victuals of bread, meale, greets, and peaſe, and alſo but three moneths victuals of beefe, penguins and porke, three hogſheads of wine, ten gallons of aquauitæ (whereof the ſicke men could not get any to relieue them,) foure hogſheads of ſyder and 18. flitches of bacon, &c. the company hath but three flitches. Alſo the ſaid Captaine Hawlſe and Street haue taken and ſeaſed vpon 17. potts of butter, with certaine cheeſe, and an hogſhead of bread at a time, and haue bene thereof poſſeſſed to their owne priuate vſes: And haue not onely immoderately ſpent the companies prouiſion in butter, cheeſe, aquauitæ, &c. but haue alſo conſumed thoſe ſweete meates, which were layed vp in the ſhippe onely for the relief of ſicke perſons (themſelues being healthy and ſound, and withholding the ſaid meates from others in their ſickeneſſe) and euen at this time alſo (by reaſon of the ſmall ſtore of our prouiſion, we being enforced to come to a ſhorter allowance) they the ſaide Captaine Hawlſe and your mate Street, doe finde themſelues agrieued at the very ſame allowance, wherewith other men are well contented. And although (beſides our ordinary allowance, and more then all the reſt of the company) they onely haue their breakefaſts permitted vnto them, yet they complaine that the company goeth about to famiſh them, whereas indeed they doe what lyeth in them to famiſh the company by feeding themſelues fat, which doe no labour at all. Theſe things being well weighed, you ought likewiſe to conſider the long time that wee haue lien here in theſe Streights of Magellan, hauing bene at, and ſeuen or eight times, tenne leagues beyond Cape Froward, we haue had but a ſmall gale of winde with vs: neither could wee come to an ancker, the water being ſo deepe: and (you know) the place is ſo dangerous, that wee were once embayed, and could ſcarce get out againe: And likewiſe, What fogges and miſts are here already? Much more here wil be, the winter and darke nights being at hand, & we hauing not ſo much as a boate to ſeeke out any roade to ride in, ſauing a ſmall weake boate made of mens cheſtes, in which it is not conuenient to goe on ſhoare in a forreine countrey, where wee muſt goe with force: and hauing but one ancker left vs there is but little hope of life in vs, as you may ſufficiently iudge, if wee ſhould loſe either the ſaide ancker or our boate, and therefore wee dare not put the ſame in danger for feare of looſing them. Alſo wee hauing lien here theſe ſixe weekes and vpward, the winde hath continued in the North-weſt directly againſt our courſe, ſo that wee can no way hope to get through the Streights into the South ſea this yeere, and if we could, yet our prouiſion is not ſufficient, hauing ſpent ſo much thereof, in this our lingering aboade. Nay wee haue ſcarcely victuals ynough to cary vs home into England, if they bee not vſed ſparingly, and with very good gouernment. Therefore wee doe againe moſt humbly deſire you to conſider and haue regard vnto the premiſſes, as you tender your owne ſafetie and the ſafetie of vs which remaine aliue, that wee may (by Gods helpe) returne backe into England, rather then die here among wilde and ſauage people: for if wee make any longer abode in this place, it will bee (without all doubt) to the vtter decay and loſſe, both of our ſelues, and of the ſhippe: and in returning backe, it may pleaſe God, that we may finde our fifteene men, and our boat at Penguin-yland (although this bee contrary to the mindes of Matthew Hawlſe, and your mate Street) and hauing found them, wee doe not deſpaire in Gods mercie, but that in our returne home-ward, hee will ſend vs purchaſe ſufficient, if wee would ioyne our ſelues together in prayer, and loue one another. And thus doing (as wee ſhalbe bound) euen ſo wee will alſo heartily pray for the continuance of your good eſtate, and wel-fare, and for the length of your dayes, to the pleaſure of Almightie God.

Laſtly, wee doe moſt humbly beſeech you to conſider, that (after the loſſe of ſo many men, and all the caſualties aforeſaid, as we were taking in of water by Port Famine, our boate-ſwaine, the hooper, and William Magoths being on ſhoare) Matthew Hawlſe did hallow to haue them in all the haſte come on-bord: ſaying therewithall theſe words: Hee that will come in this voyage, muſt not make any reckoning to leaue two or three men on ſhore behinde him, whereas we had ſo lately loſt all the foreſaide men, hauing then but ſixe ſailers left vs on-bord. Alſo the ſaide Matthew Hawlſe did cary a piſtoll for the ſpace of two dayes ſecretly vnder his gowne, intending therewithall to haue murthered Andrew Stoning, and William Combe, as by confeſſion of Hawlſe his man, William Martin, it is manifeſt: for the ſaide William Martine reported vnto two of his friends, viz. Richard Hungate, and Emanuel Dornel, that he kneeled vpon his knees one whole houre before Matthew Hawlſe in his owne cabin, deſiring him, for Gods cauſe, not to kill either of them, eſpecially becauſe the ſaide Stoning and Martin came both out of one towne. Alſo the ſaid Hawlſe, at our ſecond time of watering in the place aforeſaid, came into the Gunners roome to ſpeake with you (your ſelfe with the maſter Gunner Thomas Browne, and his mate William Frier being then preſent) demanding of you, if he ſhould ſend certaine men to Port famine being two leagues from the ship by land. Thomas Browne anſwered him preſently, that he ſhould ſend

none

The Spaniard taken in at Port Famine.

none, for feare leaſt the winde might ariſe, and by that meanes we ſhould looſe ſo many of our men more: to whom Matthew Hawlſe replied that it was not material, for that he had made choyce of a company for the very ſame purpoſe, whoſe names were Emmanuel Dornel, Richard Hungate, Paul Carie, Iohn Dauis, Gabriel Valeroſa, a Portugall, and Peter a Britaine, and the Spaniard which we had taken in at the ſame place, at our firſt time of watering. And thus we end, deſiring God to ſende vs well into our natiue countrey. In witneſſe whereof wee haue ſubſcribed our names.

{ Thomas Browne, Gunner,
{ Iohn Morrice, &c.

The laſt voyage of the worſhipfull M. *Thomas Candiſh* eſquire, intended for the *South ſea*, the *Philippinas*, and the coaſt of *China*, with 3. tall ſhips, and two barks: Written by M. *Iohn Iane*, a man of good obſeruation, imployed in the ſame, and many other voyages.

The 26. of Auguſt 1591. wee departed from Plimmouth with 3. tall ſhips, and two barkes, The Galeon wherein M. Candiſh went himſelfe being Admiral, The Roebucke viceadmirall whereof M. Cocke was Captaine, The Deſire Rere-admirall whereof was Captaine M. Iohn Dauis (with whom and for whoſe ſake I went this voyage) The Blacke pinneſſe, and a barke of M. Adrian Gilbert, whereof M. Randolfe Cotton was Captaine.

Baya de Saluador.

A barke taken.

Cabo Frio.
Iſla de Placencia.

Iſle de S. Sebaſtian.

The towne of Santos taken.

The 29. of Nouember wee fell with the bay of Saluador vpon the coaſt of Braſil 12. leagues on this ſide Cabo Frio, where wee were becalmed vntill the ſecond of December: at which time wee tooke a ſmall barke bound for the Riuer of Plate with ſugar, haberdaſh wares, and Negros. The Maſter of this bark brought vs vnto an yle called Placencia thirtie leagues Weſt from Cabo Frio, where wee arriued the fift of December, and rifled ſixe or ſeuen houſes inhabited by Portugales. The 11. wee departed from this place, and the fourteenth we arriued at the yle of S. Sebaſtian: from whence M. Cocke and Captaine Dauis preſently departed with The Deſire and the blacke pinneſſe, for the taking of the towne of Santos. The 15. at euening we anckered at the barre of Santos, from whence we departed with our boates to the towne; and the next morning about nine of the clocke wee came to Santos, where being diſcouered, wee were inforced to land with 24. gentlemen, our long boat being farre a ſterne, by which expedition wee tooke all the people of the towne at Maſſe both men and women, whom wee kept all that day in the Church as priſoners. The cauſe why maſter Candiſh deſired to take this towne was to ſupply his great wants: For being in Santos, and hauing it in quiet poſſeſſion, wee ſtood in aſſurance to ſupply all our needes in great abundance. But ſuch was the negligence of our gouernour maſter Cocke, that the Indians were ſuffered to carry out of the towne whatſoeuer they would in open viewe, and no man did controll them: and the next day after wee had wonne the towne, our priſoners were all ſet at libertie, onely foure poore olde men were kept as pawnes to ſupply our wants. Thus in three dayes the towne that was able to furniſh ſuch another Fleete with all kinde of neceſſaries, was left vnto vs nakedly bare, without people and prouiſion.

The towne of S. Vincent burnt.

Eight or tenne dayes after maſter Candiſh himſelfe came thither, where hee remained vntill the 22. of Ianuary, ſeeking by intreatie to haue that, whereof we were once poſſeſſed. But in concluſion wee departed out of the towne through extreeme want of victuall, not being able any longer to liue there, and were glad to receiue a fewe caniſters or baſkets of Caſſaui meale; ſo that in euery condition wee went worſe furniſhed from the towne, then when wee came vnto it. The 22. of Ianuary we departed from Santos, and burnt Sant Vincent to the ground. The 24. we ſet ſaile, ſhaping our courſe for the Streights of Magellan.

The ſeuenth of February we had a very great ſtorme, and the eighth our Fleet was ſeparated by the fury of the tempeſt. Then our Captaine called vnto him the Maſter of our ſhip, whom hee found to be a very honeſt and ſufficient man, and conferring with him he concluded to goe for Port Deſire, which is in the Southerly latitude of 48. degrees; hoping that the Generall would come thither, becauſe that in his firſt voyage he had found great reliefe there. For our Captaine could neuer get any direction what courſe to take in any ſuch extremities, though many times hee had intreated for it, as often I haue heard him with griefe report. In ſayling to this port by good chance we met with The Roe-bucke, wherein maſter Cocke had endured great extremities, and had loſt his boate, and therefore deſired our Captaine to keepe him company, for hee was in very deſperate caſe. Our Captaine hoiſed out his boate, and went abord [illegible] to know his eſtate, and returning tolde vs the hardneſſe thereof, and deſired the Maſter and all the company to be carefull in all their watches not to looſe The Roe-bucke, and ſo wee both arriued at Port Deſire the ſixth of March.

They arriue at Port Deſire.

The 16. of March The Blacke pinneſſe came vnto vs, but maſter Gilberts barke came not, but returned home to England, hauing their Captaine abord the Roe-bucke without any prouiſion more then the apparell that hee wore, who came from thence abord our ſhip to remaine with our Captaine, by reaſon of the great friendſhip betweene them. The 18. the Galeon came into the road, and maſter Candiſh came into the harborough in a boat which he had made at ſea; for his long boat and light-horſeman were loſt at ſea, as alſo a pinneſſe which he had built at Santos: and being abord The Deſire he tolde our Captaine of all his extremities, and ſpake moſt hardly of his company, and of diuers gentlemen that were with him, purpoſing no more to goe abord his owne ſhip, but to ſtay in The Deſire. We all ſorrowed to heare ſuch hard ſpeaches of our good friends; but hauing ſpoken with the gentlemen of the Galeon wee found them faithfull, honeſt, and reſolute in proceeding, although it pleaſed our Generall otherwiſe to conceiue of them.

M. Adrian Gilberts barke returneth for England.

A pinneſſe built at Santos.

The 20. of March we departed from Port Deſire, maſter Candiſh being in The Deſire with vs. The eighth of April 1592. wee fell with the Streights of Magellan, induring many furious ſtormes betweene Port Deſire and the Streight. The 14. we paſſed through the firſt Streight. The 16. we paſſed the ſecond Streight being ten leagues diſtant from the firſt. The 18. we doubled Cape Froward, which Cape lieth in 53. degrees and ½. The 21. wee were inforced by the fury of the weather to put into a ſmall coue with our ſhips, 4. leagues from the ſaid Cape, vpon the South ſhoare, where wee remained vntil the 15. of May. In the which time wee indured extreeme ſtormes, with perpetual ſnow, where many of our men died with curſed famine, and miſerable cold, not hauing wherewith to couer their bodies, nor to fill their bellies, but liuing by muſkles, water, and weeds of the ſea, with a ſmall reliefe of the ſhips ſtore in meale ſometimes. And all the ſicke men in the Galeon were moſt vncharitably put a ſhore into the woods in the ſnowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could ſkarcely indure it, where they ended their liues in the higheſt degree of miſery, maſter Candiſh all this while being abord the Deſire. In theſe great extremities of ſnow and cold, doubting what the ende would be, he aſked our Captaines opinion, becauſe he was a man that had good experience of the Northweſt parts, in his 3. ſeuerall diſcoueries that way, imployed by the marchants of London. Our Captaine tolde him, that this ſnowe was a matter of no long continuance, and gaue him ſufficient reaſon for it, and that thereby hee could not much be preiudiced or hindered in his proceeding. Notwithſtanding he called together all the company, and tolde them, that he purpoſed not to ſtay in the Streights, but to depart vpon ſome other voyage, or elſe to returne againe for Braſil. But his reſolution was to goe for the Cape of Buena Eſperança. The company anſwered, that if it pleaſed him, they did deſire to ſtay Gods fauour for a winde, and to indure all hardneſſe whatſoeuer, rather then to giue ouer the voyage, conſidering they had bene here but a ſmal time, and becauſe they were within fourtie leagues of the South ſea, it grieued them now to returne; notwithſtanding what hee purpoſed, that they would performe. So hee concluded to goe for the Cape of Buena Eſperança, and to giue ouer this voyage. Then our Captaine, after maſter Candiſh was come abord The Deſire from talking with the company, tolde him, that if it pleaſed him to conſider the great extremitie of his eſtate, the ſlenderneſſe of his prouiſions, with the weakeneſſe of his men, it was no courſe for him to proceed in that newe enterprize: for if the reſt of your ſhippes (ſaid hee) bee furniſhed anſwerable to this, it is impoſſible to performe your determination: for wee haue no more ſailes then maſtes, no victuals, no ground-tackling, no cordage more then is ouer head, and among ſeuentie and fiue perſons, there is but the Maſter alone that can order the ſhippe, and but fourteene ſaylers. The reſt are gentlemen, ſeruingmen, and artificers. Therefore it will be a deſperate caſe to take ſo hard an enterprize in hand. Theſe perſwaſions did our Captaine not onely vſe to maſter Candiſh, but alſo to maſter Cocke. In fine vpon a petition deliuered in writing by the chiefe of the whole company, the Generall determined to depart out of The Streights of Magellan, and to returne againe for Santos in Braſil.

They fall with the Streights of Magellan.

So the 15. of May wee ſet ſaile, the Generall then being in the Galeon. The eighteenth wee were free of the Streights, but at Cape Froward it was our hard hap to haue our boat ſunke at our ſterne in the night, and to be ſplit and ſore ſpoiled, and to looſe all our ores.

They returne from the Streights of Magellan.

The twentieth of May being thwart of Port Deſire, in the night the Generall altered his courſe, as we ſuppoſe, by which occaſion wee loſt him: for in the euening he ſtood cloſe by a winde to ſeaward, hauing the winde at Northnortheaſt, and wee ſtanding the ſame way, the winde not altering, could not the next day ſee him: ſo that we then perſwaded our ſelues, that hee was gone

The occaſion of loſing the Generall.

for Port Deſire to relieue himſelfe, or that hee had ſuſtained ſome miſchance at Sea, and was gone thither to remedy it. Whereupon our Captaine called the Generals men vnto him, with the reſt, and asked their opinion what was to bee done. Euery one ſayde, that they thought that the Generall was gone for Port Deſire. Then the Maſter being the Generals man, and carefull of his maſters ſeruice, as alſo of good iudgement in Sea-matters, tolde the company howe dangerous it was to goe for Port Deſire, if wee ſhoulde there miſſe the Generall: for (ſaide hee) wee haue no boate to lande our ſelues, nor any cables nor anckers that I dare truſt in ſo quicke ſtreames as are there: yet in all likelyhood concluding that the Generall was gone thither, wee ſtayed our courſe for Port Deſire, and by chance mette with the Blacke pinneſſe, which had likewiſe loſt the Fleete, being in very miſerable caſe: ſo wee both concluded to ſeeke the Generall at Port Deſire.

They come againe to Port Deſire the 26. of May.

The ſixe and twentieth day of May we came to Port Deſire, where not finding our Generall, as we hoped, being moſt ſlenderly victualled, without ſailes, boate, ores, nailes, cordage, and all other neceſſaries for our reliefe, wee were ſtrooken into a deadly ſorrow. But referring all to the prouidence and fatherly protection of the Almightie, wee entered the harbour, and by Gods fauour found a place of quiet roade, which before wee knewe not. Hauing mored our ſhippe with the pinneſſes boate, wee landed vpon the South ſhore, where wee found a ſtanding poole of freſh water, which by eſtimation might holde ſome tenne tunnes, whereby wee were greatly comforted. From this poole wee fet more then fortie tunnes of water, and yet we left the poole as full as wee found it. And becauſe at our firſt being in this harbour wee were at this place and found no water, we perſwaded our ſelues that God had ſent it for our reliefe. Alſo there were ſuch extraordinary low ebbes as we had neuer ſeene, whereby wee got muſkles in great plentie. Likewiſe God ſent about our ſhippes great abundance of ſmelts, ſo that with hookes made of pinnes euery man caught as many as hee coulde eate: by which meanes wee preſerued our ſhips victuals, and ſpent not any during the time of our abode here.

A quiet road.

A poole of freſh water on the South ſide of Port Deſire.

Abundance of muſkles and ſmelts.

Our Captaine and Maſter falling into the conſideration of our eſtate and diſpatch to goe to the Generall, found our wants ſo great, as that in a moneth wee coulde not fitte our ſhippe to ſet ſaile. For wee muſt needes ſet vp a Smiths forge, to make boltes, ſpikes, and nayles, beſides the repairing of our other wants. Whereupon they concluded it to bee their beſt courſe to take the pinneſſe, and to furniſh her with the beſt of the company, and to goe to the Generall with all expedition, leauing the ſhippe and the reſt of the company vntill the Generals returne; for hee had vowed to our Captaine, that hee would returne againe for the Streights, as hee had tolde vs. The Captaine and Maſter of the pinneſſe being the Generals men were well contented with the motion.

A dangerous mutiny.

But the Generall hauing in our ſhippe two moſt peſtilent fellowes, when they heard of this determination they vtterly miſliked it, and in ſecret dealt with the company of both ſhippes, vehemently perſwading them, that our Captaine and Maſter would leaue them in the countrey to bee deuoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercileſſe and without charitie: whereupon the whole company t[illegible]n ſecret with them in a night to murther our Captaine and Maſter, with my ſelfe, and all tho[illegible]ich they thought were their friendes. There were markes taken in his caben howe to kill him with muſkets through the ſhippes ſide, and bullets made of ſiluer for the execution, if their other purpoſes ſhould faile. All agreed hereunto, except it were the bote-ſwaine of our ſhippe, who when hee knew the matter, and the ſlender ground thereof, reuealed it vnto our Maſter, and ſo to the Captaine. Then the matter being called in queſtion, thoſe two moſt murtherous fellowes were found out, whoſe names were Charles Parker and Edward Smith.

The Captaine being thus hardly beſet in perill of famine, and in danger of murthering, was conſtrained to vſe lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie; ſhewing, that to doe the Generall ſeruice, vnto whom he had vowed faith in this action, was the cauſe why hee purpoſed to goe vnto him in the pinneſſe, conſidering, that the pinneſſe was ſo neceſſary a thing for him, as that hee could not bee without her, becauſe hee was fearefull of the ſhore in ſo great ſhippes. Whereupon all cried out with curſing and ſwearing, that the pinneſſe ſhould not goe vnleſſe the ſhippe went. Then the Captaine deſired them to ſhewe themſelues Chriſtians, and not ſo blaſphemouſly to behaue themſelues, without regard or thankeſgiuing to God for their great deliuerance, and preſent ſuſtenance beſtowed vpon them, alleaging many examples of Gods ſharpe puniſhment for ſuch ingratitude; and withall promiſed to doe any thing that might ſtand with their good liking. By which gentle ſpeaches the matter was pacified, and the Captaine and Maſter at the requeſt of the company were content to forgiue this great treachery of Parker and Smith, who after many admonitions concluded in theſe wordes: The Lord iudge betweene you and mee:

which after came to a moſt ſharpe reuenge euen by the puniſhment of the Almightie. Thus by a generall conſent it was concluded not to depart, but there to ſtay for the Generals returne. Then our Captaine and Maſter, ſeeing that they could not doe the Generall that ſeruice which they deſired, made a motion to the companie, that they would lay downe vnder their handes the loſing of the Generall, with the extremities wherein we then ſtoode: whereunto they conſented, and wrote vnder their hands as followeth.

The teſtimoniall of the companie of *The Deſire* touching their loſing of their Generall, which appeareth to haue beene vtterly againſt their meanings.

The 26 of Auguſt 1591 wee whoſe names bee here vnder written, with diuers others departed from Plimmouth vnder M. Thomas Candiſh our Generall, with 4 ſhips of his, to wit, The Galeon, The Robuck, The Deſire, and The Black pinneſſe, for the performance of a voyage into The South ſea. The 19 of Nouember we fell with the bay of Saluador in Braſil. The 26 of December we tooke the towne of Santos, hoping there to reuictuall our ſelues, but it fell not out to our contentment. The 24 of Ianuary we ſet ſaile from Santos, ſhaping our courſe for The Streights of Magellan. The 8 of Februarie by violent ſtormes the ſayde fleete was parted: The Robuck and The Deſire arriued in Porte Deſire the 6 of March. The 16 of March The Black pinneſſe arriued there alſo: and the 18 of the ſame our admirall came into the roade; with whom we departed the 20 of March in poore and weake eſtate. The 8 of Aprill 1592 we entred The Streights of Magellan. The 21 of Aprill wee ankered beyond Cape Froward, within 40 leagues of The South ſea, where wee rode vntill the 15 of May. In which time wee had great ſtore of ſnowe, with ſome guſtie weather, the wind continuing ſtill at Weſtnorthweſt againſt vs. In this time wee were inforced for the preſeruing of our victuals, to liue the moſt part vpon muſkles, our prouiſion was ſo ſlender; ſo that many of our men died in this hard extremitie. Then our General returned for Braſil there to winter, & to procure victuals for this voyage againſt the next yeere. So we departed The Streights the 15 of May. The 21 being thwart of Port Deſire 30 leagues off the ſhoare, the wind then at Northeaſt and by North, at fiue of the clock at night lying Northeaſt, wee ſuddenly caſt about lying Southeaſt and by South, and ſometimes Southeaſt: the whole fleete following the admirall, our ſhip comming vnder his lee ſhot ahead him, and ſo framed ſaile fit to keepe companie. This night wee were ſeuered, by what occaſion wee proteſt wee know not, whither we loſt them or they vs. In the morning we only ſaw The Black pinneſſe, then ſuppoſing that the admirall had ouerſhot vs. All this day wee ſtoode to the Eaſtwards, hoping to find him, becauſe it was not likely, that he would ſtand to the ſhoare againe ſo ſuddenly. But miſſing him towards night, we ſtood to the ſhoareward, hoping by that courſe to finde him. The 22 of May at night we had a violent ſtorme, with the winde at Northweſt, and wee were inforced to hull, not being able to beare ſaile, and this night we periſhed our maine treſſletrees, ſo that wee could no more vſe our maine top-ſaile, lying moſt dangerouſly in the ſea. The pinneſſe likewiſe receiued a great leake, ſo that wee were inforced to ſeeke the next ſhoare for our reliefe. And becauſe famine was like to bee the beſt ende, wee deſired to goe for Port Deſire, hoping with ſeales and penguins to relieue our ſelues, and ſo to make ſhift to followe the Generall, or there to ſtay his comming from Braſil. The 24 of May wee had much winde at North. The 25 was calme, and the ſea very loftie, ſo that our ſhip had dangerous foule weather. The 26 our fore-ſhrowdes brake, ſo that if wee had not beene neere the ſhoare, it had beene impoſſible for vs to get out of the ſea. And nowe being here mored in Port Deſire, our ſhrowdes are all rotten, not hauing a running rope whereto wee may truſt, and being prouided onely of one ſhift of ſailes all worne, our top-ſailes not able to abide any ſtreſſe of weather, neither haue wee any pitch, tarre, or nailes, nor any ſtore for the ſupplying of theſe wantes; and wee liue onely vpon ſeales and muſkles, hauing but fiue hogſheads of porke within boord, and meale three ounces for a man a day, with water for to drinke. And foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed God to ſeparate our fleete, and to bring vs into ſuch hard extremities, that only now by his mere mercy we expect reliefe, though otherwiſe we are hopeleſſe of comfort, yet becauſe the wonderfull workes of God in his exceeding great fauour toward vs his creatures are farre beyond the ſcope of mans capacitie, therefore by him we hope to haue deliuerance in this our deepe diſtreſſe. Alſo foraſmuch as thoſe vpon whom God will beſtow the fauour of life, with returne home to their countrey, may not onely themſelues remaine blameleſſe, but alſo manifeſt the trueth of our actions, wee haue thought good in Chriſtian charitie to lay downe vnder our hands the trueth of all our proceedings euen till the time of this our diſtreſſe.

The maner how they loſt their Generall.

Giuen in Port Deſire the 2 of Iune 1592. Beſeching the almightie God of his mercie to deliuer vs from this miſerie, how or when it ſhall pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie.

John Dauis Captaine.
Randolph Cotton.
John Pery.
William Maber gunner.
Charles Parker.
Rouland Miller.
Edward Smith.
Thomas Purpet.
Matthew Stubbes.
John Ienkinſon.
Thomas Edwards.
Edward Granger.
John Lewis.
William Hayman.
George Straker.
Thomas Walbie.
William Wyeth.
Richard Alard.
Stephan Popham.
Alexander Cole.

Thomas Watkins.
George Cunington.
John Whiting.
Iames Ling.
The Boat-ſwain.
Francis Smith.
John Layes.
The Boat-ſwaines mate.
Fiſher.
John Auſtin.
Francis Copſtone.
Richard Garet.
Iames Euersby.
Nicolas Parker.
Leonard.
John Pick.
Benjamin.
William Maber.
Iames Not.
Chriſtopher Hauſer.

An Iſle neere Port Deſire abounding with ſeales and penguins.

After they had deliuered this relation vnto our captaine vnder their handes, then wee began to trauell for our liues, and wee built vp a ſmiths forge, and made a colepit, and burnt coles, and there wee made nailes, boltes, and ſpikes, others made ropes of a peece of our cable, and the reſt gathered muſkles, and tooke ſmeltes for the whole companie. Three leagues from this harborough there is an Iſle with foure ſmall Iſles about it, where there are great abundance of ſeales, and at the time of the yeere the penguins come thither in great plentie to breede. Wee concluded with the pinneſſe, that ſhe ſhould ſometimes goe thither to fetch ſeales for vs; vpon which condition wee would ſhare our victuals with her man for man; whereunto the whole companie agreed. So wee parted our poore ſtore, and ſhee laboured to fetch vs ſeales to eate, wherewith wee liued when ſmeltes and muſkles failed: for in the nepe ſtreames wee could get no muſkles. Thus in moſt miſerable calamitie wee remained vntill the ſixt of Auguſt, ſtill keeping watch vpon the hils to looke for our Generall, and ſo great was our vexation and anguiſh of ſoule, as I thinke neuer fleſh and blood endured more. Thus our miſerie dayly increaſing, time paſſing, and our hope of the Generall being very colde, our Captaine and Maſter were fully perſwaded, that the Generall might perhaps goe directly for The Streights, and not come to this harborough: whereupon they thought no courſe more conuenient then to goe preſently for The Streights, and there to ſtay his comming, for in that place hee could not paſſe, but of force wee muſt ſee him: whereunto the companie moſt willingly conſented, as alſo the Captaine and Maſter of the pinneſſe; ſo that vpon this determination wee made all poſſible ſpeede to depart.

They depart the ſecond time from Port Deſire for The Streights of Magellan.

The ſixt of Auguſt wee ſet ſaile, and went to Penguin-iſle, and the next day wee ſalted twentie hogſheads of ſeales, which was as much as our ſalt could poſſibly doe, and ſo wee departed for The Streights the pooreſt wretches that euer were created. The ſeuenth of Auguſt towards night wee departed from Penguin-iſle, ſhaping our courſe for The Streights, where wee had full confidence to meete with our Generall. The ninth wee had a ſore ſtorme, ſo that wee were conſtrained to hull, for our ſailes were not to indure any force. The 14 wee were driuen in among certaine Iſles neuer before diſcouered by any knowen relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the ſhoare Eaſt and Northerly from The Streights: in which place, vnleſſe it had pleaſed God of his wonderfull mercie to haue ceaſed the winde, wee muſt of neceſſitie haue periſhed. But the winde ſhifting to the Eaſt, wee directed our courſe for The Streights, and the 18 of Auguſt wee fell with the Cape in a very thicke fogge; and the ſame night we ankered ten leagues within the Cape. The 19 day wee paſſed the firſt and the ſecond Streights. The 21 wee doubled Cape Froward. The 22 we ankered in Saluage coue, ſo named, becauſe wee found many Saluages there: notwithſtanding the extreme colde of this place, yet doe all theſe wilde people goe naked, and liue in the woods like Satyrs, painted and diſguiſed, and flie from you like wilde deere. They are very ſtrong, and threw ſtones at vs of three or foure pound weight an incredible diſtance. The

Certaine Iſles neuer before diſcouered fifty leagues northeaſt off The Streights.

The firſt and ſecõd Streight Cape Froward. Saluage coue.

24 in the morning wee departed from this coue, and the ſame day we came into the Northweſt reach, which is the laſt reach of the Streights. The 25 we ankored in a good coue, within foureteene leagues of the South ſea: in this place we purpoſed to ſtay for the General, for the ſtreight in this place is ſcarce three miles broad, ſo that he could not paſſe but we muſt ſee him. After we had ſtayed here a fortnight in the deep of Winter, our victuals conſuming, (for our Seals ſtunke moſt vily, and our men died pitifully through cold and famin, for the greateſt part of them had not clothes to defend the extremitie of the winters cold) being in this heauie diſtreſſe, our captaine and Maſter thought it the beſt courſe to depart from the Streights into the South ſea, and to go for the Iſle of Santa Maria, which is to the Northward of Baldiuia in 37 degrees & a quarter, where we might haue reliefe, and be in a temperate clime, and there ſtay for the Generall, for of neceſſity he muſt come by that Iſle. So we departed the 13 of September, & came in ſight of the South ſea. The 14 we were forced backe againe, and recouered a coue 3 leagues within the ſtreights from the South ſea. Againe we put foorth, & being 8 or 10 leagues free of the land, the wind riſing furiouſly at Weſtnorthweſt, we were inforced againe into the ſtreights only for want of ſails; for we neuer durſt beare ſaile in any ſtreſſe of weather, they were ſo weake: ſo againe we recouered the coue three leagues within the ſtreights, where we indured moſt furious weather, ſo that one of our two cables brake, whereby we were hopeles of life. Yet it pleaſed God to calme the ſtorme, and wee vnriued our ſheates, tackes, halliers, and other ropes, and mored our ſhip to the trees cloſe by the rockes. We laboured to recouer our ankor againe, but could not by any means, it lay ſo deepe in the water, and as we thinke cleane couered with oaze. Now had we but one ankor which had but one whole Flouke, a cable ſpliced in two places, and a piece of an olde cable. In the middeſt of theſe our troubles it pleaſed God that the wind came faire the firſt of October; whereupon with all expedition wee looſed our morings, and weighed our ankor, and ſo towed off into the chanel; for wee had mended our boate in Port Deſire, and had fiue oares of the pinneſſe. When we had weighed our ankor, we found our cable broken, onely one ſtrand helde: then wee prayſed God; for we ſaw apparantly his mercies in preſeruing vs. Being in the chanel, we riued our ropes, & againe rigged our ſhip, no mans hand was idle, but all laboured euen for the laſt gaſpe of life. Here our company was deuided; ſome deſired to go againe for Port Deſire, and there to be ſet on ſhore, where they might trauell for their liues, and ſome ſtood with the Captaine & Maſter to proceed. Whereupon the Captaine ſayd to the Maſter: Maſter, you ſee the wonderfull extremity of our eſtate, and the great doubts among our companie of the truth of your reports, as touching reliefe to be had in the South ſea: ſome ſay in ſecret, as I am informed, that we vndertake theſe deſperate attempts through blind affection that we beare to the General. For mine owne part I plainely make knowen vnto you, that the loue which I bare to the Generall cauſed mee firſt to enter into this action, whereby I haue not onely heaped vpon my head this bitter calamity now preſent, but alſo haue in ſome ſort procured the diſlike of my beſt friends in England, as it is not vnknowen to ſome in this company. But now being thus intangled by the prouidence of God for my former offences (no doubt) I deſire, that it may pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie to ſhew vs ſuch mercifull fauour, that we may rather proceed, then otherwiſe: or if it be his wil, that our mortall being ſhal now take an ende, I rather deſire that it may bee in proceeding then in returning. And becauſe I ſee in reaſon, that the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Chriſtian charity intreat you all, firſt to forgiue me in whatſoeuer I haue bin grieuous vnto you; ſecondly that you wil rather pray for our General, then vſe hard ſpeeches of him; and let vs be fully perſwaded, that not for his cauſe & negligence, but for our own offences againſt the diuine Maieſty we are preſently puniſhed; laſtly, let vs forgiue one another and be reconciled as children in loue & charity, and not think vpon the vanities of this life: ſo ſhall we in leauing this life liue with our glorious redeemer, or abiding in this life, find fauour with God. And now (good maſter) foraſmuch as you haue bin in this voyage once before with your maſter the general, ſatiſfie the cōpany of ſuch truths, as are to you beſt knowen; & you the reſt of the generals men, which likewiſe haue bin with him in his firſt voyage, if you heare any thing contrary to the truth, ſpare not to reproue it, I pray you. And ſo I beſeech the Lord to beſtow his mercy vpon vs. Then the maſter began in theſe ſpeeches: Captain, your requeſt is very reaſonable, & I referre to your iudgment my honeſt care, & great paines taken in the generals ſeruice, my loue towards him, & in what ſort I haue diſcharged my duety, from the firſt day to this houre. I was commanded by the general to follow your directions, which hitherto I haue performed. You all knowe, that when I was extreamely ſicke, the General was loſt in my mates watch, as you haue well examined: ſithens which time, in what anguiſh and griefe of minde I haue liued, God onely knoweth, and you are in ſome part a witneſſe. And nowe if you thinke good to returne, I will not gainesay it:

The northweſt or laſt reach of the ſtreights.

Their firſt enterance into the South ſea.

They enter the South ſea the ſecond time.

This Iſle ſtandeth vpon the coaſt of Peru in 9 deg. of Southerly latitude.

They entred the South ſea three times.

but this I aſſure you, if life may be preſerued by any meanes, it is in proceeding. For at the Iſle of Santa Maria I doe aſſure you of wheate, porke, and rootes enough. Alſo I will bring you to an Iſle, where Pelicans bee in great abundance, and at Santos wee ſhall haue meale in great plenty, beſides all our poſſibilitie of intercepting ſome ſhippes vpon the coaſt of Chili and Peru. But if wee returne there is nothing but death to be hoped for: therefore doe as you like, I am ready, but my deſire is to proceede. Theſe his ſpeeches being confirmed by others that were in the former voyage, there was a generall conſent of proceeding; and ſo the ſecond of October we put into the South ſea, and were free of all land. This night the winde began to blowe very much at Weſtnorthweſt, and ſtill increaſed in fury, ſo that wee were in great doubt what courſe to take: to put into the Streights wee durſt not for lacke of ground-tackle: to beare ſayle wee doubted, the tempeſt was ſo furious, and our ſayles ſo bad. The pinneſſe came roome with vs, and tolde vs that ſhee had receiued many grieuous Seas, and that her ropes did euery houre fayle her, ſo as they could not tell what ſhift to make: wee being vnable in any ſort to helpe them, ſtood vnder our coarſes in view of the lee-ſhore, ſtill expecting our ruinous end.

The fourth of October the ſtorme growing beyond all reaſon furious, the pinneſſe being in the winde of vs, ſtrake ſuddenly ahull, ſo that we thought ſhee had receiued ſome grieuous ſea, or ſprung a leake, or that her ſayles failed her, becauſe ſhe came not with vs: but we durſt not hull in that vnmercifull ſtorme, but ſometimes tried vnder our maine coarſe, ſometime with a haddock of our ſayle, for our ſhip was very leeward, and moſt labourſome in the ſea. This night wee loſt the pinneſſe, and neuer ſaw her againe.

The blacke pinneſſe loſt in the South ſea.

The fift, our foreſayle was ſplit, and all to torne: then our Maſter tooke the mizzen, and brought it to the foremaſt, to make our ſhip worke, and with our ſpritſaile we mended our foreſayle, the ſtorme continuing without all reaſon in fury, with haile, ſnowe, raine, and winde ſuch and ſo mighty, as that in nature it could not poſſibly be more, the ſeas ſuch and ſo lofty, with continuall breach, that many times we were doubtfull whether our ſhip did ſinke or ſwimme.

The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Maſter very neere the ſhore, the weather darke, the ſtorme furious, and moſt of our men hauing giuen ouer to trauell, we yeelded our ſelues to death, without further hope of ſuccour. Our captaine ſitting in the gallery very penſiue, I came and brought him ſome Roſa ſolis to comfort him; for he was ſo cold, that hee was ſcarce able to mooue a ioint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the eaſe of his conſcience to make a large repetition of his forepaſſed time, and with many grieuous ſighs he concluded in theſe words: Oh moſt glorious God, with whoſe power the mightieſt things among men are matters of no moment, I moſt humbly beſeech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my ſinnes may through the blood of Ieſus Chriſt be taken from me: and end our daies with ſpeede, or ſhew vs ſome mercifull ſigne of thy loue and our preſeruation. Hauing thus ended, he deſired me not to make knowen to any of the company his intollerable griefe and anguiſh of minde, becauſe they ſhould not thereby be diſmayed. And ſo ſuddenly, before I went from him, the Sunne ſhined cleere; ſo that he and the Maſter both obſerued the true eleuation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what courſe to recouer the Streights. Wherewithall our captaine and Maſter were ſo reuiued, & gaue ſuch comfortable ſpeeches to the company, that euery man reioyced, as though we had receiued a preſent deliuerance. The next day being the 11 of October, we ſaw Cabo Deſeado being the cape on the South ſhore (the North ſhore is nothing but a company of dangerous rocks, Iſles, & ſholds.) This cape being within two leags to leeward off vs, our maſter greatly doubted, that we could not double the ſame: wherupon the captain told him: You ſee there is no remedy, either we muſt double it, or before noon we muſt die: therfore looſe your ſails, and let vs put it to Gods mercy. The maſter being a man of good ſpirit reſolutely made quicke diſpatch & ſet ſaile. Our ſailes had not bene halfe an houre aboord, but the footrope of our foreſaile brake, ſo that nothing held but the oylet holes. The ſeas continually brake ouer the ſhips poope, and flew into the ſailes with ſuch violence, that we ſtill expected the tearing of our ſayles, or ouerſetting of the ſhip, and withall to our vtter diſcomfort, wee perceiued that wee fell ſtill more and more to leeward, ſo that wee could not double the cape: wee were nowe come within halfe a mile of the cape, and ſo neere the ſhore, that the counter-ſuffe of the ſea would rebound againſt the ſhippes ſide, ſo that wee were much diſmayed with the horror of our preſent ende. Beeing thus at the very pinch of death, the winde and Seas raging beyond meaſure, our Maſter veared ſome of the maine ſheate; and whether it was by that occaſion, or by ſome current, or by the wonderfull power of God, as wee verily thinke it was, the ſhip quickened her way, and ſhot paſt that rocke, where wee thought ſhee would haue ſhored. Then betweene the cape and the poynt there was a little bay; ſo that wee were ſomewhat farther from the ſhoare:

and when we were come ſo farre as the cape, wee yeelded to death: yet our good God the *Father* of all mercies deliuered vs, and wee doubled the cape about the length of our ſhippe, or very little more. Being ſhot paſt the cape, we preſently tooke in our ſayles, which onely God had preſerued vnto vs; and when we were ſhot in betweene the high lands, the wind blowing trade, without any inch of ſayle, we ſpooned before the ſea, three men being not able to guide the helme, and in ſixe houres wee were put fiue and twenty leagues within the Streights, where wee found a ſea anſwerable to the Ocean.

The Cape Deſeado moſt dangerouſly doubled, after they had been nine dayes in the South ſea.

In this time we freed our ſhip from water, and after wee had reſted a little, our men were not able to mooue; their ſinewes were ſtiffe, and their fleſh dead, and many of them (which is moſt lamentable to bee reported) were ſo eaten with lice, as that in their fleſh did lie cluſters of lice as big as peaſon, yea and ſome as big as beanes. Being in this miſerie we were conſtrained to put into a coue for the refreſhing our men. Our Maſter knowing the ſhore and euery coue very perfectly, put in with the ſhore, and mored to the trees, as beforetime we had done, laying our ankor to the ſeaward. Here we continued vntill the twentieth of October; but not being able any longer to ſtay through extremitie of famine, the one and twentieth we put off into the chanell, the weather being reaſonable calme: but before night it blew moſt extreamely at Weſtnorthweſt. The ſtorme growing outragious, our men could ſcarcely ſtand by their labour; and the Streights being full of turning reaches we were conſtrained by diſcretion of the Captaine and Maſter in their accounts to guide the ſhip in the hell-darke night, when we could not ſee any ſhore, the chanell being in ſome places ſcarſe three miles broad. But our captaine, as wee firſt paſſed through the Streights drew ſuch an exquiſite plat of the ſame, as I am aſſured it cannot in any ſort be bettered: which plat hee and the Maſter ſo often peruſed, and ſo carefully regarded, as that in memorie they had euery turning and creeke, and in the deepe darke night without any doubting they conueyed the ſhip through that crooked chanell: ſo that I conclude, the world hath not any ſo skilfull pilots for that place, as they are: for otherwiſe wee could neuer haue paſſed in ſuch ſort as we did.

An excellent plat of the Streights of Magellan.

The 25 wee came to an Iſland in the Streights named Penguin-iſle, whither wee ſent our boate to ſeeke reliefe, for there were great abundance of birds, and the weather was very calme; ſo wee came to an ankor by the Iſland in ſeuen fadomes. While our boate was at ſhore, and we had great ſtore of Penguins, there aroſe a ſudden ſtorme, ſo that our ſhip did driue ouer a breach and our boate ſanke at the ſhore. Captaine Cotton and the Lieutenant being on ſhore leapt into the boate, and freed the ſame, and threw away all the birdes, and with great difficultie recouered the ſhip: my ſelfe alſo was in the boate the ſame time, where for my life I laboured to the beſt of my power. The ſhip all this while driuing vpon the lee-ſhore, when wee came aboord, we helped to ſet ſayle, and weighed the ankor; for before our comming they could ſcarſe hoiſe vp their yardes, yet with much adoe they ſet their fore-courſe. Thus in a mighty fret of weather the ſeuen and twentieth day of October wee were free of the Streights, and the thirtieth of October we came to Penguin-iſle being three leagues from Port Deſire, the place which wee purpoſed to ſeeke for our reliefe.

Penguin-iſle within three leagues of Port Deſire.

When wee were come to this Iſle wee ſent our boate on ſhore, which returned laden with birdes and egges; and our men ſayd that the Penguins were ſo thicke vpon the Iſle, that ſhippes might be laden with them; for they could not goe without treading vpon the birds, whereat we greatly reioiced. Then the captaine appointed Charles Parker and Edward Smith, with twenty others to go on ſhore, and to ſtay vpon the Iſle, for the killing and drying of thoſe Penguins, and promiſed after the ſhip was in harborough to ſend the reſt, not onely for expedition, but alſo to ſaue the ſmall ſtore of victuals in the ſhippe. But Parker, Smith, and the reſt of their faction ſuſpected, that this was a deuiſe of the Captaine to leaue his men on ſhore, that by theſe meanes there might bee victuals for the reſt to recouer their countrey: and when they remembred, that this was the place where they would haue ſlaine their Captaine and Maſter, ſurely (thought they) for reuenge hereof will they leaue vs on ſhore. Which when our Captaine vnderſtood, hee vſed theſe ſpeeches vnto them: I vnderſtand that you are doubtfull of your ſecurity through the peruerſeneſſe of your owne guilty conſciences: it is an extreame griefe vnto me, that you ſhould iudge mee blood-thirſtie, in whome you haue ſeene nothing but kinde conuerſation: if you haue found otherwiſe, ſpeake boldly, and accuſe mee of the wrongs that I haue done: if not, why do you then meaſure me by your owne vncharitable conſciences? All the company knoweth indeed, that in this place you practized to the vtmoſt of your powers, to murther me and the maſter cauſeles, as God knoweth, which euil in this place we did remit you: & now I may conceiue without doing you wrong, that you againe purpoſe ſome euill in bringing theſe matters to repetition:

but God hath ſo ſhortned your confederacie, as that I nothing doubt you: it is for your Maſters ſake that I haue forborne you in your vnchriſtian practizes: and here I proteſt before God, that for his ſake alone I will yet indure this iniury, and you ſhall in no ſorte be preiudiced, or in any thing be by me commanded: but when we come into England (if God ſo fauour vs) your maſter ſhall knowe your honeſties; in the meane ſpace be voide of theſe ſuſpicions, for, God I call to witnes, reuenge is no part of my thought. They gaue him thanks, deſiring to go into the harborough with the ſhip, which he granted. So there were ten left vpon the Iſle, and the laſt of October we entred the harborough.

They enter Port Deſire the third time.

Our Maſter at our laſt being here hauing taken carefull notice of euery creeke in the riuer, in a very conuenient place, vpon ſandy oaze, ran the ſhip on ground, laying our ankor to seaward, and with our running ropes moored her to ſtakes vpon the ſhore, which hee had faſtened for that purpoſe, where the ſhip remained till our departure.

The third of Nouember our boat with water, wood, and as many as ſhee could cary, went for the Iſle of Penguins: but being deepe, ſhe durſt not proceede, but returned againe the ſame night. Then Parker, Smith, Towneſend, Purpet, with fiue others, deſired that they might goe by land, and that the boate might fetch them when they were againſt the Iſle, it being ſcarce a mile from the ſhore.

Penguin Iſle ſcarce a mile frō the maine.

The captaine bade them doe what they thought beſt, aduiſing them to take weapons with them: for (ſayd hee) although we haue not at any time ſeene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Sauages. They anſwered, that here were great ſtore of Deere, and Oſtriches; but if there were Saluages, they would deuoure them: notwithſtanding the captaine cauſed them to cary weapons, calieuers, ſwordes, and targets: ſo the ſixt of Nouember they departed by land, and the bote by ſea; but from that day to this day wee neuer heard of our men.

Nine men loſt.

A great multitude of Saluages with vizards, or faces like vnto dogs faces.

The 11 while moſt of our men were at the Iſle, onely the Captaine and Maſter with ſixe others being left in the ſhip, there came a great multitude of Saluages to the ſhip, throwing duſt in the ayre, leaping and running like brute beaſts, hauing vizards on their faces like dogs faces, or elſe their faces are dogs faces indeed. We greatly feared leaſt they would ſet our ſhip on fire, for they would ſuddenly make fire, whereat we much marueiled: they came to windward of our ſhip, and ſet the buſhes on fire, ſo that we were in a very ſtinking ſmoke: but as ſoone as they came within our ſhot, we ſhot at them, & ſtriking one of them in the thigh they all preſently fled, ſo that we neuer heard nor ſaw more of them. Hereby we iudged, that theſe Canibals had ſlaine our 9 men. When we conſidered what they were that thus were ſlaine, and found that they were the principall men that would haue murthered our Captaine & Maſter, with the reſt of their friends, we ſaw the iuſt iudgement of God, and made ſupplication to his diuine Maieſty to be merciful vnto vs.

The riuer of Port Deſire but 20 miles nauigable by boate.

While we were in this harborough, our Captaine and Maſter went with the boat to diſcouer how farre this riuer did run, that if neede ſhould enforce vs to leaue our ſhip, we might know how farre we might go by water. So they found, that farther then 20 miles they could not go with the boat. At their returne they ſent the boate to the Iſle of Penguins; whereby wee vnderſtood that the Penguins dryed to our hearts content, and that the multitude of them was infinite. This Penguin hath the ſhape of a bird, but hath no wings, only two ſtumps in the place of wings, by which he ſwimmeth vnder water with as great ſwiftnes as any fiſh. They liue vpon ſmelts, whereof there is great abundance vpon this coaſt: in eating they be neither fiſh nor fleſh: they lay great egs, and the bird is of a reaſonable bignes, very neere twiſe ſo big as a ducke. All the time that wee were in this place, we fared paſſing well with egs, Penguins, yong Seales, yong Gulles, beſides other birds, ſuch as I know not; of all which we had great abundance.

The great benefit of the herbe called Scuruygraſſe.

In this place we found an herbe called Scuruygraſſe, which wee fried with egs, vſing traine oyle in ſtead of butter. This herbe did ſo purge ye blood, that it tooke away all kind of ſwellings, of which many died, & reſtored vs to perfect health of body, ſo that we were in as good caſe as whē we came firſt out of England.

They ſtayed 7 weekes in Port Deſire.

A pretty deuiſe to make ſalt.

We ſtayed in this harbour vntil the 22 of December, in which time we had dried 20000 Penguins; & the Captaine, the Maſter, and my ſelfe had made ſome ſalt, by laying ſalt water vpon the rocks in holes, which in 6 daies would be kerned. Thus God did feed vs euē as it were with Manna frō heauen.

The 22 of December we departed with our ſhip for the Iſle, where with great difficulty by the ſkilful induſtry of our Maſter we got 14000 of our birds, and had almoſt loſt our captaine in labouring to bring the birds aboord: & had not our Maſter bene very expert in the ſet of thoſe wicked tides, which run after many faſhions, we had alſo loſt our ſhip in the ſame place: but God of his goodnes hath in all our extremities bene our protector. So the 22 at night we departed with 14000 dried Penguins, not being able to fetch the reſt, and ſhaped our courſe for Braſil.

A poore allowance of victuals.

Nowe our captaine rated our victuals, and brought vs to ſuch allowance, as that our victuals might laſt ſixe moneths; for our hope was, that within ſixe moneths we might recouer our countrey, though our ſailes were very bad. So the allowance was two ounces & a halfe of meale for a man a day, and to haue ſo twiſe a weeke, ſo that 5 ounces did ſerue for a weeke. Three daies a weeke we had oile, three ſpoonfuls for a man a day; and 2 dayes in a weeke peaſon, a pint betweene 4 men a day, and euery day 5 Penguins for 4 men, and 6 quartes of water for 4 men a day. This was our allowance; wherewith (we praiſe God) we liued, though weakly, and very feeble. The 30 of Ianuary we arriued at the Ile of Placencia in Braſill, the firſt place that outward bound we were at: and hauing made the ſholde, our ſhip lying off at ſea, the Captaine with 24 of the company went with the boat on ſhore, being a whole night before they could recouer it. The laſt of Ianuary at ſun-riſing they ſuddenly landed, hoping to take the Portugales in their houſes, & by that meanes to recouer ſome Caſaui-meale, or other victuals for our reliefe: but when they came to the houſes, they were all razed, and burnt to the ground, ſo that we thought no man had remained on the Iland. Then the captaine went to the gardens, & brought from thence fruits & roots for the company, and came aboord the ſhip, and brought her into a fine creeke which he had found out, where we might more her by the trees, and where there was water, and hoopes to trim our caſke. Our caſe being very deſperate, we preſently laboured for diſpatch away; ſome cut hoopes, which the Coopers made, others laboured vpon the ſailes and ſhip, euery man trauelling for his life, & ſtill a guard was kept on ſhore to defend thoſe that laboured, euery man hauing his weapon likewiſe by him. The 3 of February our men with 23 ſhot went againe to the gardens, being 3 miles from vs vpon the North ſhore, and fetched Cazaui-roots out of the ground, to relieue our company inſtead of bread; for we ſpent not of our meale while we ſtaied here. The 5 of February being munday, our captaine and maſter haſted the company to their labour; ſo ſome went with the Coopers to gather hoopes, and the reſt laboured aboord. This night many of our men in the ſhip dreamed of murther & ſlaughter: In the morning they reported their dreames, one ſaying to another; this night I dreamt, that thou wert ſlaine; another anſwered, and I dreamed, that thou wert ſlaine: and this was generall through the ſhip. The captaine hearing this, who likewiſe had dreamed very ſtrangely himſelfe, gaue very ſtreight charge, that thoſe which went on ſhore ſhould take weapons with them, and ſaw them himſelfe deliuered into the boat, & ſent ſome of purpoſe to guard the labourers. All the forenoone they laboured in quietneſſe, & when it was ten of the clocke, the heat being extreme, they came to a rocke neere the woods ſide (for al this countrey is nothing but thick woods) and there they boyled Cazaui-roots, & dined: after dinner ſome ſlept, ſome waſhed themſelues in the ſea, all being ſtripped to their ſhirts, & no man keeping watch, no match lighted, not a piece charged. Suddenly as they were thus ſleeping & ſporting, hauing gotten themſelues into a corner out of ſight of the ſhip, there came a multitude of Indians & Portugales vpon them, and ſlew them ſleeping: onely two eſcaped, one very ſore hurt, the other not touched, by whom we vnderſtood of this miſerable maſſacre: with all ſpeed we manned our boat, & landed to ſuccour our men; but we found them ſlaine, & laied naked on a ranke one by another, with their faces vpward, and a croſſe ſet by them: and withall we ſaw two very great pinneſſes come from the riuer of Ienero very ful of men; whom we miſtruſted came from thence to take vs: becauſe there came from Ienero ſouldiers to Santos, when the Generall had taken the towne and was ſtrong in it. Of 76 perſons which departed in our ſhip out of England, we were now left but 27, hauing loſt 13 in this place, with their chiefe furniture, as muſkets, caliuers, powder, & ſhot. Our caſke was all in decay, ſo that we could not take in more water then was in our ſhip, for want of caſke, and that which we had was maruellous ill conditioned: and being there mored by trees for want of cables and ankers, we ſtill expected the cutting of our morings, to be beaten from our decks with our owne furniture, & to be aſſayled by them of Ienero: what diſtreſſe we were now driuen into, I am not able to expreſſe. To depart with 8 tunnes of water in ſuch bad caſke was to ſterue at ſea, & in ſtaying our caſe was ruinous. Theſe were hard choiſes; but being thus perplexed, we made choice rather to fall into the hands of the Lord, then into the hands of men: for his exceeding mercies we had taſted, & of the others cruelty we were not ignorant. So concluding to depart, the 6 of February we were off in the chanell, with our ordinance & ſmall ſhot in a readines, for any aſſalt that ſhould come, & hauing a ſmall gale of winde, we recouered the ſea in moſt deepe diſtreſſe. Then bemoning our eſtate one to another, and recounting ouer all our extremities, nothing grieued vs more, then the loſſe of our men twiſe, firſt by the ſlaughter of the Canibals at Port Deſire, and at this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals. And conſidering what they were that were ~~loſt, we found that al thoſe that conſpired the murthering of our captaine & maſter were now ſlain~~ by ſaluages, the gunner only excepted. Being thus at ſea, when we came to cape Frio, the winde was contrary; ſo that 3 weekes we were grieuouſly vexed with croſſe windes, & our water conſuming, our hope of life was very ſmall. Some deſired to go to Baya, & to ſubmit themſelues to the Portugales, rather then to die for thirſt: but the captaine with faire perſwaſions altered their

The Ile of Placencia in Braſill.

Ominous and forewarning dreames.

Thirteene men loſt at the Ile of Placencia by their owne extreme negligence.

Cabo Frio 36 leagues eaſt off the Ile of Placencia.

purpoſe of yeelding to the Portugales. In this diſtreſſe it pleaſed God to ſend vs raine in ſuch plenty, as that we were wel watered, & in good comfort to returne. But after we came neere vnto the ſun, our dried Penguins began to corrupt, & there bred in thē a moſt lothſome & vgly worme of an inch long. This worme did ſo mightily increaſe, and deuoure our victuals, that there was in reaſon no hope how we ſhould auoide famine, but be deuoured of theſe wicked creatures: there was nothing that they did not deuoure, only yron excepted: our clothes, boots, ſhooes, hats, ſhirts, ſtockings: and for the ſhip they did ſo eat the timbers, as that we greatly feared they would vndoe vs, by gnawing through the ſhips ſide. Great was the care and diligence of our captaine, maſter, and company to conſume theſe vermine, but the more we laboured to kill them, the more they increaſed; ſo that at the laſt we could not ſleepe for them, but they would eate our fleſh, and bite like Moſquitos. In this wofull caſe, after we had paſſed the Equinoctiall toward the North, our men began to fall ſick of ſuch a monſtrous diſeaſe, as I thinke the like was neuer heard of: for in their ankles it began to ſwell; from thence in two daies it would be in their breaſts, ſo that they could not draw their breath, and then fell into their cods; and their cods and yardes did ſwell moſt grieuouſly, and moſt dreadfully to behold, ſo that they could neither ſtand, lie, nor goe. Whereupon our men grew mad with griefe. Our captain with extreme anguiſh of his ſoule, was in ſuch wofull caſe, that he deſired only a ſpeedie end, and though he were ſcarce able to ſpeake for ſorrow, yet he perſwaded them to patience, and to giue God thankes, & like dutifull children to accept of his chaſtiſement. For all this diuers grew raging mad, & ſome died in moſt lothſome & furious paine. It were incredible to write our miſery as it was: there was no man in perfect health, but the captaine & one boy. The maſter being a man of good ſpirit with extreme labour bore out his griefe, ſo that it grew not vpon him. To be ſhort, all our men died except 16, of which there were but 5 able to mooue. The captaine was in good health, the maſter indifferent, captaine Cotton and my ſelfe ſwolne and ſhort winded, yet better then the reſt that were ſicke, and one boy in health: vpon vs 5 only the labour of the ſhip did ſtand. The captaine and maſter, as occaſion ſerued, would take in, and heaue out the top-ſailes, the maſter onely attended on the ſprit-ſaile, and all of vs at the capſten without ſheats and tacks. In fine our miſerie and weakneſſe was ſo great, that we could not take in, nor heaue out a ſaile: ſo our top-ſaile & ſprit-ſailes were torne all in pieces by the weather. The maſter and captaine taking their turnes at the helme, were mightily diſtreſſed and monſtrouſly grieued with the moſt wofull lamentation of our ſick men. Thus as loſt wanderers vpon the ſea, the 11 of Iune 1593. it pleaſed God, that we arriued at Bear-hauen in Ireland, and there ran the ſhip on ſhore: where the Iriſh men helped vs to take in our ſailes, and to more our ſhip for flooting: which ſlender paines of theirs coſt the captaine ſome ten pounds before he could haue the ſhip in ſafetie. Thus without victuals, ſailes, men, or any furniture God onely guided vs into Ireland, where the captaine left the maſter and three or foure of the company to keepe the ſhip; and within 5 dayes after he and certaine others had paſſage in an Engliſh fiſher-boat to Padſtow in Cornewall. In this maner our ſmall remnant by Gods onely mercie were preſerued, and reſtored to our countrey, to whom be all honour and glory world without end.

A moſt ſtrange and noiſome kind of worme bred of vnſalted Penguins.

They arriue at Bear-hauen in Ireland the 11 of Iune 1593.

The letters of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie ſent in the yere 1596 vnto the great Emperor of *China* by M. *Richard Allot* and M. *Thomas Bromefield* marchants of the citie of *London*, who were embarqued in a fleet of 3 ſhips, to wit, *The Beare, The Beares whelpe*, and the *Beniamin*; ſet forth principally at the charges of the honourable knight Sir *Robert Duddeley*, and committed vnto the command and conduct of M. *Beniamin Wood*, a man of approoued skill in nauigation: who, together with his ſhips and company (becauſe we haue heard no certaine newes of them ſince the moneth of February next after their departure) we do ſuppoſe, may be arriued vpon ſome part of the coaſt of *China*, and may there be ſtayed by the ſaid Emperour, or perhaps may haue ſome treacherie wrought againſt them by the Portugales of *Macao*, or the Spaniards of the *Philippinas*.

Elizabetha Dei gracia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ & chriſtianæ fidei contra omnes falſò Chriſti nomen profitentes inuictiſſima propugnatrix &c. Altiſſimo, Sereniſſimoq; Principi, potentiſſimo magni regni Chinæ dominatori, ſummo in illis Aſiæ partibus Inſuliſq; adiacentibus imperatori, & magno in orientalibus mundi regionibus Monarchæ, ſalutem, multoſq; cum omni optimarum rerũ copia & affluentia lætos & fœlices annos. Cum honeſti & fideles ſubditi noſtri, qui has literas noſtras ad ſerenitatem veſtram perferunt, *Richardus Allot & Thomas Bromefield*, ciuitatis noſtræ Londini in dicto noſtro regno Angliæ mercatores, impenſè a nobis efflagitauerint, vt eorum ſtudia ad imperij veſtri

regiones(commercij gracia)nauigandi commendaremus: Cumq́; regni veſtri fortitèr prudenterq́; adminiſtrati fama, per vniuerſam terrarũ orbem diſſeminata & diuulgata, ſubditos hos noſtros inuitauerit,non ſolum vt dominationis veſtræ regiones inuiſant,ſed vt regni veſtri legibus & inſtitutis, dum in illis mundi partibus cõmorati fuerint,regendos ſe & moderandos permittant,prout mercatores decet,qui mercimoniorũ commutandorum cauſa ad tam longè diſſitas,nec adhuc noſtro orbi ſatis cognitas regiones,penetrare cupiunt, illud vnum ſpectantes,vt mercimonia ſua, mercimoniorũq́; quorundam, quibus ditionis noſtræ regiones abundant, exemplaria quædã ſiue ſpecimina, ſerenitatis veſtræ ſubditorumq́; veſtrorũ conſpectui offerant, & diligenter cognoſcere ſtudeant, ſi quæ aliæ ſint apud nos merces quæ veſtro vſui inſeruiant, quas honeſto & vbique terrarum licito commercij ritu alijs mercibus(quarum in imperij veſtri regionibꝰ, tam artis quam naturæ beneficio magna copia eſt)commutare poſſint. Nos ęquiſſimis honeſtorum hominum precibus acquieſcentes, quia nihil ex iuſtiſſimo hoc mercaturæ vſu incommodi ſiue diſpendij oriturum, ſed plurimũ potius emolumenti vtriuſq; regni tum principibus tum ſubditis prouenturum exiſtimamus, dum earũ rerum quibus abundamus exportatione, & aliarum quibus egemus inuectione, æquiſſimis precijs iuuari vtrinque & locupletari poſſimus; Sereniſſimam Maieſtatem veſtram rogamus, vt ſubditis his noſtris,cum mercimoniorum vendendorum & permutandorum gratia, ad imperij veſtri ſtationes, portus, loca, oppida, ciuitates acceſſerint, eundi, redeundi,& cum ſubditis veſtris negotiandi, plena & libera fiat poteſtas: Illisq́; huiuſmodi libertates, immunitates, & priuilegia, quæ aliorum principum ſubditis,apud vos mercaturam exercentibus, concedi ſolent, ſerenitatis veſtræ clementia inuiolata conſeruentur; & nos viciſſim, non tantùm omnia amicæ principis officia ſerenitati veſtræ deferemus,ſed ad maiorem communis inter nos ſubditosq́; noſtros amicitiæ & cõmercij propagationem, ſubditis veſtris omnibus & ſingulis, ſi ſereniſſimę Maieſtati veſtræ ita viſum fuerit,plenam & integram in ditionis noſtrę quaſcunq; regiones veniendi,commorandi,negotiandi, & reuertendi, poteſtatem per pręſentes has literas noſtras libentiſſimè concedimus. Quæ omnia & ſingula regij noſtri ſigilli appoſitione communiri fecimus. Deus opt. max. cœli & terræ conditor, regiam Maieſtatem veſtram diutiſſimè ſeruet incolumem. Datæ in Palatio noſtro Grenouici xj. menſis Iulij Anno Chriſti 1596. annoq́; noſtri regni xxxviij.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, the moſt mightie defendreſſe of the true & chriſtian faith againſt all that falſely profeſſe the name of Chriſt &c. To the moſt high and ſoueraigne Prince the moſt puiſſant Gouernour of the great kingdome of China, the chiefeſt Emperour in thoſe parts of Aſia and of the Ilands adioyning, and the great monarke of the orientall regions of the world; wiſheth health, and many ioyfull and happy yeeres, with all plenty and abundance of things moſt acceptable. Whereas our honeſt and faithfull ſubiects which bring theſe letters vnto your Highneſſe, Richard Alloc & Thomas Bromefield, marchants of our citie of London in our foreſaid kingdome of England, haue made moſt earneſt ſute vnto vs, that we would commend their deſires and indeuours of ſayling to the regions of your Empire for traffiques ſake: whereas alſo the fame of your kingdome ſo ſtrongly and prudently gouerned, being diſperſed and publiſhed ouer the face of the whole earth, hath inuited theſe our ſubiects not onely to viſite your Highneſſe dominions, but alſo to permit themſelues to be ruled and gouerned by the lawes and conſtitutions of your kingdome during the time of their aboad in thoſe partes of the world, as it becommeth marchants, who for exchange of marchandize are deſirous to trauell vnto regions ſo farre diſtant and not hitherto ſufficiently knowen vnto theſe nations of the world, hauing this regard onely, that they may preſent their wares and certaine examples or muſters of diuers kinds of marchandizes, wherewith the regions of our dominions do abound, vnto the view of your Highneſſe and of your ſubiects; & that they may indeuour to know, whether there be any other marchandize with vs fit for your vſe, which (according to the honeſt & lawfull cuſtome of traffique in all countries) they may exchange for other commodities, whereof in the parts of your Empire there is great plentie both naturall and artificiall: We yeelding vnto the moſt reaſonable requeſts of theſe honeſt men, becauſe we doe ſuppoſe that by this moſt iuſt intercourſe of traffique, no inconuenience nor loſſe, but rather moſt exceeding benefite will redound vnto the Princes and ſubiects of both kingdomes, while by the carrying foorth of thoſe commodities wherewith we abound, and the bringing home of others which we want, wee may on either ſide at moſt eaſie rates helpe and inrich one another; doe craue of your moſt ſoueraigne Maieſtie, that theſe our ſubiects, when they ſhall come for traffiques ſake vnto any the ſtations,

portes, places, townes or cities of your Empire, they may haue full and free libertie of egreſſe and regreſſe, and of dealing in trade of marchandize with your ſubiects, may by your Highneſſe clemency moſt firmely enioy all ſuch freedomes, immunities, and priuileges, as are vſually granted to the ſubiects of other Princes which exerciſe traffique in your dominions; and we on the other ſide will not onely performe all the offices of a well-willing Prince vnto your Highneſſe, but alſo for the greater increaſe of mutuall loue and commerce between vs and our ſubiects, by theſe preſent letters of ours doe moſt willingly grant vnto all and euery your ſubiects (if it ſhall ſeeme good vnto your Highneſſe) full and entire libertie vnto any of the partes of our dominions to reſort, there to abide and traffique, and thence to returne. All and euery of which premiſſes we haue cauſed to be confirmed by annexing hereunto our royall ſeale. God moſt mercifull and almighty, the Creator of heauen and earth, continually protect your kingly Maieſtie. Giuen in our palace at Greenwich the 11 of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere of Chriſt 1596, and the eight and thirtie yeere of our reigne.

THREE SEVERALL TESTIMONIES CONcerning the mighty kingdom of *Coray*, tributary to the king of *China*, and borthering vpon his Northeaſt frontiers, called by the Portugales *Coria*, and by them eſteemed at the firſt an Iland, but ſince found to adioyne with the maine not many dayes iourney from *Paquí* the Metropolitan citie of *China*. The more perfect diſcouery whereof and of the coaſt of *Tartaria* Northward may in time bring great light (if not full certaintie) either of a Northweſt or a Northeaſt paſſage from *Europe* to thoſe rich countries. Collected out of the Portugale Ieſuites yeerely Iaponian Epiſtles dated 1590, 1591, 1592, 1594, &c.

The firſt teſtimony containing a reſolute determination of *Quabacondono* the great Monarch of all *Iapan*, to inuade and conquere *China* by the way of *Coray*, being a country diuided from the Iles of *Iapan* onely by an arme of the ſea about twentie leagues broad, and abounding with victuals and all other neceſſaries for the maintenance of the warres. Out of the Epiſtles of father Frier *Lewis Frois*, dated 1590.

QVabacondono hauing ſubdued all the petie kingdomes of Iapan, in the yeere of our Lord 1590 (as father Frier Lewis Frois writeth in his Iaponian Epiſtles of the foreſaid yeere) grew ſo proud and inſolent, that he ſeemed another Lucifer, ſo farre foorth, that he made a ſolemne vow and othe, that he would paſſe the ſea in his owne perſon to conquere China: and for this purpoſe hee made great preparations, ſaying, that ſince hee is become Lorde of all Iapan, he had nothing now in hand but to conquere China, and that although he ſhould end his life in that enterprize, he is not to giue ouer the ſame. For he hopeth to leaue behinde him hereby ſo great fame, glorie, and renowne, as none may be comparable thereunto. And though hee could not conquere the ſame, and ſhould ende his life in the action, yet ſhould he alwayes remaine immortall with this glory. And if God doth not cut him off, it is thought verily, that hee will throughly attempt the ſame. And for his more ſecure paſſage thither, he is determined to leaue behinde him two Gouernours (after his maner) in the parts of Miacó with the adminiſtration of Finqua; and of thoſe of his Monarchie he ſaith that he will take with him all the great Iaponiſh Lords, or at the leaſt all his principall ſubiects, and leaue in his dominions ſuch guard and garriſons as ſhall ſeeme beſt vnto him. And ſo hauing paſſed the winter, he meaneth to come to theſe partes of Ximo, for from hence he is to ſet foorth his armie, & to paſſe to the land of Coray, which the Portugales call Coria, being deuided from Iapan with an arme of the ſea. And although the Portugales in times paſt thought, that it was an Ile or Peninſula, yet is it firme lande, which ioyneth with the kingdome of Paquí. And he hath now ſtricken ſuch a terror with his name in the countrey of Coray, that the king thereof hath ſent his ambaſſadors hither to yeelde vnto him a kind of homage, as he required: which ambaſſadors are now in the city of Miacó. And by this Peninſula of Coray he may paſſe with his army by land in fewe dayes iourney vnto the citie of Paqui, being the principall citie where the king of China hath his reſidence. And as the Chinians be weake, and the people of Iapan ſo valiant and feared of them, if God doth not cut him off in his expedition, it may fall out according to his expectation.

Ximo.
Coray continent land with Paqui.

From Coray an armie may paſſe by land in few dayes to Paqui the chiefe citie of China.

But whatſoeuer become of China, it is held for a certaintie, that his comming will cauſe great alterations in theſe partes of Ximo, eſpecially in this kingdom of Figen, wherein are the princedomes of Arima and Omura, and all the force of our Chriſtianity: and he told Don Protaſio when he was with him once before, that he would make him a great man in China, and that he would remooue theſe lordes, and deliuer their gouernments vnto lordes that were Gentiles; which would be the ruine of all this Chriſtianitie; neither ſhould we haue any place wherein to remaine. For, as it is the cuſtome of Iapan in the alterations of eſtates and kingdomes (which they call Cuningaia) to remooue all the nobilitie and gentry, and to leaue onely the baſe people and labourers, committing them to the gouernment of Ethnicks, wee ſhall hereby alſo leeſe our houſes, and the Chriſtians ſhall be diſperſed with their lords; whom ſometimes he handleth in ſuch ſort, that he giueth them nothing to ſuſteine themſelues, and ſo they remaine with all their followers, as men baniſhed, and vtterly ruined.

The ſecond Teſtimonie containing the huge leuies and preparations of *Quabacondono*, as alſo his warres and conqueſts, and the ſucceſſe thereof in the kingdome of *Coray*. Together with a deſcription of the ſame kingdom, and of their trafficke and maner of gouernment: and alſo of the ſhipping of *China*, *Iapan*, and *Coray*, with mention of certaine iſles thereunto adjaçent, and other particulars very memorable. Out of the Epiſtles of the aforeſaid Father Fryer *Luis Frois* dated *1591*, and *1592*.

ABout this time Quabacondono determining to put his warre againſt China in execution, aſſembled ſundry of his nobles and captaines, vnto whom he declared his intent: who, albeit they were all of a quite contrary opinion, yet all of them without any pretenſe of difficulty approued his determination. For he had giuen out that he would not abſtaine from this warre, although his owne ſonne ſhould riſe from death to life and requeſt him; yea whoſoeuer would mooue any impediment or difficulty in that matter, hee would put him to death. Wherefore for certaine moneths there was nothing in all places to be ſeene, but prouiſion of ſhips, armour, munition, and other neceſſaries for the warres. Quabacondono making a catalogue of all the lordes and nobles his ſubiects, willed euery one of them (not a man excepted) to accompany him in this expedition, inioyning and appointing to each one, what numbers they ſhould bring. In all theſe kingdomes of Ximo he hath nominated 4 of his eſpeciall fauourites; whom (to all mens admiration) he will haue to be heads ouer all theſe new kingdomes, notwithſtanding that here are 4 others farre more mighty then they. Of whom (by Gods good prouidence) two are Chriſtians, to wit, Auguſtine Eucunocamindono gouernour of half the kingdom of Finga, & Cainocami the ſon of Quambioindono gouernour of the greater part of the kingdome of Bugen. The other two are Ethniques, namely Toranoſuque gouernour of the halfe of the kingdom of Finga and Auguſtins mortall enemie; and Iconocami gouernour of the reſidue of the kingdome of Bugen, and an enemie both to Auguſtine and Cainocami. And Quabacondono hath commanded all the Chriſtian lordes of Teximo to follow Chriſtian gouernours. Whereupon the lord Protaſius was there with 2000 ſouldiers; & Omurandono the lord of Ceuxima and Auguſtins ſonne in law, which lately became a Chriſtian, with a thouſand. Alſo he appointed that the gouernours of Firando and Goto ſhould follow Auguſtine, who albeit they were Gentiles, had many Chriſtians to their ſubiects. Wherefore Auguſtine was to conduct 15000 ſouldiers, beſides mariners, ſlaues, and other baſe people to cary the baggage of the army, all which being as great a number as the former, ſo ſoone as they arriued in the kingdom of Coray, were made ſouldiers, and bore armes. Unto the ſaid Auguſtine, Quabacondono, in token of ſingular fauour, granted the firſt aſſault or inuaſion of the kingdome of Coray, to wit, that he onely with his forces might enter the ſame, the other lordes remaining in Ceuxima (which is 18 leagues diſtant from Coray) till they ſhould bee aduertized from Auguſtine: which thing procured vnto Auguſtine great enuie and diſdaine from them all: howbeit (as you ſhall forthwith vnderſtand) it prooued in the end moſt honourable vnto him. The other Chriſtian gouernour Cainocami being but a yong man of 23 yeeres, he commanded the king of Bungo to follow with 6000 ſouldiers; ſo that with the 4000 which hee had before, his number amounted vnto 10000, beſides mariners and others which caried burthens. This was muſt ioyful newes to vs, and to all the Chriſtians. Of the Ethnick lords Quabacondono appointed the gouernour of Rioſogo together with Foranoſuque to march with 8000: and likewiſe the king of Saçeuma and Iconocami with as many. And amongſt all he gaue the firſt and chiefe place vnto Auguſtine. All the other ſouldiers of Iapan hee cauſed to accompanie his owne perſon: the number of all together (as appeared out of a written catalogue) amounting to three hundreth thouſand perſons; of whom two hundred thouſand were ſouldiers.

The

A deſcription of Coray.

The order preſcribed in this whole armie was, that firſt they ſhould make their entrance by the kingdome of Coray, which is almoſt an iſland, one ende whereof ioyneth vpon the maine lande of China; which though it be a ſeuerall kingdome of it ſelfe, yet is it ſubiect and tributarie vnto the king of China. And becauſe this kingdom of Coray is diuided but by an arme of the ſea frō Iapan, Quabacondono determined to ſubdue the ſame, for that it ſo aboundeth with victuals, that from thence he might the eaſilier inuade China. While all things were preparing, it was commanded, that at the chief port of Ximo called Nangoia, being twelue leagues diſtant from Firando, there ſhould be erected a mightie great caſtle; where Quabacondono with all his fleet was minded to ſtay, till newes were brought of the ſucceſſe of the aforeſaid 4 gouernours or captaines. Hee appointed alſo another caſtle to bee built in Fuchinoxima, which is another iſland ſituate betweene Nangoia and Ceuxima. And he built a third caſtle in Ceuxima, that his paſſage might be the more commodious. The charge of building theſe caſtles he impoſed vpon the 4 aforeſaid gouernours, and commanded the other lords of Ximo their aſſociates to aſſiſt them; all which ſo applyed that buſines, that in 6 moneths ſpace it was wholly finiſhed. The caſtle of Nangoia was enuironed with a double wall of ſquare and beautifull ſtone, with broad and deepe ditches like vnto Miacó. The innermoſt wall being leſſe then the other two was 100 fathom ſquare, within the compaſſe whereof wer ſo many houſes built both for the lordes, and their followers, and alſo for marchants ſhoppes, and victualers houſes, diſtinguiſhed with broad and direct ſtreetes, that it ſeemed a faire towne. But (that which was much more admirable) all the way from Miacó to Nangoia, at the ende of euery dayes iourney, all the lords and gouernours, at the commandement of Quabacondono, built each one within his iuriſdiction new and ſtately palaces from the ground, ſo that for 20 dayes together he lodged euery night with all his traine in one of thoſe palaces. And becauſe theſe things were done at the very ſame time when the expedition into the kingdome of Coray was in hand, all Iapan was ſo grieuouſly oppreſſed (Quabacondono in the meane while being at no charges) as it was moſt intollerable. Yet is it incredible how ready euery one is to do him ſeruice: which appeareth by theſe magnificent ſtately buildings reared vp in ſo ſhort a ſpace, which in Europe would haue required a long time and huge expences. In the meane ſeaſon it was commonly giuen out, that this enterprize of Quabacondono would haue moſt vnfortunate ſucceſſe, as being a matter wrought by conſtraint, and that it would be an occaſion of manifold diſſentions in Iapan: for no man there was, but miſliked of this warre: yea, all the lordes were in great hope, that ſome one man at length would ſtep foorth and reſtore their libertie; howbeit there is none as yet found, which dare put his had to that buſineſſe. Wherefore they were all (though to their great griefe and lamentation) violently conſtrained to proſecute the enterprize. But Quabacondono being voyde of all anxiety, to the ende hee might encourage his followers, boaſted that hee would make great alterations of kingdomes, and would beſtow vpon them the kingdoms of Coray and China; and vnto the lord Protaſius hee hath promiſed 3 kingdomes: but he with all the other lords giuing him great thankes, had much rather retaine a ſmal portion of their eſtate in Iapan, then to hunt after all thoſe kingdomes which he promiſeth.

And whereas Quabacondono had by proclamation publiſhed, that he would perſonally be preſent at Nangoia the 3 moone of this yeere; troups and armies of men began to reſort from all the quarters of Iapan to theſe parts. Now were our afflictions renewed. For ſo long as Quabacondono remained at Miacó, we might ſtay in theſe parts of Ximo without any danger: but after he began to come this way, it ſeemed impoſſible for our ſtate to continue whole and ſound, and we were put into no ſmall perplexitie. For the Chriſtian lordes aduiſed vs, that ſithence Quabacondono was come ſo neere, all our companie that liued in the Colledge, in the houſe of Probation, and in the Seminary, ſhould depart to ſome other place. And the Chriſtians from Miacó writ dayly vnto vs, that wee ſhoulde pull downe our houſes and Churches at Omura, Arima, and Canſaco, and that the fathers of Europe ſhould return vnto Nangaſaque in the ſecular habite of Portugals but that the Iaponian Fryers ſhould retire themſelues vnto ſeueral houſes of Chriſtians, that ſo they might al remaine ſafe and out of danger. But this remedy, as it was too grieuous and ſubiect to may difficulties, ſo did it afford vs but ſmall comfort. In brief the Father viſitor talking of this matter with Eucunocamindono, the lord Protaſius, and Omurandono, before their expedition toward the kingdom of Coray, found them, as before, in the ſame fortitude of minde, being conſtant in their firſt opinion: neither would they giue any other counſel or direction, then that the fathers ſhould keepe themſelues ſecret, and ſhould only forſake their houſes at Arima, and Omura, wherein the Toni or great lordes would haue ſome of their kinſemen remaine. It was alſo thought conuenient, that the number of the Seminary ſhould bee diminiſhed, and that of 90 there ſhould onely remaine 50 in our ſcholes, namely ſuch as ſtudied the Latine tongue. With the Father

ther Viſitour there came vnto Nangaſaque certaine Fathers and Friers, which were ſaid to be of Fungo and Firando. For the ſayde Father vnder the name of a Legate might retaine them with him more openly.

About this time Quabacondono, that hee might with ſome paſtime recreate his Nobles which accompanied him; and alſo might declare, with how great confidence and ſecuritie of minde hee tooke vpon him this expedition for China; and likewiſe to obſcure the moſt renowmed fame of a certaine hunting and hawking performed of olde by that mightie Prince Ioritono, who was Emperour ouer all Iapan; hee determined to ordaine (as it were) another royall court of diuers kindes of fowle. Whereupon beeing accompanied with many great lordes and others, hee departed to the kingdome of Oiaren, where his game had ſo good ſucceſſe, that hee caught aboue 30000. fowles of all ſortes; amongſt which were many falcons. Howbeit, for Quabacondono his greater recreation, and for the more ſolemnitie of the game, there were alſo added many dead fowles, which the Iaponians with certaine poulders or compoſitions know how to preſerue ſweete in their feathers a long time. This game beeing ended, Quabacondono returned with great pompe vnto Miacó: before whom went great multitudes which carried thoſe thouſandes of fowles vpon guilded canes. Next after theſe followed many horſemen ſumptuouſly attired, carying a great number of Falcons and other birdes. After them were lead many horſes by the reines, moſt richly trapped. Next of all were brought Coſcis or Litters very ſtately adorned: after which was carryed Quabacondono himſelfe in a Litter of another faſhion, like vnto thoſe which in India are called Palanchins, which was made in China, with moſt curious and ſingular workemanſhip, and was preſented vnto him by the Father Viſitour, and ſeemeth exceedingly to content him, for that in all actions of ſolemnitie hee vſeth the ſame. Laſt of all followed a great troope of Princes and Nobles brauely mounted on horſebacke, and gorgeouſly attired, thereby the more to delight Quabacondono, who in triumphant ſort beeing welcomed by the way, with the ſhoute and applauſe of infinite ſwarmes of people, entred the citie of Miacó.

A meane to keepe dead birds ſweete in their feathers a long time.

Now when the time of ſayling towardes China approched, Quabacondono determined firſt to proclayme his nephew Inangondono his ſucceſſour, and gouernour of all Iapan, to the ende hee might ſupply his owne roome in the time of this warre. And therefore he commanded the Dairi to tranſferre vnto his ſayd nephew the dignitie belonging to himſelfe, calling him by the name of Taicuſama, that is to ſay, Great lord. Which dignitie was in ſuch ſort tranſlated, that albeit he aſſigned vnto his nephew large reuenues, together with that princely title, yet himſelfe remained the very ſame that he was before. The day of the ſayd tranſlation being appointed, hee ſummoned all the Princes of Iapan to appeare, and to ſweare obedience vnto this his nephew: Who with great pompe going vnto the Dairi to receiue that dignitie at his hande, had ſurrendred vnto him the Caſtle of Miacó, and the palaces of Quabacondono to dwell in.

Thus at the beginning of the third moone, he ſet forward on his iourney to Nangoia, hauing before giuen order, that Auguſtine ſhould paſſe ouer into the kingdome of Coray, and that his other Captaines ſhould remayne in Ceuxima. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the third Moone hee came vnto Nangoia, where the companies of the other lordes beeing numbered, were founde to bee 200000. perſons, beſides thoſe that were conducted by the foure foreſayde gouernours. In the meane ſeaſon Auguſtine with his forces, and with a Fleete of eight hundred Ships, arriued at Coray. In whoſe armie the lord Protaſius excelled all others; for though hee had but the leading of 2000. ſouldiers, yet for the goodneſſe of his armour, and the beautie of his ſhips, he was admired of all men. At their very firſt entrance they wonne 2. caſtles of the kingdome of Coray by maine force, wherein the Corayans repoſed great confidence; for they were enuironed with mighty high walles, and defended with great multitudes of ſouldiers, and with a kinde of gunnes of 2. ſpannes and ½. long, which in ſtead of bullets diſcharged with a terrible noiſe wodden arrowes headed with forked points of yron: but the ſayd gunnes beeing able to hurt but a ſmall diſtance off, and the Iaponians being furniſhed with brazen ordinance vnknowen vnto the Corayans, they preſently draue them from their walles, and with ladders made for the ſame purpoſe of great canes, they forthwith ſcaled the ſame, and planted their enſignes thereon; the Corayans indeed for a ſhort time making reſiſtance, but after a while betaking themſelues to diſhonorable flight, 5000 men of their part being ſlaine, and of Auguſtines but 100. and 400. wounded. Auguſtine perceiuing that the Corayans could not endure any long aſſault, determined to take vpon himſelfe, and his armie the whole burthen and honour of this warre, and not ſtaying for the gouernours his aſſociates, to march vp into the heart of the kingdome, and to

A Fleete of 800. ſhips.

Short gunnes charged with forked arrowes.

The ſignification of Miacó.

the principall City; vnto which determination all the lordes that were with him gaue their conſent. This was (no doubt) a bolde, yea, and in ſome ſort, a raſh enterpriſe of Auguſtine: but yet it argueth a wiſe and valiant minde in him. But this long delay was ſo greeuous to the Captaines which in Ceuxima expected the ſucceſſe of the warre, that before they heard any newes at all concerning the ſurprize of the two Caſtles, they brought Auguſtine in ſuſpition among their friends, that hee ambitiouſly affected the honour of the whole warre. Which thing beeing knowen vnto Quabacondono, he was ſo troubled in mind euen before he came to Nangoia, that ſuddenly hee commaunded the other Captaines to ſet ſayle from Ceuxima. But when Quabacondono was come to Nangoia, and heard newes of the two Caſtles taken, and that Auguſtine purſuing the victorie proceeded on towards the Miacó, that is to ſay, The kingly citie of Coray, and was determined to inuade the ſame alſo (all which Auguſtine himſelfe wrote, and requeſted him to ſend the other captaines and commanders to aſſayle the kingdom on all ſides, and to furniſh the caſtles which he had taken and ſhould take, with gariſons of ſouldiers, becauſe as yet he had not men enough to hold thoſe fortreſſes which he had wonne) he was ſurprized with ſuch vnſpeakable ioy, as he affirmed openly, that in all Iapan he had no ſubiect comparable to Auguſtine: and that neither Nabunanga, nor himſelfe euer knewe any man indued with ſo valiant and couragious a mind. I (ſaith he) knowing againſt whom and with what forces I waged warre, ſubdued by litle and litle all Iapan vnto me: but Auguſtine in ſo ſhort a time and with ſo ſmall forces, hath boldely ſet his foote in a forren region, and with moſt glorious victory hath ſubdued the mightie kingdome of Coray. Wherefore (quoth he) I will reward him with many kingdomes, and wil make him next vnto my ſelfe the greateſt Prince in all Iapan. Hee added farther, that now his owne ſonne ſeemed to bee riſen from the death; and that whoſoeuer durſt either diſgrace or extenuate the deedes of Auguſtine, he would grieuouſly puniſh him, not reſpecting whether hee did it vpon reaſon or malice. By this ſpeach the name and report of Auguſtine grew ſo honourable amongſt all men, that they which moſt enuied his eſtate, durſt not ſpeake one ill worde of him, but highly commended him before Quabacondono.

The length and bredth of Coray.

This kingdome of Coray extendeth in length about 100. and in bredth 60. leagues. And albeit the inhabitants in nation, language, and ſtrength of body (which maketh the people of China to dread them) be different from the Chinians, yet becauſe they pay tribute to the king of China, and exerciſe traffique with his ſubiects, they doe after a ſort imitate the Lawes, apparell, cuſtomes, and gouernement of the Chinians. They border on one ſide vpon the Tartars, and other nations, with whom ſometimes they haue peace, and ſometimes warre: but with the Chinians they haue continuall peace. They are ſpeciall good bow-men; but at other weapons, becauſe they haue but few, and thoſe bad, they are nothing ſo ſkilfull. Wherefore they are not comparable to the Iaponians, who by reaſon of their warres are continually exerciſed in armes, and are by nature more couragious and valiant, being furniſhed with yron-peeces, with lances, and with excellent ſwordes. Onely in ſhipping they are inferiour to the Corayans and Chinians, by reaſon of the hugeneſſe of their Ships which they vſe vpon the ſea. Wherefore, if they were to ioyne battels by ſea, there is no doubt but that both the foreſayde Nations would be too hard for them. But now becauſe they knewe nothing of the comming of the Iaponian armie, or for that they doubted that their ſea-forces were the ſtronger, or els becauſe God was determined to puniſh them, he ſuffered them to be deſtitute of all the defence of their ſhipping, ſo that the Iaponians without any reſiſtance landed vpon their dominions.

The people of Coray and China ſtronger in ſhipping, then they of Iapan.

Now the fame of Auguſtines victory cauſing the armie notably to increaſe, and the Mariners, and many others which carryed burthens (as they were trained vp in warre from their childhood) bearing armes, while the Corayan captiues ſupplied their baſer offices: ſo great a terrour poſſeſſed all the people of Coray where Auguſtine came, that all the caſtles and fortreſſes which hee paſſed by were forſaken by their gariſons, and all men fled for refuge to the principall city. And while other commanders and Chriſtians ſent from Ceuxima and Nangoia ſhaped their courſe for Coray, Auguſtine had pitched his campe neere vnto the foreſaid principall citie: of the which being come within 3. dayes iourney, he was encountered by 20000. men; whom at the very firſt aſſault, hauing ſlaine 3000. of them, hee put to flight. But approching very neere vnto the citie, and hauing paſſed a riuer, hee maintained a valiant conflict at a certaine narrow paſſage againſt 80000. Corayans, 8000. whereof were ſlaine, and a great number drowned in the riuer. Heere while Auguſtine appointed all his troopes to remayne for two dayes, to the end they might ſomewhat refreſh their wearie limmes, the king of Coray ſeeing himſelfe beſieged by his enemie, and that many other Iaponian lordes with ſtrong armies inuaded his kingdome on all ſides, determined to haue his citie ſtrengthened with gariſons, and to retire himſelfe into the in-land of China.

The king of Coray fleeth out of his principall citie.

China. Which by reaſon of the abundance of horſes that he had, he was able right commodiouſly to performe. Whereupon the ſecond or third day after, Auguſtine without any reſiſtance entred the head-citie, being preſented with great ſtore of victuals and gifts by them that remained therein. Thus Auguſtine, with other captaines his aſſociates, became lord of the principall citie, and wonne all the honour of the victory vnto himſelfe: for albeit by this time the other captaines were come from Ceuxima, and many from Nangoia, yet they found all things performed to their hands.

Quabacondono being aduertiſed of this ſecond victory, yeelded as much honour vnto Auguſtine as he could poſſibly deuiſe, ſpeaking ſo highly to the commendation both of him, and of other Captaines his aſſociates, as if but the tenth part of his faire promiſes come to effect, they ſhall be farre greater then they are, and Auguſtine (next vnto himſelfe) ſhall be the principall perſon in all Iapan. And now he is become ſo famous in the Court, and throughout the whole kingdome of Iapan, that at all their meetings and aſſemblies there is no talke but onely of the valour and fortitude of Auguſtine, who in twentie dayes ſpace hath ſubdued ſo mightie a kingdome to the Crowne of Iapan. And all the Nobles account him a moſt happy man, being aſtoniſhed at the immortall renowme which he hath attained vnto by this exploite: yea, and Quabacondono ſent forthwith vnto him, as vnto the conquerour and vanquiſher of the Corayans, in token of great honour, a two-edged ſword and a horſe, which among the Iaponians is a pledge of the moſt peerleſſe honour that can poſſibly be done to a man: and this very gift did Nabunanga in times paſt ſend vnto Quabacondono, when hee had in any battel wonne any kingdome from Morindono. And by this great euent the power of the Chriſtians God, and his prouidence towards his children is knowen not onely to the Chriſtians, but euen to the very Ethnicks themſelues, for that in the heate of ſuch extreme perſecution it hath pleaſed his diuine Maieſtie to lay the honour of all this warre vpon Chriſtian lords. Wherefore we doubt not, but they will proue more mighty and famous then euer they were.

Hence it commeth to paſſe that the Portugals ſhip come from China, hath wintered in Iapan: by which occaſion the preſence of the father Viſitour hath bene a great comfort not onely to vs, but to all the other Chriſtians, who in regarde of the departure of ſo many men with Quabacondono and his captaines to the warres, thought they ſhould haue bene left vtterly forſaken and deſtitute, had not the father Viſitour, in whom they repoſed all their confidence, remayned here. But the ſingular prouidence and loue of God towards vs appeared in this, that hee would haue the ſayd Ship, contrary to their vſuall cuſtome, to winter in Iapan. For when Quabacondono hauing obteined that victorie, was determined to returne vnto Ximo, they were all ſhrowded vnder the protection of the foreſayd Father; who hearing that hee was entred into Nangoia, cauſed Frier Iohn Rodorigues and the gouernour of the Portugal ſhip to ſalute and welcome him. For the Chriſtians of Miacó, which ſucceeded in their roomes that went for Coray, aduiſed him in their letters ſo to doe.

And it was very acceptable to Quabacondono to ſee the Portugals captaine Generall attended vpon by ſo many Portugals ſumptuouſly attired, and comming with ſo many ſhippes in the company of Frier Iohn Rodoriguez: and hee aſked the Frier how the father Viſitour did? And whether the preſents to the Vice-roy liked him? As alſo, that hee tooke it in very good part that the Father had wintered in Iapan, and that the Frier ſhould ſtay with him. Afterward writing an anſwere to the father, he declared therin the great fauour which he bore to the captaine of the ſhip. Whom, hauing familiarly entertained him for the ſpace of 2. houres, hee diſmiſſed with euident tokens of good will. After the Captaines returne, Frier Rodoriguez ſtaying behinde aboue a moneth, attempted very often to ſpeake with Quabacondono, of whom hee was alwayes moſt kindly vſed. Afterward by reaſon of ſickneſſe hee returned to Nangaſaque; whereupon Quabacondono demaunded why he was not cured at the ſame place where himſelfe remained? Iacuino anſwered, that beeing a ſtranger, hee was to bee cured with ſuch diet and medicines, as were not there to bee had: with which anſwere hee was ſatiſfied. Hence it is, that by often conferences which were made by reaſon of the ambaſſage, Quabacondono waxeth euery day more courteous and affable. And yet for all this, new occaſions of troubles and afflictions are not cut off: for certaine it is, that Quabacondono hath giuen out, that if he haue good ſucceſſe with his warre againſt China, he will make great alterations of eſtates, in aſſigning the kingdomes of Coray and China to the Chriſtian princes, and placing in their roomes Ethnick lordes throughout Iapan: which thing might redound to the ruine and deſtruction of all Chriſtianitie heere, neither ſhould the Chriſtians finde in Iapan any place of refuge. And albeit Auguſtine had certainly informed the father Viſitour of the ſayde alteration of eſtates, and Iacuine had written vnto Auguſtine, that Quabacondono had fully determined to alter the ſtates or gouernments of Ximo, and ſo conſequently the ſtate of Auguſtine, and of the Chriſtian princes of Arima and Omura; yea, and that the ſaid two princes had notice thereof: yet almightie God with the eyes of his infinite mercy hath vouchſafed to regard the prayers of his faithfull ſeruants (who for this cauſe were moſt perplexed and ſorowfull) and to prouide this remedie following.

The Corayans hauing intelligence, that their king and the forces which hee caried with him were in ſafety, went the greateſt part of them, with as much victuals as they could get, and hidde themſelues in the mountains and woods, remaining there with ſuch hate and indignation againſt the Iaponians, that with promiſe of ſafe conduct they could by no meanes be drawen out of their ſtarting holes. Wherefore albeit the Iaponians haue all the caſtles and places of defence in their owne poſſeſſion, yet becauſe they want people to tille the ground, and to doe them other neceſſary ſeruices, they cannot chuſe but forgoe all that which they haue woon. Moreouer, the common high wayes are ſo peſtered with theeues and murtherers, that vnleſſe the Iaponians march in whole troopes all together, they are ſuddenly oppreſſed with ſwarmes of Corayans iſſuing foorth of the woods. Many of the Corayans alſo haue retired themſelues vnto the neighbour-iſlands, from whence with numbers of great ſhips, to the mighty loſſe of the Iaponians, they aſſaile their ſmall and weake ones, and haue already ſunke many of them. Wherefore all the Iaponian lords which remaine in Coray haue written vnto Quabacondono, that his army muſt for a certaine time in no wiſe remooue from the place where it is, for auoyding of ſuch imminent dangers as in proceeding further it may incurre. Vpon theſe aduertiſements Quabacondono being ready to take his iourney to Coray, to diuide the whole kingdome, was hindred from his purpoſe, and ſent moſt friendly letters to all his nobles, willing them to be of good cheere, for that he would not deale about altering of their eſtates, till 3. yeres were expired: whereupon they were eaſed of exceeding great care and griefe. For albeit there is no great truſt to be giuen to his words, yet we hope that this yere he wil not meddle: what he wil doe afterward, God knoweth. In Coray at this preſent there are aboue 200000. Iaponian ſouldiers, who at the commandement of Quabacondono are diuided throughout the whole kingdom. Auguſtine lieth vpon the very extreame frontiers of China: but becauſe the Chinians are ſeparated from the kingdome of Coray with a mighty riuer of 3. leagues broad, and abound with great ſhips, and haue planted innumerable troopes of men vpon the ſhore, the ſucceſſe of the warre remayneth moſt doubtfull and vncertaine. Neither doe wee know whether the Iaponians will proceede any farther this yeere or no.

Ilands neere vnto Coray.

A mighty riuer of 3. leags broad.

The third teſtimony of *Coray*, ſignifying (amongſt other notable and politicall obſeruations) the later ſucceſſe of the warres of *Iapan* againſt *Coray*; and to what end *Quabacondono* ſtill mainteineth gariſons in that kingdome. Out of the Epiſtles of Father *Organtino Brixiano*, bearing date from *Iapan* *Anno* 1594.

The whole Empire of Iapan is now in the handes of this king Quabacondono: and (which hath not bene knowen ſince the firſt creation thereof) there is not the bredth of one foote throughout all the whole Iſland, which is not abſolutely ſubiect vnto him. And hee reigneth in ſo great peace and tranquillitie, that if his ſucceſſors follow the ſame courſe of gouernment, there is no likelihood of future ſedition or perturbation in any of the kingdoms. And doubtles the meanes which he vſeth to eſtabliſh continuall peace and concord among the Iaponians, are very great and effectuall.

One is, that after he hath paſſed his publique promiſe, he neuer putteth any of his aduerſaries to death, which his predeceſſour Nabunanga performed not: for he hauing ſubdued any kingdom, would put all the lords and gouernours to the ſword. But this king granteth vnto them not only life, but alſo yerely reuenues, whereby to maintaine themſelues in an honeſt and meane eſtate: in which regarde they all reſt contented, and willingly ſubmit themſelues.

Another is, in that he hath brought the huſbandmen and peſants (by whoſe aſſiſtance & wealth all the pety-kingdoms were after a ſort ſuſteined) vnto ſuch extreme pouerty, that they haue ſcarce wherewithall to keepe life and ſoule together: as likewiſe hee hath bereaued them of all kinde of weapons.

The third is, becauſe hee hath moſt ſtreightly forbidden all contentions, ſeditions, frayes, and ſkirmiſhes. For whoſoeuer be found culpable of this crime, they dye euery man of them on both parties. If any eſcape by flight, their kinſefolks are puniſhed in their ſtead; and for lacke of them, their ſeruants; and for defalt of both, their next neighbours. If many were guilty, many are puniſhed and ſuffer death : but hence it commeth to paſſe, that many innocent perſons are conſtrained to die. And this ſeueritie is the cauſe, why there are at this preſent ſo ſeldome frayes and contentions in Iapan.

The fourth is, that in adminiſtring of iuſtice hee is moſt vpright, without all reſpect either to his owne kinred, or to his ancient captaines, or the blood royall, or any of the Bonzij, bee they neuer ſo famous : and being once aduertized of a crime, hee pardoneth no man. And albeit himſelfe is exceedingly addicted to women, yet will he permit none of his ſubiects to haue any concubines. For which cauſe not many dayes agoe, hee baniſhed a Bonzio of great wealth, being in alliance and dignitie moſt neere vnto himſelfe. And being informed that all the Bonzij of Miacó kept concubines, hee would haue put them all to death, had not the gouernour of Miacó promiſed, that hee would vndertake to keepe them from offending any more in that kinde. Wherefore hee cauſed all the Bonzij euery moneth to bee ſworne, that they ſhould liue honeſtly vpon paine of death : as alſo hee hath ſworne the heads or ſuperiors of all their religious houſes vnder paine of death, to giue vp their names whom they moſt ſuſpect of the foreſayd crime. Hence it is, that all of them (if you regard their outward eſtate) liue in extreme feare.

The fift is, for that hee ſuffereth none of his ſouldiers, nor his great lordes to liue in idleneſſe. If there be no warres for their imployment, hee occupieth them in building of ſtately palaces, and in raiſing new fortreſſes, or in repairing and ſtrengthening of olde, and alſo in performing other notable workes, to the ornament of Iapan, and to his owne laſting honour. So that at this preſent neere vnto Miacó there are thirtie thouſand men imployed about the building of one caſtle; and in the citie of Bozacca aboue an hundred thouſand : which imployments afforde them neither place nor time to practiſe any rebellions.

The ſixt is his altering of gouernments : for hee remooueth his gouernours from one extreme part of Iapan to another.

The ſeuenth, for that vnto his ſouldiers (beſides the ordinarie pay continually allotted vnto them for their ſeruice) in time of warre hee alloweth victuals at his owne coſtes. Whereof it commeth to paſſe, that hee effecteth whatſoeuer hee thinkes good by their meanes. Neither hath hee hitherto waged any warre, wherein his enemie was not vanquiſhed, according to his owne deſire: this late warre of China onely excepted, which farre ſurmounted all his forces. Howbeit in the kingdome of Coray hee maintaineth as yet great garriſons, as well to keepe his honour, as to conſtraine the Chinians to ſue for peace.

The warre of Iapan againſt Coray and China.

The eighth is, in that hee curbeth and reſtraineth perſons of ambitious and aſpiring mindes, who (as hee coniectureth) after his death might worke ſome innouations in the common wealth, or diſturbe the kingdomes.

The ninth is, becauſe hee hath on no ſide within foure or fiue dayes iourney of Miacó, any mightie or induſtrious captaine or gouernour.

The tenth and laſt is, for that hee hath brought his yeerely reuenues to two millions of gold.

By theſe courſes and meanes, wee are in good hope that firme peace will bee eſtabliſhed in all theſe kingdomes, and alſo that a fit way will be prepared, for the conuerſion of all the great lordes vnto Chriſtian religion.

A briefe note concerning an extreme Northerne prouince of *Iapan* called *Zuegara*, ſituate thirtie dayes iourney from *Miacó*, which argueth the Iſle of *Iapan* to be of greater extenſion Northward, then it is ordinarily deſcribed in maps, or ſuppoſed to be : together with mention of a certaine nation of Tartars called *Iezi* inhabiting on the maine to the North of *China*, neuer heard of in theſe parts before : taken out of an Epiſtle written 1596 from *Iapan* by Fryer *Luis Frois* vnto *Claudius Aquauiua*, &c. Printed in Latine at *Mentz* in *Germanie* 1599.

NOt many dayes ago was baptized a certaine honourable perſonage called Iohn Vongui the ſonne of Taigarandono, who is gouernour of a certaine princedome ſituate on the borders of Iapan towardes the North, being diſtant from Miacó thirtie dayes iourney.

And after a fewe lines it followeth.

This Taigorandono being the moſt Northerly gouernour in all Iapan hath traffique with the Iezi, who are a nation of Tartars, which from the maine continent reſort vnto the Iſle of Mateumai, being about twelue or fifteene leagues diſtant from the foreſayd Northerly princedome of Zuegara; where they ſell fiſhes, the ſkinnes of beaſts, and certaine herbes of the

The Iſle of Mateumai.

Iezi a nation of Tartars dwelling on the continent to the North of China vſing cloth.

ſea vſed by the Iaponians for foode, with other ſuch like commodities. On the other ſide the ſaid Iezi Tartari buy of the Iaponians, cloth to make them garments, with weapons and other inſtruments. Theſe Tartars (they ſay) are a moſt barbarous kinde of people, of a browne colour, with long haire on their heads and beardes like the Moſcouites: they liue by hunting and fiſhing, and neglect husbandry. This Northerly princedome of Zuegara (as the ſayd gouernour reported to our Fathers) aboundeth with excellent grapes both black and white, which without the labour of man grow naturally in all places, and he promiſed the Fathers to bring ſome of theſe vines to Miacó, that they might be planted there.

Aduertiſements touching the ſhippes that goe from *Siuil* to the *Indies* of *Spaine*: together with ſome notes of the Contractation houſe in *Siuil*.

The Pilot.

YOur Pilot muſt be examined in the Contractation houſe, and allowed by ſuch as be appointed for the examination of Pilots, that hee be a ſufficient man to take the charge in hand, and that which belongeth thereunto, and to gouerne and lead the ſame ſhip directly by his onely commandement to ſuch ports as are conuenient for the voyage that hee taketh in hand.

The Maſter.

You muſt haue a Maſter, that muſt giue in ſureties to the value of 6000 dukats: and ſuch as be his ſureties muſt be landed men, and their lands worth to the value of that ſumme aforeſayd, if the ſayd ſhip be betweene three or foure hundred tunnes. And if ſhee be more or leſſe of burthen, then he muſt giue ſureties of a greater ſumme or leſſe, according to the proportion of her burden.

He ſhall in all his voyage giue a iuſt and true accompt of all ſuch goods, and marchandizes, as ſhall in all that voyage come into the ſhip: as alſo of ſuch plate and money, as ſhalbe regiſtred in the Kings Regiſter, appertayning to the King, or any other particuler marchant: and if any default be, hee or his ſureties are to pay all ſuch loſſes as thereof ſhall growe; as alſo to ſee the mariners payed well and truely, the third part of all ſuch fraights, as the ſayde ſhippe ſhall get going and comming.

The ſhip being fraighted by her merchants, the Maſter ſhall take order that there be ſufficient mariners abourd her to take in ſuch lading from time to time, as the marchant ſhall ſend to her: And alſo the Purſer muſt be a man ſufficient of abilitie to take, & to giue account of all ſuch goods, marchandize, ſiluer and golde, as ſhall come in and out of the ſayd ſhippe that preſent voyage, as alſo giue ſureties of 1500 dukats at the leaſt to come backe from the Indies in the ſaid ſhippe, and not to tarrie there, if hee liue.

The Purſer.

A Romager.

The Maſter muſt prouide a perfect mariner called a Romager, to raunge, and beſtow all marchandize in ſuch place as is conuenient: and that it be not put in place, where it may periſh for lack that it be not faſt, ſure, and drie, according to the qualitie and forme of the ſayd marchandize.

The Maſters mate.

When it is all beſtowed, and the ſhippe able to beare no more, then a mariner called the Contermaſter, or Maſters mate, hath charge to locke faſt the hatches, that none of the marchants wines, or oyles, or any other kind of marchandize be robbed or ſpoyled by the mariners. And if it fortune that any bee ſo ſpoyled, then the mariners are to pay for it out of the third part of all the whole fraight of the ſhippe that doth appertaine to the ſayd marchants.

The chiefe Iudges of the Contractation houſe.

Viſitors being ſkilfull mariners.

The names and markes of men taken.

The ſhippe being laden, goeth to the port wherehence ſhe ſaileth to goe towards the Indies called S. Lucar, and there one of the chiefe Iudges of the Contractation houſe commeth downe to diſpatch the ſhippes that goe together in that fleete. And that Iudge goeth abourd euery ſhip, and with him hee doth carrie an expert mariner or two called Viſitors of the ſhippes, to know whether the ſayd ſhippe or ſhips be well tackled: whether they haue men ſufficient: and in euery ſhip euery mans name is taken, and if he haue any marke in the face, or hand or arme, it is written by a Notarie (as well as his name) appertaining to the Contractation houſe, appointed for theſe cauſes. Alſo the Maſter is bound to bring backe euery mariner againe, and to leaue none behinde him there, vpon great paines, vnleſſe he be a paſſenger appointed by the King at the court, and bringeth his licence from thence for the ſame purpoſe.

The Pragmatica or orders of the Contractation houſe.

The ſhip muſt be well appointed with ordinance of braſſe, and yron, according to The orders of their houſe, of that there muſt want nothing, and euery ſhip is appointed according to her burthen in all kinde of artillerie, as peeces of braſſe and yron, hand-guns, croſbowes, pikes, ſwords, daggers, targets, and for all ordinance double ſhot, with powder, with new cables and ankers ſufficient for the voyage. And moreouer it is ordeined, that the ſhippes haue double ſailes, that is, that they bee thorowly ſayled, and moreouer all newe ſayles of fore-ſayle, and maine-ſayle, of coarſe, and bonnet newe made, and kept in ſome drieſat or cheſt in the ſame ſhip; that if the weather ta[illegible] the one from them, the other may be in readines.

Euery ſhip muſt haue their maſter ſworne before the ſayd Iudge of the Contratacion, that all this is in a readineſſe in the ſhippe, as alſo ſo many newe pipes of freſh water, ſo many buttes of good tackt wine, ſo many kintals of bread, ſo many iarres of oyle, ſo many iarres or Botijas of vineger, ſo much fleſh, ſo much fiſh, and ſuch quantitie of euery kinde of victuall, as the burthen of the ſhippe requireth, wherein euery ſhippe according to her greatneſſe is appointed by The ordinances of the houſe: Alſo ſo many gunners, ſo many mariners, ſo many gromettes, ſo many pages, and ſo many ſouldiers. Then all theſe aforeſaide matters being vnder Regiſter by the notarie and all things prepared for the voyage, the Iudge doeth command the maſters to hoyſe vp the yards acroſſe vnto the howndes of the maſtes; and many times, if they perceiue the ſhippe to be walty and ouerladen, as many couetous maſters doe, then hee hangeth the boates in the fore and maine tackle, to ſee whether the ſayd ſhippe will make any helde downewarde, in laying downe her ſide: if ſhe doe helde, he commandeth barkes abourd, to diſcharge her of ſuch lading, as is thought to be too much in her: and there can no ſhip depart before they cary the Regiſter of the ſaid Iudges, howe that ſhee goeth by their order: and euery ſhippe carieth her owne Regiſter, and in the Regiſter the quantitie of al the goods that are laden in her, and if there be any more goods, they be forfayted in the Indies, both ſhippe and goods.

[illegible]

The Regiſter of euery ſhip.

The maſters are bound to keepe the courſe that the Admiral doeth leade, and euery ſhippe to follow her, and ſhee muſt goe alwayes in the Sea before all the reſt of the fleete, and by night cary light that all may knowe where ſhe goeth. The viceadmirall muſt come behinde all, and ſo euery ſhippe in the fleete before her: if any be ill of ſayle, all are bounde to ſit their ſayles in ſuch order, that they goe no faſter then ſhe doeth.

The two ſhips of warre to waft the fleet in time of peace.

The Admiral and the viceadmirall goe neuer but halfe laden, but very well armed of men, and artillery, three times double and more then any of the other haue: becauſe they may help to defend all the reſt, if neede doe require: and the dead freight of theſe two ſhippes is alwayes borne vpon the whole goods that are laden in the fleete, as alſo at the leaſt there be two hundred ſouldiers in euery of theſe two ſhippes beſides the mariners, great gunners, gromettes, and other officers.

The voyages bee ſo appointed, that alwayes they goe and come in the beſt of Summer, and bee there all the winter in the ports to diſcharge their lading and recharge backe againe.

Note.

The ſhips that are Admirall and viceadmirall be neither the greateſt nor the ſmalleſt ſhippes, but of 3 hundreth or 4 hundreth tunnes at the moſt: but they be very good saylers, and ſtrong, choſen for the purpoſe, to ſayle well and to beare good ſtore of ordinance. In theſe two ſhippes are alwayes going and comming, two good knights men of warre, and Captaines and ſouldiers expert in the warres.

And in euery other ſhip is a Captaine, which ruleth in all cauſes of controuerſie, or fights in the ſeas; the Pilot directeth onely in gouernment and leading the ſhippe to her port.

A Captaine in euery ſhip.

All the Captaines, Maſters, Pilots, Maryners, and paſſengers, and all others bee obedient to the two ſhippes, ſo appoynted to paſſe: they doe, as in all other commandements what is by them appoynted, hauing power to hang, or doe any iuſtice vpon any man, as to them ſeemeth good at ſea, and this is the laſt commandement vpon payne of death, if the General pleaſe.

Concerning the Contractation houſe, there are therein ſixe Iudges of the higheſt ſort.

Sixe Iudges.

There are viſitours of ſhippes, as it is ſayd before, to ſee whether the ſhips goe in order well, and ſufficient in al things: and what manner of men the Maſters of the ſhips and Pilots are, whether they be able to anſwere to all ſuch articles, as the reader is able to obiecte vnto them, in matters of Nauigation: if they be not found ſufficient, they are not admitted to take charge.

Foure viſitours.
The reader of the arte of Nauigation.

The maſter muſt knowe whether the ſhip be ſufficiently calked, tackled, and furniſhed in all things accordingly, as with maſtes, ſayles, cables, ankers, and all other neceſſary furniture: that at ſuch time as any of the high iudges with their ordinary viſitours appointed for ſuch cauſes doe come, there be nothing found out of order or lacking, according to The booke of orders, which euery ſhippe proportionable to her burthen ought to haue, which is not vnknowen to any of the maſters, being in writing common among them: and all the charge giuen to the Maſter and Pilot ſerueth onely to conduct the ſhip from port to port.

The booke of orders, called in Spaniſh Pragmatica, common in writing among the maſters.

The counter Maſter, or maſters mate is obedient in all things whereunto hee ſhall bee commanded by the maſter and Pilote, and at his commandement are all the maryners of the ſhip.

The ſhippes commonly goe deeper laden from Spaine, then our ſhippes doe in any voyage.

The

The order of the *Carena* giuen to the ſhips that go out of *Spaine*, to the *Indies*.

The ſhippe of what burthen ſoeuer ſhee bee muſt giue a Carena, as they call it in the Spaniſh tongue, which is in Engliſh, ſhee muſt be throughly calked, and fortified, as well with carpenters to ſet knees into her, and any other tymber s appertaining to the ſtrengthening of a ſhippe, as with calking: which is to put occam into her ſides; and that kinde of calking is not vſed, as ours is here in England: but firſt before they put in any threede of occam, they with certaine crooked yrons, with an hammer in one hande, and the crooked yron in the other, doe forcibly pull out all the olde threede that hath bene in the ſhippe the voyage before, and ſo driue in new.

Calking with thinne plates of lead.

If the ſeame of the ſhippe be worne to any bredth, as many olde ſhippes be, by reaſon of often calking them, vpon that ſeame there is clapt a piece of caſte leade, nayled vpon the calking, and ſeame with ſpeciall nayles, which leade is caſt a handes bredth, and as thinne as may bee for the ſame purpoſe, and at euery voyage it is taken off and renued, and by that meanes their ſhippes are very ſtanch a yeere or two.

The Calker or Carenero.

The Carenero or the Calker doeth giue in ſureties, that if the ſhippe ſo caſt ouer, as they doe commonly vſe to caſt them, in ſuch ſort as any man may goe drie vpon the keele, as I haue done, and without any butte, pipe, or any other kinde of timber vnder her ſides, more then with counter-poyze of ſtones in her, made within certaine timber as though it were a cheſte; and with the ſtones the Carenero doeth bring her as hee will, high and low, leaning, or ryſing: and if ſhee miſcarrie in her Carena, then is the Carenero bound, if it bee either by fire, water, or ſinking, or any other miſfortune, to pay for the valew of the ſhip.

The Carena of a ſhippe of one hundred tunnes being done ſo ſubſtantially as they vſe to doe it, will coſt two hundred Duckets, of two hundred tunnes, foure hundred Duckets, of three hundred tunnes, ſixe hundred Duckets, and ſo according to the greatneſſe of the ſhippe.

It would be done here in England for one third part of the money, by reaſon that the neceſſaries that goe to it are better cheape here by much, and the calkers farre better cheape by two parts.

This Carena may not be giuen at any hand but in a riuer where no tempeſt can ariſe, as in this riuer of London in ſuch a place, where at al times the ſayd ſhip may ride aflote: it may not be done in any dangerous harbour, where the winde may bring vp the waues of the Sea, neither where the Sea may heaue and ſet.

The calking of Siuill is ſo ſubſtantially done, that in one day one calker doeth not throughly calke paſt one yarde and an halfe in one ſeame, or two yardes at the moſt, and to that he doeth, the maſter calker is at hand to ouerſee him, and this done, the Carenero doeth with his ballaſt ſet her vpright, and ſo ſhee beginneth to lade.

Examen de los maeſtros y Pilotos, que nauegan en las flotas de *Eſpanna* para las *Indias* del mar oceano, eſcrito por *Pedro Dias* Piloto, natural de la Iſla de la *Palma*. *1586*.

Alonſo de Chiauez Piloto mayor.

PRimeramente pide al Piloto mayor, que es al preſente Alonſo de Chiauez, que lo admita al examen, por quanto es natural y ſufficiente para ello.

Manda el Piloto mayor, que haga enformacion, de como es marinero, y platico de aquella parte, de que ſe quiere examinar. Luego preſenta cinco o ſeis teſtigos de los Pilotos examinados, de como es buen marinero, y ſufficiente para ſer Piloto, y como es natural de los Reynos De Eſpanna; y que no es de caſta de Moro, ni Iudeo, ni Negro.

Rodrigo Zamorano Cathedratico.

Y hecha la enformacion, preſenta la al Piloto mayor. Y viſto el Piloto maior la enformacion ſer buena, manda que el Cathedratico Rodrigo Zamorano lo admita a la Cathedra. Y alli ſe juntan a vezes quatorze o quinze que pretendẽ examinarſe, y acuden alli a vna caſa, que El Cathedratico tiene para aquello efeto, a las ocho de la mannana, y eſtan dos oras, y otras dos a la tarde. El Cathedratico tiene por coſtumbre de leer en la Cathedra vna ora, y otra ora ocupan en preguntarſe los vnos a los otros muchas coſas conuenientes a la arte de nauegar en preſencia del Cathedratico. Y el que no reſponde a propoſito, El Cathedratico le emienda, y le dize de la manera que es cada coſa. Y eſte eſtudio dura dos meſes, en los quales no ha de faltar de ir dos vezes al dia, como tengo dicho.

La Sala del examen.

Y deſpues de auer oido la Cathedra eſtos dos meſes, van a la Sala del Examen, que es en la Contratacion. Y alli eſta el Piloto mayor, y los de mas pilotos, qui ſon por lo menos veinte cinco: y alli eſtando todos aſſentados por ſu orden, manda el Piloto mayor, que lean las enformaciones; y deſpues de auer leidas las enformaciones o teſtimonios, pregunta el piloto maior al piloto y maeſtro, que ſe quiere examinar, de que parte de las Indias ſe quiere examinar? Y luego el piloto reſponde, que de Nueua Eſpanna, o de Nombre de Dios. Y otros, que no ſon platicos de eſtas tierras, dizen, que de Santo Domingo, y Puerto rico, y Cuba. Y luego demanda el Piloto maior, que tienda la carta en la meſa, y en preſencia de los demas pilotos parta de la barra de San Lucar para las Islas de Canaria, y de alli para las Indias, haſta llegar a aquella parte de donde ſe examina, y buelue para Eſpanna a tornar a la Barra de San Lucar, de donde partio.

Y el Piloto mayor le pregunta, Que ſi yendo nauegando por la mar le dieſe vn viento contrario, que remedio haria para que ſu nao no trabajaſſe tanto en la mar? Y el le reſponde lo mejor que entiende. Luego le pregunta vno de los pilotos por las reglas del Sol, y de la Eſtrella del norte, y que cuenta le hara en todo tiempo del anno? A lo qual ha de reſponder el piloto que ſe examina a todo aquello que le preguntaren. Y luego le pregunta otro por las ſennas de las tierras que eſtuuieren en el camino, haſta llegar al puerto de donde ſe examina. Y luego pregunta otro, que ſi con tormenta ſe le quebraſſe los arboles, Que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan, Que ſi la nao abrieſſe vn agua, a donde peligraſſen las vidas, que remedio haria para tomarla con menos rieſgo? Y otros le preguntan, que ſi le faltaſſe el timon, que remedio haria? Y otros le preguntan por la cuenta de la Luna, y de las mareas? Y otros le preguntan, Que ſi lo tomaſſe vn corſario, y lo dexaſſe ſin carta y ſin aſtrolabio, y otros inſtrumentos para tomar la altura del Sol y de la Eſtrella del norte, que orden tendria para hazer los? Otros le preguntan otras preguntas neceſſarias a vn marinero, que quiere ſer piloto. A todo eſto eſta attento, reſpondiendo a todo. Y deſpues que todos le an preguntado todo lo neceſſario, le mandan, que ſalga fuera de la ſala, paraque a ſolas dé cada vno ſu boto debaxo de iuramento en vn libro, que prometen de dezir verdad. Y luego ponen dentro de vn vaſo de plata, que alli eſta para aquel efeto, tantas hauas, y tantos garuanços, como ai pilotos dentro de la ſala: y va cada vno por ſu orden; y el que le parece que es ſufficiente, ſaca vna haua, y el que le parece, que no lo es, ſaca vn garuanço. Y deſpues que todos an ſacado, mira el piloto mayor los botos que tiene; y ſi halla que tiene tantos botos en ſu fauor como en contrario, manda que haga otro viaje: y ſi tiene mas botos en ſu fauor, que en contrario, luego le dan vna carta del examen firmada del piloto mayor, y del Cathedratico, y del Eſcriuano, y ſellada con el ſello de la Contratacion. Y teniendo eſta carta, luego da de preſente al piloto mayor, y al Cathedratico, para guantes y gallinas, cõforme que cada vno puede, que es de ordinario dos o tres ducados. Y luego ſe puede concertar por piloto en qualquier nauio que quiſiere, para aquella parte de donde ſe examino. Y ſi hallare en las Indias algun nauio que tenga piloto no examinado, lo puede botar fuera, y venir el piloto examinado en el nauio por el miſmo concierte, que el otro piloto tenia hecho.

La manera de election de los maeſtros, y pilotos.

Carta del examen.

Sueldo de los pilotos.

Suelen lleuar los pilotos de partido y concierte por vn viaje de yr y boluer, conforme que es el nauio. Si es de ciento tonelladas, dozientos ducados, y dozientos y cinquenta; y ſi es de quatrocientas o de quinientas, lleua de partido quinientos o quinientos, y cinquenta ducados: y ſi es mayor, lleua mas partido: y mas, todos los dias que eſtuuiere en tierra, quatro reales para ſu comida. Y las naos grandes ſiempre lleuan los pilotos mas viejos, porque ſon mas experimentados y mejores pilotos que los mançebos, que comiençan a nauegar, y a ſer pilotos.

Maeſtros, y ſus officios.

El piloto no tiene mas trabajo ni mas cuidado que en la nauegacion: porque los maeſtros de los nauios tienen cuidado de fretar, y adereçar ſus naos, y pagar a los marineros, y hazer todo lo que es meneſter para ſu nao: porque el piloto no viene a la nao, ſi no es quando los viſitadores vienen a viſitarla, ſi tiene todo lo neceſſario para el viage.

Los quatro viſitadores, y ſu officio.

Prematica.

Los viſitadores ſon quatro hombres qui eſtan pueſtos por el rey, y eſtos ſon hombres muy entendidos, y vienen a viſitar los nauios, antes que tomen carga, por ver ſi eſtan bien adereçados para hazer el viage. Y deſpues que eſtan los nauios cargados, bueluen otra vez a viſitarlos, por ver ſi tienen todas las coſas neceſſarias, conforme a la *Prematica*; y ſi tienen todos los marineros, y battimentos, y poluere, y artilleria, y balas, y todo lo de mas neceſſario para el viaje. Y ſi alguna coſa les falta, les mandan con graues penas que lo compren, antes que ſalgan del puerto.

Eſcriuano, y ſu officio.

Suelen lleuar los nauios que van a las Indias vn eſcriuano que tiene cargo de tomar por memoria todas las mercaderias que ſe cargan en la nao, y tomar las marcas, para por ellas entregar la carga a ſus duennos,deſpues de auer acabado ſu viaje:y ſirue tanbien,ſi vn hombre caeſſe enfermo,para hazer teſtamiento y otros recaudos que ſe ſuelen hazer delante vn eſcriuano : y gana por ſu ſueldo en vn viaje tanto como dos marineros.

Primero nauio de auiſo.

Segundo nauio de auiſo.

Tiene el general de las flotas por coſtumbre , deſpues que llega a las Indias,de embiar vn nauio de auiſo,para dar relacion al rey,de como ha llegado. Y deſpues que eſtan preſtas para partir,deſpacha otro nauio de auiſo,para hazer relacion, de como eſtan ya preſtas para partir, con otras particularidades.

Dos naos de guerra.

Van en las flotas dos naos grandes,la vna por Capitana,y la otra por Almiranta, cada vna de ſeiſcientas y de ſietecientas tonelladas,que no lleuan mas que baſtimentos y ſoldados para defenſa de la demas flota:y lleua cada vna como docientos ſoldados: y eſtas ſe pagan de las mercaderias que vienen en la flota a vno por ciento,y algunas vezes a vno y medio por ciento.

Ay en la caſa de la Contratacion de Seuilla vna tabla que ſirue de Arançel, *eſcrita con letras de oro; en que ſtan aualiadas todas las mercaderias que ſe embarcan para las Indias.*

EN eſta tabla ſe puede ſaber quantas botijas hazen vna tonellada de vino y quantos quintales y quantos bariles,y quantos coffres ſea vna tonellada.

Y todas mercaderias eſtan alli taxadas,para pagar los derechos al rey , y el flete al maeſtro.

Y alli eſta pueſto,que ningun maeſtro puede lleuar a las Indias ningun paſſagero, ni frayle, ni clerigo,ni otras perſonas, ni eſtranieros de los reynos de Eſpanna,ſin licencia del Rey.

Y mas, que no puede lleuar mercaderias fuera de la Prematica , y todo lo que lleuaren, lo lleuen regiſtrado,ſo pena de la vida.

Y mas, que ningun maeſtro ni piloto puede lleuar inſtrumentos que no ſean firmados por el piloto mayor *Alonço* de Chiaues,y el coſmografo Cathedratico Roderigo Zamorano: como ſon la carta,el aſtrolabio,la baleſtilla,y el regimiento.

Y mas,que yendo en la compannia de la flota,obedeſcan al General, y no hagan mas de lo que el mandare,ſo pena de la vida.

The ſame in Engliſh.

The examination of the Maſters and Pilots which ſaile in the Fleetes of *Spaine* to the *Weſt Indies*: Written in the Spaniſh tongue by *Pedro Dias* a Spaniſh pilot taken by Sir *Richard Grinuile* 1585.

The witneſſe of fiue or ſixe pilots.

FIrſt they make ſuit vnto the Pilot maior (who at this preſent is called Alonço de Chiauez) that he would admit them to examination,becauſe they are naturall Spaniards,and ſufficient for the ſame.

Hereupon the Pilot maior commandeth the party to be examined, to giue information that he is a mariner,and well practized in thoſe parts,about which hee deſireth to be examined. And then immediatly he bringeth fiue or ſixe pilots before examined to giue teſtimonie that he is a good mariner,and ſufficient to become a pilot,that he is a Spaniard borne,and that he is not of the race of the Moores, Iewes, or Negros.

The pilots admiſſion to the lectures of the kings reader.

They heare the kings readers lectures two houres a day for two moneths.

Their diſputations of the art of nauigation before the kings reader who is their moderatour.

Hauing made this information, hee preſenteth it vnto the Pilot maior. And the Pilot maior ſeeing the information to be good, willeth the kings publique reader of nauigation (who is now Roderigo Zamorano) to admit him to his lectures. Whither there doe reſort fouretеene or fifteene perſons that deſire to be examined : and they come to a certaine houſe which the kings reader hath appointed vnto him for the ſame purpoſe, at eight of the clocke in the morning: and then they ſtay two houres,and two houres likewiſe in the afternoone : in one of which houres Zamorano readeth vnto them,and in the other they aſke one another many particulars concerning the art of nauigation in the preſence of the ſaid kings reader : and him that anſwereth not to the purpoſe the ſayd reader inſtructeth more perfectly,and telleth him how euery thing is. And this exerciſe continueth two moneths, during which time the examinates muſt not faile to bee preſent twiſe in a day,as is aforeſaid.

The hall of examination.

And hauing heard the kings reader thoſe two moneths, they reſort then vnto The hall of examination which is in the Contractation houſe , where there are aſſembled the Pilot maior and diuers other pilots,to the number of 25 at the leaſt; who all ſitting there in order, the Pilot maior

demandeth of him that would be examined, of what part of the Indies he deſireth to be examined: Whereto the examinate anſwereth, that he would bee examined concerning Nueua Eſpanna, or of Nombre de Dios and Tierra firma. And others that are not experienced in thoſe partes, craue to be examined of Santo Domingo, Puerto rico, and Cuba.

The maner of the yong pilots examination.

Then the Pilot maior commandeth the examinate to ſpread a ſea-chart vpon the table, and in the preſence of the other pilots to depart or ſhewe the courſe from the barre of Sant Lucar to the Canarie-Iſlands, and from thence to the Indies, till he come to that place whereof he is to bee examined, and then alſo to returne backe to the barre of Sant Lucar in Spaine, from whence he departed. Alſo the Pilot maior aſketh him, if when he ſaileth vpon the ſea, hee be taken with a contrary, wind, what remedie he is to vſe, that his ſhip be not too much turmoiled vpon the ſea: And the examinate anſwereth him aſwell as he can.

Then one of the other pilotes oppoſeth him about the rules of the Sunne and of the North-ſtarre, and how hee ought to vſe the declination of the Sunne at all times of the yeere: whom the examinate is bound to anſwere in euery thing that hee demandeth. Then another aſketh him of the ſignes and markes of thoſe lands which lye in his way to that hauen whereof he is examined. And then another demandeth, that if his maſtes ſhould be broken by tempeſt, what remedy hee would vſe: Others aſke him, if his ſhip ſhould take a leake, to the hazarding of the liues of himſelfe and his company, what remedy he would find to ſtoppe the ſame with leaſt danger: Others aſke him, what remedy, if his rudder ſhould chance to faile: Others oppoſe him about the account of the Moone and of the tides: Others aſke him, if a Pirate ſhould take him and leaue him deſtitute of his Chart, his Aſtrolabe, and his other inſtruments ſeruing to take the height of the Sunne and of the ſtarre, what courſe hee would take in that extremitie: Others demand other queſtions needfull for a mariner to know, which deſireth to be a pilot. Unto all which the examinate is very attentiue, and anſwereth to euery particular.

After they haue all aſked him ſo much as they thinke expedient, they bid him depart out of the hall, to the ende that euery one of them may ſeuerally bee ſworne vpon a booke, that they will ſpeake the trueth. Then they put into a certaine veſſell of ſiluer ſtanding there for the ſame purpoſe ſo many beanes, and ſo many peaſon as there are pilots within the hall: and euery one putting his hand into the veſſell in order, he that thinketh the partie examined to be ſufficient, taketh vp a beane, and he that thinketh him not ſufficient, taketh vp a peaſe. And after that all haue taken out what they pleaſe, the Pilot maior looketh what voyces the examinate hath: and if he finde him to haue as many voyces for him as againſt him, he commandeth him to make another voyage: but if he hath more voyces for him then againſt him, then they giue him letters teſtimoniall of his examination ſigned by the Pilot maior, by the kings reader, and the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeale of the Contractation houſe. And vpon the receipt of theſe letters teſtimoniall, the new pilot giueth a preſent vnto the Pilot maior, and the kings reader, for their gloues and pennes, euery one according to his abilitie, which is ordinarily ſome two or three ducats.

The maner of their election.

Letters teſtimoniall of euery new pilots examination and approbation, vnder the hands of the Pilot maior, the kings reader, and the ſecretary, and ſeale of the Contractation houſe.

And then he may take vpon him to be pilot in any ſhip whatſoeuer, vnto that place for which he was examined: and if he finde in the Indies any ſhip vnder the charge of a pilot not before examined, he may put him out of his office, and may himſelfe take charge of that ſhip for the ſame wages that the other pilot agreed for.

The pilots wages for making a voyage outward and homeward is according to the burthen of the ſhip. If ſhe be of 100 tunnes, hee hath 200 or 250 ducats: and if ſhee be of 400 or 500 tunnes, he taketh for his wages 500 or 550 ducates: and if ſhe be bigger, he hath a greater allowance: ouer and beſides all which, he hath euery day while he remaineth on land, foure reals for his diet. And the greater ſhippes are alwayes committed vnto the more ancient pilots, becauſe they are of greater experience and better ſkill, then the yonger ſort which newly take vpon them to be pilots.

The pilot vndertaketh no farther trauell nor care, but in directing the courſe or nauigation: for the maſters of the ſhips take charge of the freighting and preparing their ſhips, and to pay the mariners, and to doe all things needefull for the ſhip. For the pilot commeth not vnto the ſhippe, vntill the viſitours come to viſite the ſame, to ſee whether hee hath all things neceſſary for the voyage.

The viſitours are foure men which are appoynted by the king, and theſe are men of great vnderſtanding: and they come to viſite the ſhippes before they take in their lading, to ſee whether they be well prepared to make the voyage. And after the ſhips bee laden, they returne againe to viſite them the ſecond time, to ſee whether they haue all things neceſſary, according to The orders of the Contractation houſe: and whether they haue all their mariners, victuals, pouder, ſhot, and

Foure viſitours.

The orders of the Contractation houſe.

ordinance, and all other things neceſſary for the voyage. And if they want any thing, they charge them vpon grieuous penalties, to prouide the ſame before they ſet out of the hauen.

The ſhips that goe to the Indies are wont eche of them to haue with them a Notarie, whoſe charge is to keepe a note of remembrance of all the marchandize which is laden in the ſhip, and to take the marks thereof, therby to deliuer the commodities in the ſhip to their particular owners, after they haue finiſhed their voyage, and he ſerueth likewiſe to make willes, and other inſtruments, which are wont to be made by a Notarie, if any man chanceth to fall ſicke. And his wages in eche voyage is as much as the wages of two mariners.

The firſt barke of Auiſo.
The ſecond barke of Auiſo.

The Generall of the fleetes vſeth continually, after hee is arriued in the Indies, to ſend into Spaine a barke of Auiſo, to aduertiſe the king of the ſtate of his arriuall: And after the fleetes be ready to come home, hee diſpatcheth another pinneſſe of Auiſo to certifie them how the fleetes are now ready to ſet ſaile, with other particularities. There go with the fleetes two great ſhips, the one as Admirall, the other as Viceadmirall, of the burthen of 400 or 500 tunnes, which carry nothing but victuals and ſouldiers for the wafting of the reſt of the fleete, and theſe are payd out of the marchandize, which come in the fleete, after the rate of one in the hundred, and ſometime at one and an halfe in the hundred.

There is in the Contractation houſe of *Siuil* a table which ſerueth for an *Arançel*, or table of rate or taxation, written in letters of gold, wherein the values of all kind of marchandize, which are embarqued for the *Indies*, are ſet downe.

A table of rates &c. ſet vp in the Contractation houſe.

BY this table a man may know how many Botijas or iarres make a tunne of wine, or how many packes, or how many quintals, or how many barrels, or how many cheſts make a tunne.

And all marchandize haue their rates ſet downe, to pay the king his cuſtomes, and the Maſter his due fraight.

And therein is ſet vp in writing that no Maſter may carry any paſſenger to the Indies, without licence, eſpecially no learned men, nor any fryer, or clergyman, nor any body elſe without licence of the king: nor any ſtrangers not borne in the kingdomes of Spaine.

Moreouer, that they may not carry away any marchandize not comprized in the foreſaid orders, vnder paine of death: and that all goods which they carry with them, they ought to carry the ſame regiſtred; vnder paine of death.

Furthermore, that no Maſter nor Pilot may carry any Chart, nor Aſtrolabe, nor Croſſeſtaffe, nor regiment, without they bee ſigned and ſealed by the Pilot maior Alonço de Chiauez, and the Coſmographer the kings reader Rodrigo Zamorano.

Moreouer, that going in company with the fleete, they doe and obey all ſuch things, as their Generall ſhall command them, vnder paine of death.

Written by me *Pedro Dias* borne in the Iſle of *Palma*
one of the *Canaries*, vpon the requeſt and gratification of M. *Richard Hakluyt*, in February 1586.